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# CONTENTS.

*The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

## MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.



## BOOK-NOTICES.



## ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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# A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE PO:U:DAUNG INSCRIPTION OF S'INBYUYIN, 1774 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

The right bank of the Irrawaddy River near Prome is fringed by a range of hills, and Pô:û:daung is the name applied to the topmost of seven hills, forming part of this range. The Pô:û:daung Hill is crowned with a massive rock, called the Hermit's Cap, and shaped like a Buddhist priest's alms-bowl. On this rock a platform of brick is raised, on which stands the Pô:û:daung Pagoda. It is about 30 feet high, and its form and architecture bespeak its being the handiwork of masons from the maritime provinces. Near the pagoda is an image-house, which bears date 1236, Burmese Era, (1874 A.D.). In this image-house Gautama Buddha is represented in a standing posture with the index-finger of his right hand pointing towards Prome, and Ânanda, his beloved disciple, in a praying attitude, begging the sage to explain his oracle fully.

On the eastern side of the Hermit's Cap — which is surrounded on every side, except the one where it joins the next hill, by sheer precipices of some thousand feet in depth — are three caves cut into the rock. Over these are images of the two traditional moles, also cut in the rock, representing them in an adoring attitude and asking some boon from Gautama Buddha. One of the caves is devoted to the custody of an inscription engraved on a sandstone slab, about four feet high by three feet wide. The inscription was placed there by S'inbyûyin (1763—1776 A. D.), the second son of Alaungp'ayâ (Alompra). It bears date 1136, B. E., (1774 A. D.), and contains a record of his progress from Ava to Rangoon, his placing a new *t'î*[1] on the Shwê Dagôn Pagoda at Rangoon, and the removal of its old *t'î*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in 1769, to be enshrined in the Pô:û:daung Pagoda.

The placing of a new *t'î* on the Shwê Dagôn Pagoda by Sinbyûyin was symbolical of the consolidation of the power of the dynasty founded by his father in 1757 A. D., of the replacement of the Talaings by the Burmans in the government of United Burma, and of the national jubilation over the successes which attended Burmese arms in the wars with Maṇipûr, China, and Siam. The ceremony of placing the *t'î* was witnessed by the king in person, in order to convince the Talaings, whose abortive rebellion in Martaban had just been suppressed, that his rule was a personal one, and to impress on them the splendour of his power and the resources at his command. Moreover, to minimize the possibility of all future attempts at rebellion, with

[1] A *t'î* (= umbrella) is the umbrelliform ornament which must be placed on the summit of every pagoda.

the last of the Talaing kings as a centre of intrigue and disaffection, and to remove all hopes of the restoration of a Talaing monarchy, he ordered the execution of Byinnyà Dalà, the *ex*-king of Pegu, who had surrendered to Alaungp'ayâ.

Lines 1 — 8 of the obverse face of the stone are in **Pâḷi gâthâs** and the rest are in **Burmese verse.** The reverse face of the stone is in **Burmese prose.**

**The decipherment of this inscription does not present any palæographical difficulty,** but the formation of certain letters shows that Burmese calligraphy was in a transition state a century ago. ဤ is expressed by ဤ as well as ဤ; ကျ by ⊓ျ or ကျ; ဩ by ⊓ or ⊔; ထိ by ⊔ိ or ⊔ိ; တော် by ⊔⊔ာ် or ⊔ာ်. There are four modes of representing ဦး, namely, ဦ ဦး ဦး ဥ.

The abrupt tone is indicated by placing either single or double dots below the letter, affected: ကျိုင် or ကျိုင်.

The long vowel အာ with the heavy tone is expressed by two dots like the *visarga* is Sanskṛit: ⊔ား = ဟား; ⊓ား = ကား. The vowel ဪ is expressed by ဝ်; ⊔ဝ် = ဟော. The vowel ဥ is symbolically expressed by a curve placed over the letter affected: ⌒ = ရှု; and ဥ by ⊙: ⊔ = ဍု. The symbolic ဃ is expressed thus: ⊔ = ဗိုဏ်. The following letters radically differ in form from those now in use:—; ခ = ⊐; ဝ = ⊔; ဆ = ⊔; ဏ = ⊏; ဋ = ⊏; ဒ = ‡; ဓ = ⊓; ဈ = ⋏; ဿ = ⊓.

## TRANSLATION.

### Obverse Face.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, and the Fully Enlightened One!

With a pure and serene mind, I do respectfully reverence the Conqueror, who is the highest, the noblest, the greatest of the great, and the giver of the bliss of Nirvâṇa.

The Buddha, who was the highest, the noblest, the protector, and the greatest of the great, stood on the top of the high Pôṡûṡdaung rock and pronounced an oracle.

Like the erection of the 84,000 monasteries, pagodas, &c., by Asôkadhammarâjâ in former times (was the building of the pagoda recorded here). **On the first day of the waning moon of Mâgha 1136, Sakkarâj, and 2318, Anno Buddhæ,** when Asurinda had seized the bright moon and released her from danger, and when an auspicious victory had thus been accorded to Sôma, the king, who was wise and replete with merit and other good qualities, who was mighty and powerful, and whose fame had spread far and wide, caused the Pôṡûṡdaung boulder, which is one single mass of rock, to be cleared, and repaired an old pagoda, wherein he enshrined the fallen *t'î* of the Digumpa Chêtî, which he had purposely ordered to be brought away. To ensure the durability of the pagoda for a great length of time, he made a beautiful bejewelled *t'î*, (like that) of the pagoda standing on the top of the Himavanta mountain, and planted it on the (Pôṡûṡdaung) pagoda. He then proceeded up-stream, and on the auspicious **Saturday, the full moon day of Visâkhâ 1137, Sakkarâj, and 2319, Anno Buddhæ,** he held a great festival and planted the beautiful bejewelled *t'î* (on the pagoda) called Nyândò-myinû.

"In virtue of this, my good deed, may I, in the future, become a Buddha, and be able to dispel the ignorance of a great many creatures immersed in ignorance, and may I finally reach the tranquil, transcendent, immutable, blissful, peaceful, and happy city, which is secure from danger of death, re-birth, and old age!

"During the period that intervenes between my present existence and my becoming a Buddha, may all my enemies flee on hearing about my might and power or by seeing my person; and during the same period, may good fortune be my lot, whenever my might and power is heard of or my person seen!

"May the *brahmâs*, *dêvas*, and men of all the *lôkas*, my father, mother, and other relatives share my merit equally with me, and may they rejoice with glad and joyful heart!

"May all creatures practice liberality and exert themselves for the good of the Religion; and may the people live in happiness, and increase in honour and wealth!"

During 20 *asaṅkhêyyas* and 100,000 *kalpas*, the embryo of Gautama Buddha received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from each successive Buddha that appeared.

During the cycle of seven *asaṅkhêyyas*, beginning with the one called *nanda*, 125,000 Buddhas, headed by Brahmadêva, appeared. At the feet of each of these Buddhas, Our Lord, as a Bôdhisattva, buoyed up with joy and hope, prayed to be a Buddha. With faith and zeal, which can never be equalled, he performed works of merit and received from the successive Buddhas of that cycle the assurance of attaining Buddhahood.

During the next cycle of nine *asankhêyyas*, beginning with the one called *sabbabhadda*, 387,000 Buddhas, headed by Pôrâṇasakya, appeared. At the feet of each of them, our Bôdhisattva repeated his prayer of becoming an Omniscient One and the suzerain of the three *lôkas*. He performed good deeds and followed the precepts inculcated by them.

During the next cycle of four *asaṅkhêyyas*, beginning with the one called *sêla*, 12 Buddhas, headed by Taṇhaṅkara, appeared. After our Bôdhisattva had received an assurance of attaining omniscience, nine other Buddhas, headed by Dîpaṅkara, appeared. During the dispensation of Dîpaṅkara, our Bôdhisattva was possessed of merit and the qualifications necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood. One day, he made his body serve as a bridge for Dîpankara to step across, and the latter granted him an assurance that he would become a Buddha in the future. This assurance was confirmed by the eight other Buddhas who followed.

During the next 100,000 *kalpas*, 15 Buddhas, headed by Padumuttara, appeared. Each of these Buddhas confirmed the assurance granted to our Bôdhisattva by their predecessors.

Thus, during 20 *asaṅkhêyyas* and 100,000 *kalpas*, our Bôdhisattva received an assurance of his attaining Buddhahood from 512,027 Buddhas. In his last birth, he became the son of Suddhôdana, King of Kapila, by Queen Mâyâ. His birth took place in a delightful grove of *sâl* trees, and when he grew up, he was surrounded by comforts and pleasures befitting a prince. Three palaces were built for him, to be occupied according to the three seasons. His wife was Yasôdharâ, and he had a number of concubines. At the age of 29 he renounced the world and became an ascetic. After undergoing penance for six years, he, one night, dreamt five dreams. Next morning, he became a Buddha, and received an offering of rice-milk from Sujâtâ, which he, with relish, ate, while sitting cross-legged on the bank of a river (Nêrañjarâ). On the evening of the same day, the *dêvas* directed his steps to the spot where the Bôdhi tree was. This tree had sprouted forth from the earth simultaneously with his birth, and is worthy of veneration by all *dêvas* and men. Here, the grass-cutter Suddhiya presented him with eight handfuls of grass, with which he prepared a seat for himself. While remaining under the Bôdhi tree, he was assailed by Mâra and his hosts on every side: on his right and his left, behind him, in front of him, and over him. The contest, however, could not last long. On the evening of the same day, he merged forth victorious from the struggle and became free from every passion and tie. At dawn on the following day, he comprehended the Four Sublime Truths and attained Buddhahood. The news of this victory and of this attainment was received by the inhabitants of the three *lôkas* with deafening acclamation.

With a view that future generations might embrace a faith and attain Nirvâṇa, as if they had prayed at his feet, Gautama Buddha promulgated an excellent religion and defined the period of its continuance.

It was the good fortune of the King of Avà to flourish during the dispensation of such a saviour as Gautama Buddha.

The ruler of Avà was assisted in his government by wise ministers, and was happy in the possession of trustworthy friends. He was the possessor of military weapons, soldiers, horses, elephants, and fortified towns, and received tribute from sixteen states, such as **Sunâparanta, Tampadîpa, and Kampôja.** His capital, **Ratanâpûra,**[2] was the storehouse of all kinds of precious minerals and the repository of all wealth. He was wise, mighty, and powerful, and had reduced to subjection all the other rulers of the world. . . . . He was of opinion that, although he might exert himself in various ways to ensure the continuance of the excellent religion promulgated by the Greatest of Conquerors, . . . . . . . . . . .

### Reverse Face.

His glorious Majesty **King S'inbyûyin,** the possessor of the *hàn s'inbyû* and many other white elephants, and of gold, silver, and ruby mines, the suzerain of all the other rulers, and the overlord of the sixteen states, namely,—

**Sunâparanta,** with its districts Kalê, Tênnyin, Yò, Tilin, Salin, and Sagû ;
**Sirikhêttarâma,** with its districts Udêtarit[3] and Pàndaung ;[4]
**Râmañña,** with its districts Kubên,[5] Yaungmyà,[6] Muttamà,[7] and Pagô (Pegu) ;
**Ayuttaya,** with its districts Dvârâvatî,[8] Yôdayà,[9] and Kamànpaik ;
**Haripuñcha,** with its districts Zimmè, Labôn,[10] and Anàn ;[11]
**Lavaraṭṭha,**[12] with its districts Chandapûri, Sànpâpâbet, and Mainglôn ;[13]
**Khêmâvâra,** with its districts Kyaingtôn and Kyaingkaung ;
**Jôtinagara,** with its districts Kyaingyôn[14] and Maingsè ;
**Kampôja,** with its districts Mônè, Nyaungywê, Bîbò, and Mômêk ;
**Mahiṁsaka,** with its districts Môgôk and Kyàtpyin ;
**Sên** (Chinaraṭṭha), with its districts Bamò (Bhamo) and Kaungsin :
**Âḷavî,** with its districts Môgaung and Mônhyin ;
**Maṇipûra,** with its districts Kabè and Mwêyin ;
**Jêyavaḍḍhana,** with its districts Jêyavatî and Kêtumatî ;
**Tampadîpa,** with its districts Pagân, Myinzaing, Pinyà, and Avà ;

resolved to make a resplendent offering to the Pagoda, wherein were enshrined the *paribhôga* of three Buddhas, as well as the hairs of Gautama Buddha, given by him on the 49th day of his Buddhahood to the two brothers Taphussa and Bhallika, with a view that these relics should be objects of adoration by all *dêvas* and men. The King was endowed with such might and power, that any desire of his would be consummated by the co-operation of Sakra and the *dêvas*. He was desirous of placing a *t'î* covered with pure gold on the **Sàndòshin Chêtî,**[15] which is 900 *bàndaungs*[16] in perimeter, 225 in diameter, and $183\frac{3}{8}$ in height.[17]

On Sunday, the 8th waxing of the moon of Pyâsô, 1136, Sakkarâj, the King left Avà with the magnificence of Sakra, leaving the city of Mahâsudassana for the purpose of worshipping at the Chûlâmaṇi Chêtî. He was escorted by 80 battalions of land and naval forces ; by 1,600 elephants, headed by the *hàn s'inbyû* ; by 500 ponies from the royal stables, headed by the royal charger, Nàtbayinbyàn, which was four *taungs*, two *maiks*, and four *letbits* high ; by

2 [Here is a title for Ava or Avà. Mindôn named Mandalay, Ratanâpuṇṇa ; see *post*, page 28.—ED.]
3 Shwêdaung in the Prome district.
4 Padaung in the same district.
5 Bassein.
6 Now called Myaungmyà in the Bassein district.
7 Martaban.
8 Bangkok.
9 Ayudhia.
10 Labong.
11 Annam.
12 Laos.
13 Now called Mainglôngyî.
14 Kiang Hung.
15 The Shwê Dagôn Pagoda at Rangoon.
16 A *bàndaung* is equivalent to $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
17 The *British Burma Gazetteer*, II., 634, gives the measurements as 1355 ft. perimeter, and 321 ft. plus 26 ft. for *ti*, total 347 ft. height. This text gives the measurements as 1434 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch. perimeter : 355 ft. $3\frac{1}{8}$ inch diameter ; 291 ft. $11\frac{3}{8}$ inch height. There is no reconciling possible of these measurements. The base of the pagoda is in fact octagonal and not circular.—ED.

20,000 cavalry men; by other members of the four-fold army; by various tributary Sòbwâs and Myôzâs; by ministers and military commanders of different grades, who were distinguished for their birth, character, and talents; and by the members of the royal family, consisting of sons, brothers, kinsmen, queens, concubines, and attendants (of the King). The King embarked on a beautifully-wrought bejewelled raft, furnished with all regal splendour. Four white umbrellas were planted on the raft, which was surrounded by various kinds of gilt boats and other rafts. During his progress, the King was accompanied by over 200,000 infantry, cavalry, and elephants. At every stage on the journey, high festivals were held. **On Monday, the 8th of the waning moon of the same month, Prome (Pyîmyô) was reached,** and the King took up his temporary residence on the sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung.

In the 8th year of his Buddhahood, Gautama Buddha, at the solicitation of the merchants of Vâṇijjagâma in Sunâparanta, visited the sandal-wood monastery built by them, and left two impressions of his Holy Foot on the banks of the Namantâ river, for the adoration of all *dêvas* and men, including the people of the Myàn Country. On his return, he turned round the soles of his feet, and pronounced an oracle on the summit of a hill, which, in after times, was called **the Pawâ8û8daung.** The King, observing that the pagoda erected by his ancestors on that hill would not last for ever, resolved to replace it by another, which would last throughout the 5,000 years allotted by Buddha for the continuance of the Religion, and which would be an object of adoration by all men. As he was possessed of such might and power as to cause the consummation of his wishes by the co-operation of the Nàts, who watch over the Religion, and by 'Sakra and other Nàts, the *t'î* of the Digôn Sàndòshin was brought away by 'Sakra and the Nàts for the purpose of being enshrined together with images, *chêtîs*, bone-relics, and hair-relics. In order that the pagoda to be built might last throughout the 5,000 years allotted for the continuance of the Religion, its foundations were laid on a massive rock. Gold, silver, and *môgyô*[18] bricks were laid as foundation-stones, and the building of the pagoda, which was 16⅔ *bàndaungs*[19] in diameter, was begun **on Wednesday, the 9th of the waxing moon of Tabôdwè, 1136, Sakkarâj, and 2318, Anno Buddhæ.** As when King Siridhammâsôka built 84,000 pagodas, &c., **there was an eclipse of the moon on the evening of Wednesday, the 1st of the waning moon of Tabôdwè.** When the moon had become bright and clear, in the capacious receptacle-chamber were deposited great numbers of gold and silver images and *chêtîs*, bone-relics and hair-relics, and many representations of the Buddha at the Mâhabôdhisattaṭṭhâna. The building of the pagoda was finished **on the 7th day of the waning moon of Tabôdwè,** and it was named **the Nyândòmyinû.** On its completion, it was worshipped by the King, his queens, sons, daughters, brothers, kinsmen, ministers, and generals.

**The King left Prome on the 8th day of the waning moon of Tabôdwè.** He placed a golden *t'î* on the Digôn Sàndòshin Chêtî, and completely covered it with new gilding **on Wednesday, the full moon day of Tabaung.** From the date of his arrival to **the 2nd day of the waning of the moon of Tagû, 1137, Sakkarâj,** he held high festivals in honour of the pagoda and made great offerings. On his return, he reached Prome **on the 8th day of the waxing moon of Kasôn 1137, Sakkarâj.** At an auspicious hour after midnight **on Saturday, the full moon day of the same month,** the King placed a golden *t'î* on the Pô8û8daung Pagoda, and completely covered it with gilding. An offering of food and priestly requisites was made to the Royal Preceptor and a great many other monks, and festivals were held in honour of the occasion.

"For this, my good deed, may I become an Omniscient One, surpassing others in wisdom, and . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

[18] An alloy of gold and copper in proportions of half and half.

[19] This equal 29 ft. 1⅜ inches.

## NOTES.

### Obverse Face.

Line 2.—*Pâdaggê-sêlê* is a Pâḷi translation of the Burmese appellation **Pawâ̤ṡṳ̂ṡdaung**, the "foot-print hill," which is supposed to have subsequently been corrupted into **Pôṡṳ̂ṡdaung.**

According to a tradition, which is fully recorded in the *Mahâyâzawin*, Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers, Mahâpuṇṇa and Chûḷapuṇṇa, with a sandal-wood monastery situated at **Vâṇijjagâma, otherwise called Lègaing, in Suṇâparanta.**[20] The sage accepted the gift, and occupied the monastery for seven days. During his temporary residence there, he left two impressions of his left foot: one, on the top of the Thitsabàn Hill, at the solicitation of the Ṛishi Sachchhabandha (Thitsabàndà), who had been converted to Buddhism, and the other on the left bank of the Mànchaung at the solicitation of Namantâ, King of the Nâgas.

On his return, from the top of the **Pôṡṳ̂ṡdaung** Hill, where he turned the soles of his feet, Gautama Buddha saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea, which stretched to a range of hills on the east. At the same time, a mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ânanda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ânanda, after I have attained *parinirvâṇa*, and after the Religion has flourished for 101 years, five great events will happen: (1) there will be a great earthquake; (2) a great lake will appear at the Poṡṳ̂ṡ point; (3) a river, called Samôn Samyôk, will appear; (4) the Pôpâ Hill will rise up perpendicularly through the upheaval of the earth; (5) the sea will recede from the land on which **Tharêkhêttarâ** will be built in after times. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttabaung, King of Tharêkhêttarâ, from whose reign will date the establishment of my Religion in the Country of the Mrànmàs.[21]

The above tradition appears to be pregnant with historical truth. Both historical and geological evidence goes to show that the country up to **Prome**[22] was, at one time, under the sea. A hill, to the south of that town, is called to this day Akauktaung or Customs Hill, from its having been a station, where customs dues were collected from the ships that visited the port.

The following extract from Mr. Blanford's account, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. XXXI., 1862, fixes the probable age of the **Pôpâ Volcano** in the Myingyàn District of Burma:—

"The period during which Puppâ (Pôpâ) was in action was therefore, in parts at least, not later than that of the deposition of beds containing remains of Elephas, Mastodon, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, and Ruminants. The geological age of these beds has, with some doubt, been considered to be Miocene, but from their general fauna, and especially from the abundance of bones of Bos and Cervus, a more recent date may, I think, with at least equal probability, be assigned to them. There can be no question but that the fires of Puppâ have long been extinct. Its thick coating of jungle and grass, and the existence upon it of a species of plants and animals, which, for want of a suitable habitat, cannot exist in any neighbouring locality, and the evidence of the effects of sub-aërial denudation on its surface, render it certain that it must long have been in a condition for vegetation to flourish upon it; but it is scarcely possible, even in the dry climate of Upper Burma, that a volcano of Miocene age should have retained its form so perfectly. It is more probably Pliocene. Its bulk is not great, and, from the absence of other vents in the neighbourhood, so far as is known, it is scarcely probable that its volcanic activity can have extended over a lengthened geological period. I could not learn that there was the slightest tradition among the people as to its ever having been in

[20] [Both legend and inscription fix Sunâparanta as the Minbû District of Burma, but see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121, the word is apparently synonymous with the Shân Sampûralit, "to the S. E." of the Shân Country, which = (?) Champâpûr, = Cambodia. With Sampûralit compare the Sanpâpaḅet of the Inscription = the Laos country.—ED.]

[21] Mrànmà = Bamâ, the spelling and pronunciation by the Burmans of their own name.

[22] Śrîkshêtra = Sirikhêttarâma: see inscription.

## TRANSCRIPTION INTO MODERN BURMESE CHARACTERS.

### Obverse face.

(၁) နမော တဿ ဘဂဝတော အရဟတော သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓဿ။ ။အဂ္ဂံ
သေဋ္ဌံ ဇေဋ္ဌုတ္တမံ နိဗ္ဗါနသုခဒံ ဖိနံ သုစေတသာ ပသန္နေန အဟံ ဝန္ဒါမိ သာဒရံ။ ။
အဂ္ဂိန္နော သေဋ္ဌိန္နော နါထော ဇေဋ္ဌိန္နော ယေ ကော ယော

(၂) ဗုဒ္ဓေါ ဥဠုဠုဇ္ဇေ ပါဒင္ဂေ သောလေ ဌတွာနောကာသံ ဗျာကာသိ။ ။စ
တုရာသီတိသဟဿေဝိဟာရစေတီယာဒိကေ အသောကဓမ္မရာဇာ ဝ နိဓါပေတိ ဗု
ဓေ ယထာ။ ။တထေကာဃနေ သောလေယော

(၃) ပညာဝါ ပုညဝါဒယော မဟာဗ္ဗလော မဟာတေဇော မဟာယသော
သုကိတ္တိမာ။ ။သက္ကရာဇေ ဆတေျကကေ ပသွေကရာမစမ္ဗကေ ဖိနုစက္ကေ ဂတေ
ကာလေ မာဃမာသဿ ကာလကေ။ ။ပါဒိပ္ပဒဒိဝဿသ္မိံ

(၄) အဿုရိန္နော သုတံ စန္ဒံ ဂဟေတွာန ဘယာ မုတ္တော သုမင်္ဂလေ ဇယေ သော
မေ။ ။ပါဒင္ဂသေလံ သောခေတွာ ပုရေ စေတီ နဝံ ကတွာ ဒိဂုမ္ဗစေတိယာဿဿ
ပရိဘောဂဓ္ဓ ဓါဝိတံ။ ။ပုရာဏာဆတ္တကာနေတွာ ပါဒင္ဂသေလမတ္တ .

(၅) ကေဋ္ဌမသ္မိံ ဝ နိဓါပေသိ ဝိရကာလံ ဌိတာယ သော။ ။ဟိမဝန္တဿ
ဂိရင္ဂေ ဌိတဿ စေတိယာဿဿ ရတနာမယဆတ္တင္ဂံ နိဋ္ဌိတာ ရောပယိတွာန။ ။
ပဋိသောတံ အာဂန္တွာန မုနိရာမေကဝေ စ သက္ကရာဇေ ဖိနုစက္ကေ အင်္ဂေ

(၆) က ရာမစမ္ဗကေ။ ။ဝိသာခါပုဏ္ဏမိယံ ဝသောရိဝါရေ သုမင်္ဂလေ မဟာ
သဘာယံ ကတွာန ညာဏာတ်တ်မြင်ဦစိမံ နါမံရတနာမယဆတ္တင္ဂံ အာရောပယိဿ ကာရေ
သိ။ ။ဣမိနါ ပုညကမ္မေန ဗုဒ္ဓေါဟုတွာ အနာဂတေ မောဟာနိ

(၇) ဒွေ ဗဟူသတ္တေ မောဟာနိဒ္ဒါ ပဗောခေတွာ။ သန္တံ ပဏိတမစလံ သိဝံ
အဘယမဗ္ဗုတံ အဇာတိမဇရံ ခေမံ တာရေမိ နဂရံ သုခံ။ ။ဣတော ဟံ ယာဝ
ဗုဒ္ဓတ္တံ မမ တေဇံ သုတေန စ မံပသေန ပလါယန္တု သဗ္ဗဝေရာ ဘဝေ ဘဝေ။ ။

(၈) ဣတော ဟံ ယာဝ ဗုဒ္ဓတ္တံ မမ တေဇံ သုတေန စ မံ ပသေန အာ
ဂစ္ဆန္တု သဗ္ဗလါဘာ ဘဝေ ဘဝေ။ ။သဗ္ဗေ သဒ္ဓေဝကာ လောကာ မာတာပိတာ
ဒိညာတကာ လဘန္တု မေ သမံ ပုညံ ဟဋ္ဌတုဋ္ဌာ နုမောဒထ။ ။ဒါနံ ဒဒန္တု ယေ
သတ္တာ သမ္ဗါရဇ္ဇာ

(၉) န္တု သာသနံ သိရိဘောဂါ ပဝဍ္ဎေန္တု သုခီ ဘဝန္တု ဇန္တုနော။ ။
အောင်ပန်ကြက်သရေ ရွှန်ရွှန်ဝေပိမ့် သချၟာ်နှစ်ဆယ် စွန်ကယ်အမွန် တသိန်လွန်
သး ကျိဝ်နှန်ဆင့်ဆင့်၊ တမ်ခွန်လွှင့်သိဝ့် ပည့်ဖြင့်ကာလ နိမိတ်ရလျှက် နန္ဒစသည့် ခု

(၁၀) နှစ်မည့်ဖြင့် မြင့်ရှည်တွက်ရေ တိုင်မွဲနေသး သချၟ်အပြး ထိုဝ်သည့်
မျှးတွင် ရှေမျှးစွင့်စွင့် ခါချိန်သင့်ရုယ် ပွင့်တ်မူကြ ဖြပ္ပဒေဝ ရှင်စဝ် စသည့် ရေထ
တွက်ကိန် တသိန်နှစ်သောင် အပေါင်ငးထောင် မြှတ်မာန်အောင်နို

(၁၁) ကဲ ဘုန်ခေါင်အကျိ တိုဝ့်ရှင်တဲသည် မနော်ဆွဆွ ဝိနွဲတဖြင့် ဗုဒ္ဓဆု

ယူ ပန်တ်မူရုယ် တူဘက်မရ နိူင်မမျှသဝ် မြတ်လှာသဒ္ဒါ စေတနာဖြင့် မဟာဒါန ပေ လှူချုရုယ် ရတ်မူသဝ် အောင်သူတကာ မြတ်မြတ်စွာတိုဝ့် ဒေသနာမိန့်သံ

(၁၂) ဘိသေကံဖြင့် ခံတ်မူပြီး အစည်မြိုးမှ သဗ္ဗာဘဒ္ဒ စသည်အနေ ကိုသချိုး နိူက် ရောင်ဝေလူလူ သုမ်ဘုမ်သူတိုဝ့် မှန်ကူသင်ကျစ် မျက်နစ်တန်ဆာ ဆင်ထိုက် ရာဖြင့် ပေါရာဏသကျ စသည့်ရှင်တ် ပွင့်စင်မြဲရုယ် ရေသ်တွက်ကိန် သုမ်

(၁၃) သိန်ရှစ်သောင် မြတ်ပေါင်ခုနစ်ထောင် ငးမာန်အောင်တိုဝ့် တန်ဆောင် နေလ ထွန်ဝင်ပသိုဝ့်(လေါ)ကာတမ်ခွန် အတန်တန်နိူက် အလွန်ကြိုက်မြဲ တိုဝ့်ရှင်တ် သည့် ဧှသ်ကထက် ဆဆတက်ရုယ် နှစ်သက်အင်ရွှဲ မရောင့်

(၁၄) ရဲလျှင် ဖန်လဲမွှက်ချီ မြတ်ဝစီဖြင့် မဟီတလ မြေမျှးဦးစွန် ဗေါဓိနန် နိူက် သုမ်ခန်လောက ဗိုရသာမိ မုနိဘုန်ထင် ဖြစ်လိုချင်ဟု ကြည်ရွှင်ဆုယူ ပန်တ်မူ လျက် လှူရေစက်နှင့် သမြွက်ဟောဘ် တရးတ်ကိုဝ် က်ရဲညွှတ်နူး တင်

(၁၅) ခွဲ့ဖူးမှ (သေလစ)သည့် လေမည်အနေ ထိုဝ်သချိုနိူက် တွက်ရေတံ ဆိပ် တကျိပ်နှစ်စင် တဏက်ရာအဦး မြတ်ဘုန်ထူးတိုဝ့် ချိုးကျူးဘဝက် ကျွှန်တက် ရုယ် ပွင့်ဆက်စည်လါ မြတ်သုမ်ဖြာတွင် တိုဝ့်ချစ်ရှင်သည့် သနံ့

(၁၆) စင်ကြည်ပြူ ပေးလှူရွှင်လန် ပန်(သာ)မည ဘိသေကကိုဝ် ပန်ရသည့် နောက် ကိုပးမျှောက်တွင် ဒိပက်ရါ လက်ဦးစွာဖြင့် မင်္ဂလါရောင်ညီး ဘိသိက်ကြီးကိုဝ် အဖြိုးရေါက်အောင် ပေဆောင်မည်ခါ တိုဝ့်မြတ်စွာသည် အဂ်ါပုည

(၁၇) ပြည့်ရုံမ်လှာရုယ် ကာယဝါစာ ပဏ္ဏနာဖြင့် သဒ္ဒါပြုမောက် ရှင်တ်မျှောက် ဝယ် နင်းလျှောက်တန်တး ခင်သောအးနှင့် စွန်စးကိုယ်သက် ကုသိုလ်စက်ကြောင် ဘဝက်ဝိဝိ နှံ့သိန္တလူ ထိန့်ရိုက်ဆူသး မှန်ကူမျက်ရှင် ဒိပက်ရာ

(၁၈) မြတ်စွာဘုန်ထူး ဘိသိက် ကျူးရုယ် လက်ဦးခံရ ဝိသေသဖြင့် မွှက်ဟာ သည့်နောက် ရှစ်ပးမျှောက်ဝယ် ထပ်ဈေါက်ဆင့်ဆင့် ဘိသိက်မြှင့်မှ ကပ္ပတွက်ရေ တသိန်နေတွင် ပြောင်ဝေရွှန်ရွှန် တိုက်သုမ်ခန်ကို ပထွန်လင်

(၁၉) ရောင် မိးရှူထောင်သိုဝ့် ဘုန်ခေါင်အကျဲ တုမမြဲသည့် လိကာစကွ၊ သဗ္ဗ ညုဟု ပဒုမုတ္တရာ လက်ဦးစွာဖြင့်သစ္စာပင်ထး(တ)ကျိပ်ငးစင်မာန်အောင်မြင်သော်သုမ် ခွင်ဗိုမည် တိုဝ့်ဘုန်စည်ထည့် မြတ်သည့်နှင်နှင် သုမ်ခွင်ဖလါက

(၂၀) ဗိုရထွတ်ထး ရှင်ချစ်မျှးကို မျက်ဝးတွေ့မြဲ ကြိုကြိုက်တ်ရုယ် လိကဗ နူ့ သဗ္ဗညူတိုဝ့် အတုမမြဲ ဘိသိက်ကျဲကိုဝ် နူတ်တ်တွတ်တွတ် ကြွမ်ကြွမ်ရွတ်လျက် သံ မြတ်သာဇ ဆင့်ကာပေသဝ် မမေ့မိုက်မျှောင် လင်လင်ပြောင်

(၂၁) သး ဘုန်ခေါင်အကျဲ မြတ်ရှင်တ်ကိုဝ် ရေသ်တွက်ကိန် သချာထိန်သင် ငးသိန်တသောင် အပေါင်နှစ်ထောင် ပြောင်ပြောင်စက်ရိပ် နှစ်ကျိပ်ခုနစ် မြတ်ရှင်ချစ် ဝယ် သစ်သစ်ဆင့်လေါင် မြတ်ဆုတောင်ရုယ် အဟောင်စွင့်စွ

(၂၂) ငှ် ဘိသိက်မြှင့်လျက် ယခင့်ကမ္ဘါ စည်တိုင်လါမှ သချာနှစ်ဆယ် ပြည့် လျှမ်ကြွယ်ရုယ် စွန် ကယ်(တသိန်) တွက်ကိန်လွန်မှ ဆုံးဘဝနိူက် ပြည်မျှးထွတ်ချာမ ဟာနဂရ ကမ္ဗိလတွင် ရာဇဝံသာ ဆက်ကာကာဖြင့် နွယ်လါမျိုဘ် ဆက်တိုင်ပျို

(၂၃) သး သုဒ္ဓေါဒန ပွေ့ဘာရော်ဇာ မါယာမိခင် တောင်နန်ရှင်၏ ဝမ်တွင်ဆယ်လ ကိန်ပြီးမှလျှင် မွေ့မြသင်ထုံ ပန်မျိုးရုံသား ရဂုံသာဖမော အင်ကြင်တောတွင် လေါကတမ်ခွန် မိုးရှုလွှန်မှ ယမန်ရှေ့ခါ မင်မျိုးစွာတို့ စံရာမထိုက် အောင်

(၂၄) မြိုက်ကြက်သရေ ရဝေထွန်ပြောင် နန်သုမ်ဆောင်နှိုက် အခေါင်မှန်ကင် သည်ရင်မျိုတ် ဆက်တိုင်ပျံသည် ယသောဓရော ရံမျှး(စွာ)နှင့် ချမ်သာရွှင်ပြို နှစ်ဆယ်ကိုလျှင် မင်မျိုမတန် စည်စိမ်လွှန်ကိုဝ် တဖန်မညောင် စံပြီးနှောင်

(၂၅) မှ တောသိုဝ်ကြွလည် ဒုက္ခစရိယာ ခြောက်နှစ်ကြာလျှင် စေ့ရာတွင်နှိုက် သိထင်ပြက်ပြက် မ(ယွင်ကွက်)သး အိမ်မက်ငးပး နိမိတ်ကြးရယ် ရိသောက်နေ့တွင် စုံစေ့အင်္ဂါ ဓမ္မတာဖြင့် သူဇာလျှ(ကမ်နိုဝ်)သစ်ဆွမ်ကို ငြိမ်ချမ်

(၂၆) ရေစ ထက်ဝယ်လှလျက် သတ္တသတ္တာ လုပ်ရေကာလျှင် မြိန်စွာလွေ့လျှော့ဘုန်ပေ ပြီးမှ ထိုနေ့ညတွင် စိမ်မြရဂုံ ပန်မျိုးရုံသား ရိပ်မြုံပင်လျှည့် ပန်ဥယာဥ်နှိုက် ဘွးစည်ခဏ တူတကွလျှင် မြေမှည္ဒွန့်ညောက် ပေါ်

(၂၇) ဟ့ါယောက်သး ထက်ပြက်နတ်လူ သုမ်ဘုမ်သူတို့ ဆယ်ဆူလက်ရှက် ဥဲတင်ရွက်ရယ် စုံမက်(မြတ်)နို ရှိညွှတ်ကျိုလျက် ဂ္ဂိခိုဝန္ဓနာ ပြုထိုက်စွာသဝ် မင်္ဂလါအောင်မြေ လယ်ချက်ပွေ့နှိုက် ညွှန့်ဝေလန်လန် ဗေါဓိနန်သိုဝ် နတ်ညွှန်လမ်မ ချီလေကြွသ်

(၂၈) သုန္ဒိယကြည်ပြု မြက်ဆုပ်လှူရယ် အောင်သူမျးမင် အောင်တပ်နှင်မှ အောင်ခင်မြေရာ ပလ္လင်သာထက် မြဲစွာခိုင်လုံ ဓိဋ္ဌာန်ကုံလျက် ပြည့်စုံမည်ခါ မါရ်နတ်လါရယ် လက်ယာလက်ဝဲ မိုထဲကောင်ကင် ရှေ့ပြင်နောက်နေ မျးမိုလ်ခြေ

(၂၉) နှင့် လွင့်လေခနို့နို စစ်မက်ထိုလည် မပိုမြို့မှ နေဝင်ညတွင် ခဏလွယ်ကူ အောင်တ်မူရယ် ထိုညည့်နေ့တွင် ကုန်စင်ကိလေ ရန်လုမ်ကြွေလျက် နေအရုဏ်လါ ရောင်ခြည်ဖြာသ် သစ္စာလေတန် သဗ္ဗညာဏ်ကို မကျန်မကြွင် သိ

(၃၀) ထိုတွင်ရယ် သုမ်ကွင်တိုက်ဘုံ အလုမ်စုံနှိုက် ကျော်ဟုံအနှုမ့် ဂုဏ်တ်ပျမ့်သ် ကြးလွှမ့်နတ်လူ ရှိညွှတ်မူဖြင့် ကြည်(မြို)နှစ်သက် ဥဲတင်ရွက်သး ဘုန်ကြက်သရေ မြိုတေလျှံဝင် တရးမင်၏ စက်ရင်ရွှေမှောက် ချိန်မရောက်ရယ် တထောက်

(၃၁) ငံ့လင့် ကြိတုံနှင့်လည် ရှင်ပင့်ကိုယ်တူ မခြးမူဖြင့် နောက်လူတကာ သတင်နာရယ် အောင်ခြာ ပြည့်မြတ် လိုက်ကြလတ်ဟု ဘုန်ထွတ်မိန့်ဖြွက် ဗျာဒိတ်စက်ဖြင့် ခန့်တွက်ပိုင်ခြး ထးတ်မူအပ်သဝ် အလွှန်ထွန်ဝင်စည်ပင်လှစွာသဝ်

(၃၂) အမ့်ဘွယ်ရှစ်ပးနှင့် ပြည့်စုံစွာသဝ် သာသနာတ်အတွင်တမူလည့်ဖြစ်ထသဝ်၊ သာမျမစွ္စာသခါ ကောသော အစရှိသဝ်ဂါထာနှင့်အညီ ရတုသုမ်(တန်) ဖျှဟန်ထူးဆန် နေသိုဝ့်ထွန်သဝ် ရွှေနန်သခင် ပြည်ရှင်မင်မြတ် မှူးမတ်နိုင်ဘက်

(၃၃) မိတ်ဆက်ခင်ပွန် မျးလွှန်ကျိကြ ခဲလှကျုံမြောင် တန်ဆောင်ပြအိုဝ် ပြည့်ပြိုနိုင်ငံ (ပ)တ်ရံပြည်ရွာ မိုလ်ပါဆင်မြင် လုမ်ရင်မြောက်မြး ဤသိုဝ့်အားဖြင့် ထင်ရှားနှမ့်သိ ပြည်ကြီးအင်္ဂါလက္ခဏာတို့နှင့်လည်ပြည့်စုံစွာထသဝ် သုနာပရန္တ တမ္ဗဒိပ

(၃၄) ကမ္ဗောဇဟု စသည့်ဒှန်လှိုင် ဆယ်ခြောက်တိုင်က ခွန်သဆက်ရာ မုတ္တာ မဏိ ဝေဠုရိယ ပဝါဠသီလါ သင်္ခါ ရဇတ သုဝဏ္ဏ လောဟိတင်္ဂါ မသာရကန် မြတ်မွန်ဆယ်ဖြာ ရတနာအပေါင်တို့၏တည်ရာစင်စစ်တမူလည်ဖြစ်ထသတ်

(၃၅) ကောင်မြတ်စုံမက် တောင်တလျက်လျှင် နှစ်သက်ရိုကျို မြတ်နိုတနာ ပြုအပ်စွာသတ် သဝိညာဏက အဝိညာဏက ထိုပ်မျှရတနာ ပြည့်စုံမ် ရါကြောင့် ရတနါပူရ ရွှဝမြို့ကြီး ပြည့်မျှးထီးဟု ဝေနိးမျက်နှာ ထင်စွာထွန်ပ

(၃၆) ကျိပေါက်ပြသတ် ရာဇဌာနီ မင်နေပြည်ကြီး ရွှေနန်ကြီးဝယ် ရွှထီးရိပ်ဖြူ ဘွင့်တ်မူရှယ် ဇမ္ဗူဒိပ်ခွင် မြေအပြင်ထက် ထွန်ထင်လတူ ထီးဖြူရာစင် ဆောင်ကုန်သတ် မင်တို့ကိုပ်ရွှစက်တ်စုံအောက်(ရောက်လါစေ၍)

(၃၇) ဘုန်တ်ပညာအာဏာ ......................................................
အောင်သူတကာတို့၏အထွတ်ဖြစ်သတ် ဘုရးသခင်သာသနါတ်မြတ် (ကိုမရေ) မထွက်နိုင် မျှးမြတ်စွာဖြည့်ဆောင်တ်မူသ်လည်............

## Reverse face.

(၁) ဘုရးအဖြစ်သိုဝ့်ရောက်တ်မူရှယ် ၄၆ ရက်စေ့ဝယ် ခပ်သိမ်ကုန်သတ်နတ်လူတို့၏ ကိုကွယ်ဆုယူရာ(ဖြစ်စိမ့်သတ်)ဌါ (တဖုဿ)ဘလ္လိကကုန်သည်ညီအစ်ကိုအား ပေအပ်တ်မူသတ်(ဆံ)တ်မြတ်နှင့်

(၂) (အ)ကွဥဆူသတ်ဘုရးသခင်၏ ပရိဘောဂစေတီကိုပ် တည့်ထးထာပနာသတ် ဆံတ်ရှင်စေတီအား ထူးပြးကြီးကျယ်(ဆန်းကြယ်စွာဘန်ရှယ် ငါသာ)ဒြိမြင့်ရအမ့်ဟု ကြံတ်မူလျှင် ဘုန်တ်စီရင် မြေ(င)လျှင်သည်

(၃) (လှူ)ပ်သတ်အား သိကြားနတ်တို့မစသဖြင့် အလိုတ်ပြည့် ရသတ်ဘုန်တ်မြတ်နှင့်ပြည့်စုံမ်တ်မူထသတ်။ ။ကလေ တိန်ညင် (ယတ် ထီးလင်) စလင် စကု စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရါ သုနာပရန္တတိုင်။ဥဒေတရစ် ပန်တော်

(၄) (စသ) တ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏ တည်ရာ သီရိခေတ္တရာ မတိုင်။ ကုသိမ် ရောင်မြရတ္တမ ပဲကူ စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရါ ရာမည္ညတိုင်။ ဒွါ(ရ)ဝတိ ယိုတယား ကမန်ပိုက် စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာအယုတ္တယတိုင်။ဇင်မ

(၅) (ယ် လ)ပုန်ပြည် (အနံ) စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာဟရိပုဉ္စတိုင်။စန္ဒပူရီ စမ္ပါပါသက် မိုင်လုံ စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာလဝရဋ္ဌတိုင်။ ကျိုင်တုံ ကျိုင်ခေါင် စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာခေမာဝရတိုင်။ကျိုင်ရုံ

(၆) (မိုင်း)စွဲ စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာဇေါတိနဂရတိုင်။မိုနဲ ညောင်ရွှေသိပေါ် မိုမိတ် စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရါကမ္ဗောဇတိုင်။မိုကုပ် ကျတ်ပြင် စသတ်ပြည့်ကြီးတို့၏တည့်ရါမဟီသကတိုင် ပန့်မ် ကောင်စင် စသတ်

(၇) (ပြည်)ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာစိန်တိုင်။မိုကောင် မိုညှင် စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာအာဠဝီတိုင်။ ကာသည် မွေယင် စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာမဏိပူရတိုင်။ ဓေယျာဝတီ ကေတုမတီ စသတ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့၏တည်ရာဇေယ

(၈) (ဝဠျ)နတိုင်။ ပုဂံ မြင်စိုင် ပင်ယာ အင်ဝ စသဝ်ပြည်ကြီးတို့ဝ်၏တည်ရာ တမ္ဗဒီပ တိုင်တည်ဟူသဝ် တိုင်ကြီး တဆယ်ခြောက်တိုင် တို့ဝ်၏ သခင် အ ပြည် ပြည် ထောင်သဝ်ထီး ဆောင်မင်တိုဝ်၏သခင် ရွှေတွင် ငွေတွင် ပတ္တမြားတွ်

(၉) (သခင်) ဟံဆင်ဖြူရတနာ စသဝ်မျိုးစွာသဝ်ဆင်ဖြူသခင်ဖြစ်တ်မူသဝ် ဘုန်တ်အလွှန်ကြီးမြတ်တ်မူလှသဝ် ဆင်ဖြူသခင် အသျှင်ဘဝ ရှင်မင်တရားကြီးသည် အလုမ်စုံမ်ပြီးပြေသဝ် အဝန်အားဖြင့် သံတောင် ၉ ဝ ဝ်ရှိသဝ်

(၁၀) (အချ)င် ၂ ၂ ၅ ရပ်တ်ဘဂဝ်ႋရှိသဝ် ဆံတ်ရှင်စေတီတ်အား ရွှေစင်အတိမ္မမ် မံရုယ် ရွှေထီးရတနာတင်လှူတ်မူအန္တ့သဝ်၌ါ မျိုးစွာသဝ်ကြည်ရေတပ်ပေါင်ရှစ်ဆယ် တွင် ဟံဆင်ဖြူရတနာ

(၁၁) (စသဝ်) စီးတ်ပေါက် ဟိုင်ဟံ တည်တံ ဆင်ဖြူ ဆင်နီနှင့်အကွ ပတ် ယတ် ပြည့်ရမ်သဝ် ဆင်တ်ပေါက်မ ၁၆၀၀ အတိုင်ၚ်ႋၚံရှိသဝ်နတ်သယာည်ပျံအ မည်ရှိသဝ်မြင်တ်နှင့်အကွစီးတ်မြင်ငါး

(၁၂) (ရာ) နေ့ဘက်တ်ပါသဝ်မြင်စီးသူရဲနှင့်အကွ မြင်၂၀၀၀၀ကျေ် စသဝ်မျိုး စွာသဝ် စစ်အင်္ဂါ၄ပါးစီစည်ခင်ကျင်ရုယ် အပြည်ပြည်ထောင်သဝ် ထီးဆောင်စော် ဖွားမြို့စးတို့ကိုဝ်နေ့ါက်တ်သို့လိုက်

(၁၃) စေသဖြင့် မြတ်မြင့်မျိုဝ်မည် ဂုဏ်အင်္ဂါညီညွှတ်သဝ် အဂ္ဂမဟာသေနာ ပတိ အတွင်သေနာပတိ ပြည်ကြီးစွယ်သွား မှူးမျှးမတ်ရာ ဗိုလ်ပါသူရဲ သူခက်တည် ဟူသဝ်အမစ္စဗလ။ညာတိဗလတည်

(၁၄) ဟူသဝ် သးတ် ညီတ် ဆွေတ် မျိုဝ့်တ် မင်မိဖုရး မောင်မမိသံ ခြွေရံကြီး ကျယ်စွာ မဟာသုဒဿနမြို့ဝ်မှ ရုဋ္ဌာမဏိစေတီတ်အား ပူဇ္ဇာသွားသဝ်သိကြွားနတ်မင် ၏တင့်တယ်ခြင်ကဲ့သို့ဝ် အလွှန်တင့်တယ်စွါ

(၁၅) ရတနာပူရရွှေဝမြို့ဝ်တ်ကြီးမှ သက္ကရာဇ်၁၁၃၆ခု ပြာသိုလဆန် ဂံ ၁ နေ့ အ လွှန်လျှင်ဆန်ကြယ်လှသဝ် ရတနာရွှေဘောင်တ်ကြီးဝယ် မင်ခမ်စုံမ်နှင့်အကွရတနာ ထီးဖြူတ်၄စင်ဗိုက်လျှက် အရံရွှေလှေ

(၁၆) ရွှေလော်င် လှော်ကား ထက်သင် ကုလ္လပ် သမ္ဗန် သက္ကဒန် ရဲလှေ ဓလါး (လါ)ကပင် ကြီး ငယ်သားရဲရုပ်လှေစသဝ်မျိုးစွာသဝ် ရွှေလှေ ရွှေဘောင် အသိန်နှစ် လီမကများလှသဝ် ဆင်မြင်ဗိုလ်ပါအပေါင်နှင့်ချီတ်မူရုယ်

(၁၇) ကွန်တ်ထောက်စံတ်မူတိုင် ပွဲတ်သဘင်စုံမ်ခံတ်မူသည် လံ ကောင်ပြာသို လပြည့်ကျေ် ဂံ ၂နေ့ပြည်မြို့ဝ်သို့ဝ်ရေါက်တ်မူရုယ် နဝင်ချောင်ဥ္ သောင်ကြီးကွန်နန်တ် တွင် စံတ်မူသည်။ ။ဘုရးသခင်သည်ရှစ်ဝါမြေ့ံ

(၁၈) ကဝ်ဝယ် သုနာပရန္တတိုင် ဝါနိဇ္ဇဂါမကုန်သည်တို့ဝ်ဆောက်လှူသဝ်နံ့သာ ကျောင်တ်သို့ဝ် ကြွရောက်တ်မူသဝ်အခါ မြန်တိုင်သူတို့မှစရုယ် နတ်လူအ(ပေါင်ကို) ကွယ်ဝိမ္မ့၌ါ နမ္မဒါမြစ်နးဝယ် စက်တ်ရာ၂ဆူ

(၁၉) ချထားတော်မူပြီး။ရွှေစက်စုံမြတ်ဘဝါးတော်ဦးလှည့်ရုယ် ကြွရောက်တော်မူလျှင် ဗျာဒိတ်တော်မြတ်ကြားရာ ဘဝါးဦးတောင်ထိပ်ထက် ရှေ့ဘေလောင်းတော်တို့တည်ထားသစ် စေတီသည် ထာဝရ

(၂၀) (ပ)မါဏာမရှိသည်ကိုဝ် မြင်တော်မူရုယ် သာသနာတင်းထောင်စေ့အောင် တည်ရုယ် ခပ်သိမ်ကုန်သဝ် သူတို့အစည်ကိုကွယ်ရာဥဒါန်ကျေဖူးမေါ်ကွန့်ထွန်စိမ့် သည်ဟု

(၂၁) (ကြီ)တော်မူလျှင် သာသနာတော်စောင့်သောနတ် သိကြားနတ်တို့ သည်ကြည့်ရှုမစ ညီညာရသော ဘုန်တော် မြတ်အားဖြင့် အလိုတော် အတိုင် ပြည့်ရ သောအား သိကြားနတ်

(၂၂) (တို)ဝ့်ဘန်ဆောင်ပိုဝ့်ရသော ဒိဂုံဆံတော်ရှင်ထီးတော်ပရိဘောဂနှင့်အ ကွ သာရီရိကရုပ်တုစေတီ ဓာတ်တော်မွေတော်မြတ်များစွာထာပနာရုယ် သာသနာ ငါးထောင်

(၂၃) (တ)ည်စိမ့်သော၌ တခဲနက်ကြီးစွာသောကျောက်တောင်ကိုဝ်စနစ်စေ ရုယ် သာသနာတော်နှစ်ထောင် သုမ်ရာ တဆယ် ရှစ်နှစ် သက္ကရာဇ်၁၁၃၆ခုတပိုဝ့်တွဲလ ဆန်ကိုရက်

(၂၄) (ဗုဒ္ဓ)ဟူးနေ့အချင်သံ ၁၆၇ဟိသောစေတီတော်ကိုဝ် ရတနာရွှေအခုတ် ငွေအခုတ် မိုကြိုဝ်အခုတ်တိုဝ့်ဖြင့်စရုယ်တည်လုပ်စေရုယ် များစွာသောထာပနာတိုက် တော်ကြီး

(၂၅) (ဝ)ယ် သိရိဓမ္မာသောကမင်သည်စေတီ ၈၄၀၀၀ ကိုဝ်တည်သောအခါ ကယ့်သိုဝ့် လံကောင်တပိုဝ့်တွဲလပြည့်ကျော်တရက်ပုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့ညလေချက်တီးကျော် တွင် လ

(၂၆) (နှ)တ်သားကိုဝ် ရာဟုမည်သောအသူရိန်နတ်သားသည် စွဲဘမ်ရုယ် ဘေမှလွတ်သောအခါတွင် မျုးမြတ်လှစွာသဝ်ရွှေရုပ်တုငွေရုပ်တုရွှေစေတီငွေစေတီမွေ တော်ဓာတ်တ်

(၂၇) (အ)ဆူဆူများမြတ်စွာ မဟာဗောဓိသတ္တ၌ါနနှင့်အကွ ထာပနာရုယ် များစွာသော အလုမ်အရင် မင်မိဖုရး မင်သား မင်သမီး ညီတော် သားတ် ဆွေတ်· မျိုတော် မှူးမတ်

(၂၈) ဗိုလ်ပါတိုဝ့်နှင့်အကွ ဘူးမြင် ပဇော်တ်မူသော ညာဏ်တော်မြင်ဦး ကမ္ဘည်တပ်တော်မူသောစေတီတော်သည် တပိုဝ်တွဲလပြည်ကျော်ခုနစ်ရက်နေ့အလုမ် စုံမ်ပြီး

(၂၉) သည် တပိုဝ်တွဲလပြည်ကျော်ရှစ်ရက်နေ့ပြည်မြိုဝ့်မှချီတ်မူရုယ် တပေါင် လပြည့်ဗုဒ္ဓဟူနေ့ ဒိ ဂုံဆံတ်ရှင်စေတီတ်မြတ်အား ရွှေတီးရတနါတင်လှူတ်မူသည် ရွှေ

(၃၀) စင်အတိမွမ်မံတော်မူသည့် ရောက်စံတော်မူသည်မှစရုယ် သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၃၇ခု တန်ခူးလပြည့်ကျော်နှစ်ရက်နေ့တိုင် ကြီးစွာသောပွဲသဘင်စုံမ်ပဇ္ဇော်တော် မူရုယ် အလှူ

(၃၁) ကြီးကိုင်ပေတော်မူပြီးလျှင် ရွှေစက်တော်မြတ်ပြန်လှည့်ချီတ်မူရှယ်သက္ကရာဇ်၁၁၃၇ ခုကဆုန်လဆန်း ၅ ရက်နေ့ ပြည်မြို့သို့ရောက်စံတော်မူသည်။ လံကောင်ကဆုန်

(၃၂) လပြည့်စနေနေ့ညည့်နှစ်ချက်တီးကျော်အခါတော်တွင် ရွှေထီးတင်တော်မူသည် ရွှေစင်အတိမွမ်မံတော်မူသည် ဆရာတော်မြတ်နှင့်အကွမျးစွာသောသဃ်ာတော်တို့အား

(၃၃) ဆွမ်ဘောဇည်ပရိက္ခရာ အသုံးအဆောင်မျးစွာလှူတ်မူသည် (ပွဲသဘင်ပု)ဇွော်တော် (မူသည်) ။ထိုသို့မြတ်လှစွာသင်ဉ်ကောင်းမှုတ်ကြောင့်ပညာဝိကာဘုရးသဗ္ဗညုဆုကိုဝ်ပြည့်စုမ်၍

(၃၄) ခပ်သိမ်.... .... .... .... .... ....အားတရးတည်ဟူသင်မြိန်မြတ်.... .... .... .... .... .... သမ္ဘါသမ္ဘုဒ္ဓ အဖြစ်သို့မရေါက်မီဘဝဆက်တိုင်လူဖြစ်သ်လည်လူတ .... .... .... .... .... .... ....

(၃၅) .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... ....
... .... .... .... .... ကဲသိုဝ်လူမင်နတ်မင်အဖြစ်ကိုဝ်ရတ်မူစေသဝ်။ ဉ်ကောင်းမှုအဘို့ကိုလည့်

(၃၆) .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... ....
... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... လှသဝ်သာသနာဒါယကာထ.... .... .... ....

(၃၇) .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... ....
.... .... .... .... .... .... ... .... .... အဂ္ဂဝအနန္တော .... .... .... ....

action within the memory of man, a circumstance, on the grounds mentioned, extremely improbable. The occurrence, on the summit, of the common brakes, and doubtless of other plants of temperate regions, renders it probable that the close of the glacial period found its surface in a fit state to support vegetation."

Line 3. — **The Jinachakka or Anno Buddhæ,** corresponding to the year of **Sakkarâj or vulgar era,** is indicated throughout the inscription by mnemonic words used in astrology. The method of expressing numerals by means of words is also a South-Indian practice, which is fully described at pages 57—59 of Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography.* It may be noted that the Burmans reckon their Era of Religion from 544 B. C., the year, according to them of the *parinirvâṇa* of Gautama Buddha.

Line 4. — **The Digumpachêtî** of the Pâḷi appears to be a translation of the **Dagôn Chêtî,** now called the **Shwê Dagôn**[23] the celebrated pagoda of Rangoon. The correct appellation should be **Tikumbhachêtî** according to pages 16-17 of Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma. I., The Shwê Dagôn Pagoda.*

### Reverse Face.

Line 2. — It is the belief of the Buddhists of Burma that the Shwê Dagôn Pagoda contains the relics of the four successive Buddhas of this Bhaddakappa, namely, the water strainer of Kakusandha, the bathing-robe of Kôṇâgamana, the staff of Kassapa, and eight hairs of Gautama.

Lines 3 — 8. — The division of the Burmese Empire under S'inbyûyin into sixteen states or provinces is interesting, as it illustrates the substitution of classical names of India for native appellations. See Appendix **B** to Yule's *Mission to Ava* for similar classification effected during the reign of Þâlun Mindayâ in 1636 A. D.[24]

Line 7. — **Kaþèmwêyin** is the Burmese appellation for **Maṇipur.** Sir Arthur Phayre derives **Mwêyin** from Moraṅga or Moriya, and identifies it with the Kubô Valley in the Upper Chindwin District (*Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal,* Vol. XXXIII. page 15). In the *Mahâyâzawin* it is stated that Dhajarâjâ, a king of the Sakya race, settled here, after his expulsion from Northern India about the middle of the 6th century B. C. Upper Pagân was built by him. He married Nâgachhinna, the Queen of Bhinnaka, the last of the Tagaung kings, who, on his expulsion by the Tâtârs, fled to Malè and died there. On the destruction of the Tagaung dynasty the people were divided into three divisions and one emigrated to the Shân States; the second to the country of the Pyûs and Kànràns, over which Muduchitta, son of Kànrâjâgyî, had formerly ruled as king; and the third remained at Malè with Nâgachhinna. **The finding among the ruins of Tagaung of terra cotta tablets, bearing Sanskṛit legends,** affords some corroboration to the statement of the native historians that, long before Anòrat'àzò's conquest of Þatôn in the 11th century A. D., **successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India had passed through Maṇipûr to the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy, and that these emigrants brought with them letters, religion and other elements of civilization.**

Line 8. — **Jêyavaḍḍhana** is the classical name of the ancient kingdom of **Toungoo** (Taung-ngû).

Line 9. — The Hàn S'inbyû, or the white elephant called Hàn, was one of the animals, from the possession of which King S'inbyûyin (Lord of the White Elephant) derived the title, by which he is known in history.

Line 11. — The charger called the Nàtþayinbyàn, which is described, in the language of exaggeration, as being 4 *taungs,* 2 *maiks,* and 4 *letþits,* or nearly 22 hands high, appears to be an animal presented by foreigners. A Burman pony rarely exceeds 13 hands.

[23] [As a contribution to the orthography of this word I may note that a French traveller of 1786 calls it 'la pagoda de Digon.' See *Taung-Pao,* Vol. II, p. 397 ff. Forchhammer's conclusions are, I think wrong. At any rate they are not actually supported by any authoritative document I have yet seen. — ED.]

[24] [Mindôn named some of the quarters of Mandalay by Pâḷi names.—ED.]

Line 15.—**Ratanâpûra,** is the classical name of **(Ava)** Awâ or Iṅwâ, or Shwê Wâ, 'the golden entrance,' as it is called in the language of poetry and song. It was founded by Þadôminbyâ in 1364 A. D., its site being selected for its strategic position at the confluence of the Myi(t)ngè and Irrawaddy rivers, and for the swampy nature of the ground on its open face. Ava was the capital of Burma Proper for nearly five centuries. It witnessed the Chinese and Shàn invasions, the desperate struggle for supremacy between the Burmans and the Talaings, and lastly a British army advance within four marches and dictate its own terms to Bâgyîdò at Yàndabô. Through its antiquity as the capital of Burma, it is better known among the neighbouring nations than Shwêbô, Sagaing, Amarapûra, or Mandalay. Even to this day, the seat of the Burmese Government is known to the Chinese as Awâ, and the Shâns call the Burmese king 'Khun hò khâm Âwà,' the Lord of the golden palace of Ava.

Line 17.—The sand-bank at the mouth of the Nawinchaung, where S'inbyûyin took up his temporary residence, may be seen to this day.

Line 18.—**Mrànotaing? means the country of the Myàn.** Sir Arthur Phayre derives **Mrànmà** from Brahmâ (see page 2 of his *History of Burma*). The exact derivation and meaning of the designation, by which the Burmans are known, have not yet been settled. **The term Mrànmà is not met with in Burmese history till the First Century A. D.** In Marco Polo's *Travels*, **Burma is referred to as the kingdom of Mien.** The Burmans are known among the Chinese as the Mien, and among the Shâns as the Mân, the same appellation by which the Mongols are known among the Chinese. In the accounts of Burma written **in Pâḷi the country is known as Marammadêsa.** If Sir Arthur Phayre's derivation is correct, it is difficult to justify the action of the learned priests of the 14th and 15th centuries in making use of the barbarous appellation Maramma in lithic inscriptions as well as in literary works, while they had the familiar term Brahmâ for their national designation.[25]

The various theories on the subject are thus summarized in the *British Burma Gazetteer* (Volume I. pages 141—142).

"The name by which the Burmans call themselves is Myàmmà or Mràmmà, commonly pronounced Byàmmâ or Bam-mâ (Bamâ). Mr. Hodgson appears to conclude that the appellatian can be traced to the native name for 'man': Sir Arthur Phayre that it is derived from Brahmâ, signifying 'celestial beings,' and was not adopted till after the introduction of Buddhism and after several tribes had been united under one chief: and Bishop Bigandet that it is another form, or a corruption, of Mien, a name the Burmans brought with them from the Central Asian plateau."

Line 32.—The Royal Preceptor was the Atulà Sayâdò, whose full title was Mahâtulayasadhammarâjaguru. He was the Þâþanâbaing or Buddhist Archbishop, appointed by Alaungp'ayâ, when the latter became king. The Sayâdò retained his office throughout the reign of five kings, and was removed by Bôdòp'ayâ for his schismatic doctrines.

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## NOTE ON SOME AJANTA PAINTINGS.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M. B.

In February 1892 I communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society a detailed description of that fragmental[1] fresco hitherto known as 'the Zodiac,' which occupies a conspicuous place in the verandah of Ajaṇṭâ Cave No. XVII. By a reference to the extant paintings of the Lâmas, I was able to interpret its details and restore its chief blanks. It is a Bhavanachakra or Pictorial Cycle of Existence, and its chief value for scholars lies in the fact

[25] [A French traveller living in Rangoon (1786-7) called the Burmese as distinguished from the Peguans, 'les Bramas.' See *Taung-Pao*, Vol. I. '*Les Français en Birmanie au XVIIIe Siècle*,' *passim*. Quirini, *Vita di Monsignor Percoto*, Udine, 1781, uses the words Barma and Barmani throughout his curious book.—ED.]

[1] 'A mere fragment now remains.'—Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 310.

that in the outer circle are pourtrayed in concrete pictorial form, the twelve *nidânas*, regarding the exact sense of which there have been so many divergent opinions, owing to scholars hitherto having had only the ambiguous Pâli and Sanskṛit terms to interpret from.

Again from Lamaic sources, I now offer a note on two more of the Ajaṇṭâ paintings, which may be of interest at the present time, when a new edition of these paintings is being published.

### I.—Avalôkita as 'The Defender from the Eight Dreads.'

This painting is also in Cave XVII., forming No. B in the series of photographs of Mr. Griffith's copies, and § IV. in the report of Dr. Burgess,[2] who, in his brief note of eight lines, entitles it 'the Litany of Avalôkitêśvara,' and notes that 'of the oval compartments at each side only a few can be partially made out.'

This picture is not very uncommon in Tibet, where it is known as 'Avalôkita[3]—The Defender from the Eight Dreads.' It is thus described by the great Lama Târanâtha in his *g*sung-*h*bum*s* or *The Hundred Thousand Sayings.*

Ârya Avalôkita is represented in a standing posture in the form of a *ṛishi*[4] of a white complexion, with one face and two hands. The right hand is in the 'bestowing' attitude (*mudra*). The left hand holds a rosary[5] and an anointing vase or pitcher.[6] He is dressed in white silk, with Amitâbha seated in the locks of his hair.

The secondary figures depict scenes, which are eight in number, four being on each side of the central figure. On the right are the following scenes:—

1. **Dread in Fire.** Two villagers being at enmity, one of them set fire to the other's house; when the one in the burning house, unable to escape, prayed 'O! Avalôkita!' Instantly over his house appeared a white cloud, which gave forth a copious shower of rain, and so the fire was quenched.

2. **Dread in Prison.** Once a thief entered the king's store and finding there a vase of wine drank deeply, and becoming intoxicated fell asleep. In the morning the king's servants found him and having fettered him cast him into prison. In his distress the man prayed to Avalôkita. Then a bird of five colours, an incarnation of Avalôkita, appeared and loosened his chains, and the prison door was opened and the man escaped to his home.

3. **Dread in Plunder.** A wealthy merchant set out to Maru, with a thousand camels and five hundred of the best horses laden with valuables. He saw by the way the bones of many previous travellers, who had been murdered by robbers; and he himself was attacked by these robbers. In his fear he prayed to Avalôkita, when instantly appeared a host of heroes armed with swords — incarnations of Avalôkita himself —, who came to the merchant's rescue, and defeating the would-be robbers the merchant escaped in safety.

4. **Dread in Water.** Five thousand merchants went to the Southern Ratnadwîp (= Ceylon) in three ships. In returning to their own country they filled one ship with jewels and setting sail they reached Chandan-bhûmipradhan-dwîp.[7] The 'wealth-owners' (spirits) of the ocean being angry, sent storms which blew the ships out of their courses. And when the ships were enveloped in a mighty wave and about to founder one of the merchants prayed to Avalôkita. Then instantly the storm ceased, and they all reached their own countries in safety.

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[2] *Arch. Survey, West-India, Rep.* No. 9.

[3] *s*pyan-ra*s*-*g*zig. — There is no element in the word representing *îśvara*.

[4] Drang-srong.

[5] The rosary is almost a *chinha* of Avalôkita.

[6] *s*pyi-*b*lug*s* (= literally 'crown of head' + 'to put'): Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II. 137) appears to have misinterpreted this object. It is also believed to hold perfume.

[7] Tsan-*l*dan-sa-*m*chhog kyi *g*ling, probably the Sunderbans or their eastern section, the modern Sandwîp.

On the left hand of the central figure are depicted the following scenes :—

5. **Dread of Enemy.** A king named Otibishar was sleeping in a grove, when a party of armed enemies surrounded him and were about to kill him, when he prayed to Avalôkita, who instantly appeared, and from beneath his feet arose a fearful wind which dispersed the enemies to 'the ten directions.'

6. **Dread of Elephant.** A girl went to a forest to gather flowers. She encountered an elephant named Khûnî(=? bloody), which caught her around the waist with his trunk and was about to kill her, when she prayed to Avalokita. Then the elephant instantly released her and she escaped unhurt.

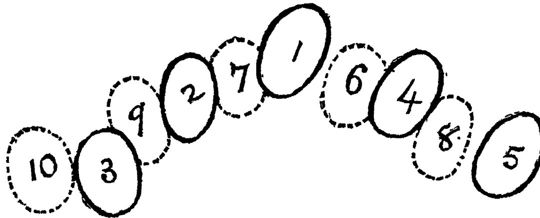
7. **Dread of Lion.** A wood-cutter went to a forest, and met a hungry lioness which was about to seize and eat him. Being much terrified he prayed to Avalôkita. Then instantly appeared a white boy[8] dressed in tree-leaves and lifting him up bore him off through the air and set him down in the midst of the city.

8. **Dread of Venomous Snakes.** A courtesan on her way to a merchant's house after dark, after leaving her house was attacked by a black venomous snake. In her fear she prayed to Avalôkita, then the snake immediately became white (*i.e* harmless) and disappeared into the river.

### II. 'The Nine Bôdhisattvas.'

This group of Buddha and 'The Nine Bôdhisattvas' is also in Cave XVII. and forms photograph 'B details of L' of Griffith's Series and paragraph §XXXI of Burgess, who merely notes regarding it that Buddha stands surrounded by four Arhats and two Bôdhisattvas.[9]

'The Nine Bôdhisattvas' consist of four unadorned disciples standing in front, and in the background five bejewelled and crowned lay devotees. Târanâtha describes them in his *mdsad brgya* or *The Hundred Deeds.* Following his description, I give here a key to the picture, in which the firm-line ovals represent the faces of the figures in the foreground, and the dotted ovals the faces of the background figures of the group :—




1. **Sâkya Muni.**
2. **Samantabhadra,** incarnate as a disciple of Buddha.
3. **Vajrapâṇi** do.
4. **Manjuśrî** do.
5. **Avalôkita** do.
6. **Brahmâ,** incarnate as an earthly king to hear Buddha's teaching.
7. **Indra** do. do.
8. **Îśwara** do. do.
9. **Vishṇu** do. do.
10. **King Prasênajit**[10] **of Kôsala,** a contemporary of Buddha and one of his first converts.

This is of course a mythical arrangement of Buddha's disciples. But the Lamas, following their Indian traditions, explain that four of the historic disciples of Buddha and four of

[8] Literally 'son.'

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 69.

[10] *gsal-rgyal.* See also Csoma de Körösi in *Asiatic Researches,* XX. p. 76, 294, &c.

his lay hearers were incarnations of the deities and Mâhâyâna Bôdhisattvas above specified. Attention is invited to the rosary as the *chinha* of Avalokiteśvara. Indra's third horizontal eye in the forehead is also characteristic, and Indra is usually the umbrella-holder to Buddha.

In conclusion, I may note that for several years I have been engaged on a work dealing with quite an untrodden field of Indian Buddhism, for the study of which I have had exceptional opportunities, *viz.*, 'The Tantric Buddhism of Magadha as illustrated by its remains, and in its relations to the Lamaic Pantheon.'

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## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

The absence in the Buddhist Church of any organized ecclesiastical hierarchy under a central Government renders it imperative that some kind of efficient check should be devised for the due maintenance of discipline, harmony, and moral control. It was, therefore, ordained by Gautama Buddha that twice in the month, at full moon and at new moon, and also once a year, at the end of the rainy season, meetings should be held, where the assembled priests should be asked whether they had committed any of the offences mentioned in the *Pâtimôkkha*, or whether the commission of such offences by any of them had been seen, heard of, or suspected by the others. The former meetings are called *upôsatha* and the latter *pavâranâ*. For the purpose of holding these meetings, at which it is the bounden duty of all priests to attend, it is necessary that a convenient and central place should be appointed. Such a place is called a simâ,[1] and the ceremonial for its consecration is prescribed in the second *khandhaka* of the *Mahâvagga*, a part of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. This ceremonial has, however, been interpreted in various ways by the commentaries and scholia on the *Mahâvagga*, such as the *Vinayaṭṭhakathâ*, *Sâratthadîpaṇî*, *Vimativinôdanî*, *Vinayaṭîkâ* by Vajîrabuddhithêra, *Kaṅkhâvitaraṇî*, *Vinayavinichchhayapakaraṇa*, *Vinayasaṅgahapakaraṇa*, *Simâlaṅkârapakaraṇa*, and the *Simâlaṅkârasaṅgaha*; and the object of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on these varied opinions, and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a simâ, which shall be in accordance with what is laid down by Gautama Buddha, and which, at the same time, shall not materially conflict with the interpretations of the commentators.

Incidentally the inscriptions are meant to prove the 'apostolic succession' of the Buddhist priesthood of Burma, and give a good deal of valuable information as to the geography of the period. So many positive current dates are also given, with references to Siṅhalese and Burmese History, that the historical truth of many of the statements contained in them should be capable of conclusive proof.

A simâ serves another purpose than that above explained. It is the place where the upasampadâ ordination and other ecclesiastical ceremonies are performed. Unless the consecration of the simâ is considered to be valid, the ceremonies performed therein are held to be null and void. Hence a simâ is intimately connected with the existence of the Buddhist Priesthood, on which the whole fabric of Buddhism rests.

The following account of the manner in which simâs are at the present day consecrated in Burma will be of interest, as showing how the accretions of ages have modified the simple ceremonial of Gautama Buddha. A piece of land suitable for the consecration of a *simâ*, and generally measuring about 105 or 126 feet in perimeter, is obtained from the British Government, which declares that the land is *visuṁgâma*, that is to say, land in respect of which revenue and all usufructuary rights have been irrevocably relinquished by the secular authorities in favour of the Buddhist Priesthood. Within the limits of this land, the learned and qualified priests, who have been appointed to perform the ceremony of consecration,

[1] The modern Burmese word for this is *þêng*, spelt *sim.*

mark the extent of the *simâ*. At the distance of about ten feet from the boundaries thus marked an outer boundary-line is indicated. The land enclosed within these two boundary-lines is levelled and cleared and besmeared with mud. When the mud is dry, allotments of space, measuring six by three feet, are marked out in rows with lime or red earth, and an awning is constructed over the whole ground. Then a Chapter, consisting of ten or fifteen priests, take their seats in the first allotment of space in the first row and proceed to intone by turns the **kammavâchâ for the desecration of a simâ,** it being held necessary that, for the proper consecration of the new *simâ*, the one which may possibly exist on the same site, should be first desecrated. This ceremony is repeated till the last allotment of space in the first row is reached. The priests then seat themselves in the last allotment of space in the second row and continue the intonation of the same *kammavâchâ*. The same ceremony is repeated till the first allotment of space in the second row is reached. Thus, once in a forward order, and then in a reverse order of the allotments of space arranged in rows, is the same *kammavâchâ* intoned till the number of rows has been exhausted. The ceremony of desecrating a *simâ* is repeatedly performed for about a week or ten days. After this, one or two days' rest is given to the officiating priests.

Twenty or thirty learned and qualified priests are now selected; and they proceed to mark the limits of the proposed *simâ*, such limits being smaller in extent than those of the *visuṁgâma*. At the four corners of the site of the *simâ*, and also on its sides, pits are dug deep enough to hold as much water as will not dry up before the conclusion of the intonation of the **kammavâchâ for the consecration of a simâ** — such water being regarded as the boundary. At the distance of a foot and a half from these pits, towards the inside, bamboo trellis work is set up, and the space thus enclosed is decorated with various kinds of flags and streamers, water-pots covered with lotus and other flowers, plantain trees, sugarcane, cocoanut' flowers, *babyê* leaves, and *nêzâ* grass. The awning mentioned above is likewise adorned with a ceiling of white cloth and with festoons of flowers.

Meanwhile, the pits are continually filled with water, so that it may not dry up before the ceremony is over. When the time approaches for the ceremony to begin, no more water is poured into the pits. Near each of them, a junior priest is stationed to furnish the officiating senior priest with replies in respect of the boundaries of the *simâ*. At the appointed hour, the senior priest, holding a *kammavâchâ*, slowly walks along the boundary-line of the *simâ*. Approaching the Eastern 'water-boundary' he asks: — "*Puratthimâya disâya kiṁ nimittaṁ?*" and the junior priest answers: — "*Udakaṁ, bhantê.*" Similar questions and answers are asked and given also at the South-eastern, Southern, South-western, Western, North-western, Northern, and North-eastern points of the site, and to make the boundary-line continuous, also at the Eastern and South-eastern points, which have already been proclaimed. The questions and answers are asked and given first in Pâḷi and then in Burmese. The same ceremony of proclaiming the boundaries is repeated by two other senior priests in succession. After the boundaries have thus been proclaimed three times, the **kammavâchâ for the consecration of a samânasaṁvâsakasimâ** is intoned seven (or eight) times by three of the priests at a time. After this, the **kammavâchâ relating to the consecration of an avippavâsasimâ** is chanted.

At the conclusion of the above ceremonies, a statement recording the year, month, day, and hour at which the *simâ* was consecrated, the names of the senior priests who officiated at the ceremonies, and the name of the *simâ*, is publicly read out. Lastly, in honour of the occasion, drums and conch-shells are sounded, and muskets are fired, and a shout of acclamation is raised by the people.

**The above account is similar to that recorded in the Kalyâṇi Inscriptions, which are frequently cited or appealed to as the ruling authority on the ceremonial relating to the consecration of simâs.**

**Dhammachêti, or Râmâdhipati, King of Pegu, who erected these inscriptions in 1476 A. D., was an ex-priest,** who, in emulation of Asôka, Sirisaṅghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhu, and other Buddhist kings of old, made the purity of Buddhism one of the objects of his earnest solicitude. **The main object in founding the Kalyâṇî-simâ appears to have been to afford to the Priesthood of Râmaññadêsa[2] a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing the upôsatha, upasampadâ, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist Apostle to Ceylon. It was held that the succession from Sôṇa and Uttara, the missionaries to Suvaṇṇabhûmi, had been interrupted in Burma because of the violent political convulsions to which the country had been subjected.** In the 11th century A. D., the Talaing Kingdom of Ḍatôn was conquered by Anuruddha or Anôrat'âzô, King of Pagân; and two centuries later, the Pagân monarchy was, in its turn, overthrown by three Shân brothers, who took advantage of the dismemberment of the Burmese Empire caused by a Chinese invasion in 1284 A.D. While the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy was passing through troublous times, the Talaings of the lower country had been fighting among themselves after they had regained their independence from subjection to Burma. Thus, during the four centuries that preceded the accession of Dhammachêtî, Burma had scarcely enjoyed peace for any great length of time, and matters appertaining to the Buddhist Religion had not been efficiently supervised or regulated.

**The Kalyâṇî-simâ derives its name from** the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaing priests, who had received afresh their *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the Mahâvihâra fraternity, the spiritual successors of Mahinda, on the **Kalyâṇî River near Colombo.** In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, from Ceylon and Siam, flocked to it to receive their *upasampadâ* ordination. Even at the present day, priests, whose ordination is of doubtful validity, will suffer themselves to be re-ordained in it.

**In preparing for the present study of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, owing to want of time, I had no access to the original stone-slabs. The text was collated from two palm-leaf manuscripts,** one of which was found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer, and the other was procured from the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. On the whole, **the latter manuscript, marked (B) preserves a better text, and has been generally followed in the present paper.** Numerous palm-leaf copies of the Pâḷi text of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions are extant, and are carefully preserved owing to their containing an account of the proper ceremonial of consecrating a *simâ.* No apprehension need, therefore, exist that there is any material divergence between the present edition and the original text of the inscriptions. Indeed, the general accuracy of the MSS. above alluded to will be shown later on in this *Journal.*

**The Kalyâṇî Inscriptions are situated at Zaingganaing, the western suburb of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs** covered with inscriptions on both sides, and are arranged in a row. Owing either to the vandalism of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, who, for ten years, held supreme power in Pegu at the beginning of the 17th century A. D., or to the insensate fury of Alompra's soldiery, who plundered Pegu in 1757 A. D., all of them are more or less broken; but the fragments, which are lying scattered about, are capable of at least partial restoration[3]. When whole, their average dimensions were about 7 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. There are 70 lines of text to each face, and three letters to an inch. **The language of the first three stones is Pâḷi, and that of the rest is Talaing, being a translation of the Pâḷi text.**

[2] The modern "Kingdom of Pegu," that is, the Talaing Country.

[3] [The Government of Burma has very kindly entrusted to me the task of restoring these invaluable documents to their original condition, as far as is now practicable. The work has been already begun.—ED.]

I would here advert to the absolute silence of these lithic records regarding the celebrated Buddhist divine Buddhaghôsa, the author of the *Visuddhimagga* and *Aṭṭhasâlinî*, and the Apostle who is reputed to have brought a complete set of the Buddhist scriptures from Ceylon to Ḍatôn in the 5th century A.D. If the story about Buddhaghôsa's advent to Ḍatôn be historically true, the event would have been considered to be an important epoch and would certainly have been mentioned in these inscriptions, which give a *résumé* of the vicissitudes of Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, and which were erected by a king, who was called from the cloister to the throne, and to whom every kind of information was accessible. Considering that the identification with the Suvaṇṇabhûmi of the ancients has been urged in favour of three countries, namely, Râmaññadêsa, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia, in all of which gold is found, one cannot help being sceptical as to the historical accuracy of the account relating to the mission of Buddhaghôsa to Ḍatôn. Such scepticism becomes somewhat confirmed, when it is borne in mind that there is no palæographical affinity between the Talaing and Siṅhalese alphabets, and that Cambodian writers affirm that the great divine came to *their* country, *vide* Bowring's *Kingdom and People of Siam*, (Vol. I, page 36). See also the conclusions of Mr. Foulkes in his careful researches into the legends of Buddhaghôsha, *ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 121-122.

My notes to the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions are in preparation, and will form the subject of a separate study with a transcription of the Pâḷi text into the Burmese character.

In brief the 'contents' of the Pâḷi text on the three stones are as follows:—

## OBVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.

### Introductory Observations.

Convocation of the Third Buddhist Council and despatch of missionaries. Arrival of Sôṇa and Uttara at Goḷamattikanagara in Suvaṇṇabhûmi. Decline and fall of Râmaññadêsa. Its conquest by Anuruddha, King of Pugâma (Pagân). King Sîrisaṅghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhu reforms Buddhism in Ceylon. Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, Preceptor of the King of Pugâma, visits Ceylon. His pupil, Chhapaṭa remains behind; and, after ten years' residence, returns home, accompanied by four other *thêras*. Schisms in the Buddhist Church at Pugâma consequent on the death of Uttarâjivamahâthêra.

## REVERSE FACE OF THE FIRST STONE.

### Introductory Observations. — (Concluded).

Schisms at Dalanagara and Muttimanagara. Such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a *simâ* and *upasampadâ* ordination are performed in various ways. Accession of Râmâdhipati. His reflections on the valid manner of consecrating a *simâ*.

## OBVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

### Mission to Ceylon.

The King's reflections concluded. After consultation with the learned *thêras* he is confirmed in his opinion regarding the *simâvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadâ* and other ecclesiastical ceremonies in Râmaññadêsa. Twenty-two *thêras* are invited to visit Ceylon and introduce into Râmaññadêsa the Siṅhalese form of *upasampadâ* ordination, as practised by the Mahâvihâra sect, founded by Mahinda. The invitation is accepted. Offerings for shrines and priests in Ceylon, and presents for King Bhûvanêkabâhu, as also letters for priests and the king, are prepared. Chitradûta and Râmadûta accompany the *thêras* to Ceylon.

## REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

### Re-ordination of the priests from Râmaññadêsa.

Departure of the party in two ships. Chitradûta's ship arrives first. Reception by the King of Ceylon. Râmadûta's ship arrives. Various shrines are visited. The priests from Râmañña-

dêsa are re-ordained on the Kalyâṇî River by a Chapter elected from the Mahâvihâra sect. The Siṅhalese King confers titles on them. Râmadûta's ship returns home and arrives safely. Chitradûta's ship is wrecked at Kalambu (Colombo). Chitradûta's party is again shipwrecked. The members of the party travel on foot to Nâvuṭapaṭṭana, whence four *thêras* and their disciples travel on to Komâlapaṭṭana. Of the latter party, six *thêras* and four young priests die and the rest reach home.

## OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

### Consecration of the Kalyâṇî-simâ.

Râmâdhipati's reception of the eleven *thêras,* who return by Râmadûta's ship. A site is selected for the consecration of a *simâ* for these *thêras.* Enquiry is held into the antecedents of the *thêras* and their disciples. A Chapter consisting of nine *thêras* and five young priests is appointed for consecrating the proposed *simâ.* Ceremonies of desecration and consecration are performed, and the *simâ* is named the Kalyâṇî-simâ, after the river where the officiating priests received afresh their *upasampadâ* ordination. The priests of Râmaññadêsa request Râmâdhipati to be permitted to receive the Siṅhalese form of the *upasampadâ* ordination. Suvaṇṇasôbhaṇathêra is appointed *upajjhâya.*

## REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

### Establishment of the Siṅhalese form of ordination in Râmaññadêsa.

The priests of Râmaññadêsa receive the Siṅhalese form of *upasampadâ* ordination in the Kalyâṇî-simâ. Râmâdhipati's edict to the priesthood regarding admission into the Order. Expulsion of pseudo-priests from the Order. Royal gifts to *bhikkhus* and *sâmaṇêras.* Hortatory verses.

I will now give a **translation of the MS. Text.** The transcribed text which follows the translation is that collated from the MSS. above alluded to.

## TRANSLATION.

### Obverse face of the first stone.

*Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One.*

May the excellent Religion of the Conqueror flourish and prosper, and may reverence be paid to Buddha!

The purification of the Religion of the Conqueror was effected by **Râmâdhipati, King of Râmaññadêsa.** An account of this event will be related.

During the reign of **Râmâdhipatirâjâ,** King of Râmaññadesa, the Religion of the Conqueror became purified.

**Two hundred and eighteen years had passed away since the attainment of Parinirvâṇa by the Fully Enlightened One, the Sage of the Sakyas, when Dhammâsôkarâjâ was inaugurated as king. In the fourth year after this event, owing to Nigrôdhasâmaṇêra, the King had great faith in the Religion of Buddha**[4]; and the gifts and honours to the priests greatly increased, while those to the heretics diminished.

The heretics, for the sake of gifts and honours, embraced the ascetic life among certain, priests, received the *upasampadâ* ordination, and promulgated their own heresies, such as the **Sassata heresy.** Some took orders themselves, assumed the guise of priests, and taught their own heretical doctrines. All these heretics mixed promiscuously with, and resided among, the priests, who performed *upôsatha* and such other ecclesiastical ceremonies. Owing to this cir-

[4] As the Burmese reckon the *parinirvâna* to have taken place in 544 B. C., this yields 322 B. C. as the traditional date of the conversion of Asôka to Buddhism.

cumstance, the Saṅgha considered that the *parisâ* was corrupt, and would not perform *upôsatha*. Therefore, for seven years, the performance of this ecclesiastical ceremony had ceased in the Asôkârâma monastery.

On account of these circumstances, King Dhammâsôka became desirous of purifying the Religion by removing the impurity, heresy, and corruption that had arisen in it, and secured the co-operation of Môggaliputtatissamahâthêra. Having acquired, by study, the knowledge that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavâdî, and that those who professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, were heretics, the King convoked an assembly of all the priests. Those who held similar doctrines, were commanded to form themselves into groups, and each group was dismissed one by one. There were six millions of priests professing the Religion, who, if asked what the belief of the Fully Enlightened One was, would say that he was a Vibhajjavâdi, while the sinful, heretical priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, numbered sixty thousand. The King directed all the sixty thousand sinful priests to leave the Order, and, saying: "Now that the *parisâ* has been purified, let the Saṅgha perform *upôsatha*," returned to the city.

Therefore, Môggaliputtatissamahâthêra performed upôsatha in the Asôkârâma monastery in the company of all the six millions of priests. This being concluded, he promulgated, in an enlarged and expanded form, but on the lines indicated by the Blessed One, the treatise called Kathâvatthu, of which a summary had been expounded by the Blessed One. Subsequently, like as the venerable Mahâkassapathêra selected five hundred priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññâ*, and the four *paṭisambhidâs*, and convened the First Council, which sat for seven months; and like as the venerable Mahâyasathêra selected 700 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññâs* and the four *paṭisambhidâs*, and convened the Second Council, which sat for eight months; even so did he (Môggaliputtatissamahâthêra) select 1,000 priests, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had attained to the possession of the six *abhiññâs* and the four *paṭisambhidâs*, and convened the Third Council, which sat for nine months. At the conclusion of this Council, he foresaw, that, in the future, the Religion would be established in foreign countries, and sent such *thêras* as Majjhantikathêra with the injunction: "Do you establish the Religion in such and such countries." Of these *thêras*, he sent Mahâmahindathêra to establish the Religion in the Island of Tambapaṇṇi, and Sôṇathêra and Uttarathêra to establish the Religion in Râmaññadêsa, which was also called Suvaṇṇabhûmi.

At that time, a king, called Sirimâsôka, ruled over the country of Suvaṇṇabhûmi. His capital was situated to the north-west of the Kêlâsabhapabbatachêtiya.[5] The eastern half of this town was situated on an upland plateau, while the western half was built on a plain. This town is called, to this day, Gôḷamattikanagara,[6] because it contains many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the Gôḷa people.

The town was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a *rakkhasî*, who lived in the sea, and was in the habit of always seizing and devouring every child that was born in the King's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two *thêras*, the Chief Queen of the King gave birth to a child. The *rakkhasî*, knowing that a child had been born in the King's palace, came towards the town, surrounded by 500 other *rakkhasas*, with the object of devouring it. When the people saw the *rakkhasî*, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two *thêras*, perceiving that the *rakkhasî* and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the *rakkhasî*, and these monsters chased the *rakkhasas* and obstructed their further progress.

[5] Near Bilin in the Shwêgyin District.

[6] Ayetthêma in the Shwêgyin District.

When the *pisâchas* saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two *thêras,* they cried out: "Now we shall become their prey," and, being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea. In order to prevent the return of the *pisâchas,* the *thêras* established a cordon of guards around the country, and **preached the Brahmajâlasutta** to the people, who had assembled together. At the conclusion of the sermon, 60,000 people attained to the comprehension of the Truth; 3,500 men and 1,500 women renounced the world, and the rest were established in the 'Three Refuges' and the *sîlas.* **Thus the Religion was established in this country of Râmaññadêsa by the two thêras in the 236th year**[7] that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâṇa by the Fully Enlightened One.

**Thenceforward, in Râmaññadêsa, all princes, born on the anniversary day of that event, were named Sôṇuttara.** In order to shield all new-born infants from the danger of being seized by the *rakkhasî,* **the appearances created by the supernatural power of the thêras, were inscribed** on armlets, wristlets, and leaves, and placed on their heads; and a stone, on which the same appearances were engraven, was placed on the top of a hill to the north-east of the town. **This stone may be seen to this day.**

Since its introduction, the Religion flourished for a long time in Râmaññadêsa. In course of time, however, the power of Râmaññadêsa declined, because civil dissensions arose and the extensive country was broken up into separate principalities, and because the people suffered from famine and pestilence, and because, to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent Religion, the country was conquered by the armies of the Seven Kings. Owing to these calamities, the priests, residing in Râmaññadêsa, were unable to devote themselves, in peace and comfort, to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts; and the Religion also declined.

During the reign of **Manôharî,** who was also known by his princely name of **Sûriyakumâra,** the power of the kingdom became very weak. **This happened in the 1600th year**[8] that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâṇa by the Fully Enlightened One.

**In 1601, Anno Buddhæ, and 419, Sakkarâj, King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, took a community of priests together with the Tipiṭaka (from Râmaññadêsa), and established the Religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugâma.**

**One hundred and seven years after this event, or in the year 526,**[9] **Sakkarâj, King Sîrisaṅghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhu purified the Religion in Laṅkâdîpa.**

Six years after the latter event, or **in the year 532, Sakkarâj, Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, the Preceptor of the King of Pugâma,** with the object of worshipping at the shrines in Laṅkâdîpa, **set out for Kusimanagara,**[10] saying to himself: "I shall embark in a ship with a great many priests." Who was this Uttarâjîvamahâthêra? **He was a native of Râmaññadêsa, and was a pupil of Ariyavaṁsathêra, who was a disciple of Mahâkâḷathêra, a resident of Kappuṅganagara.**[11] **Mahâkâḷathêra was a pupil of Prânadassimahâthêra, who lived at Sudhammanagara.**[12] This *mahâthêra* was endowed with *lôkiyajjhâna* and *abhiññâ.* Being thus gifted, he would, every morning, proceed to Magadha and sweep the court-yard of the Mahâbôdhi tree in Uruvêḷâ, return to **Sudhammapura,** and go on his alms-pilgrimage. One morning, while he was sweeping the court-yard of the Mahâbôdhi tree, certain traders, who lived in Uruvêḷâ, and were on their way to Magadha from Sudhammapura, saw him, and, on their return, related what they had seen to the people of Sudhammapura. Thus it was that the possession of supernatural powers by Prânadassimahâthêra, as a concomitant of his attainment of *lôkiyajjhâna* and *abhiññâ,* became known.

*(To be continued.)*

7 Or 308 B. C. 8 Or 1056 A. D. 9 Or 1164 A. D. 10 The modern Bassein. See *ante* page 18ff.
11 Kabaing near Twàntê in the Hanthawaddy District. 12 The modern Ṭatôn in the Amherst District.

## THE NAME "BASSEIN."

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

**The name Bassein** is perhaps the most irritating of all Anglo-Indian corruptions, for there are **three towns in the Indian Empire so named by Europeans** at the present day, and none of them are so known to the natives.[1]

The most important of these towns is **Bassein in Burma**,[2] then comes **Bassein in Bombay**, and lastly there is **Bassein in Berar.** The natives of these respective countries call Bassein in Burma Pabêng, Bassein in Bombay Wasâi, and Bassein in Berar Bâsim or Wâsim.

Old European names for Bassein in Bombay have been Baxai, Baçaim,[3] Basain, Bassai, Bessi; but those for **Bassein in Burma** have been far more diverse, puzzling, and, it may be said also, interesting. It has been known by many variations of such widely differing words a **Cosmin, Persaim and Bassein.**

To take Cosmin first. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*, quotes Cosmin in 1516 and 1545, Cosmym in 1554, Cosmi in 1566 and 1585, Cosmin in 1570 and 1587. In 1800 Symes quotes a chart by Wood, called the "Draught of the River Irrawaddy or Irabatty," published in 1796, which gives both Cosmin and "Persaim or Bassein," as towns 30 or 40 miles apart. I have in my possession an atlas of old maps of the regions about Burma, and from these I can add information on this point. Cosmi appears in du-Val's map of the "Royaume de Siam et des Pays circonvoisins," 1685 ; in Van der Aa's maps in 1720, (1) *dressez sur les voyages de Nuno de Cunha*, (2) *décrites par Lopo Soares d'Albegeria*, (3) Dutch map after Nuno da Cunha, (4) Dutch map after Ralph Fitch, (5) Dutch map after Lopo Soares d'Albegeria, (6) Dutch map after Fernando Perez d'Andrado (7) Dutch and French maps after Caspar Balby; in Pierre Mortier's map of "les isles d'Andemaon, Ceylan, les Maldives," 1740. Cosmin appears in that fine scientific production Coronelli's *Route Maritime de Brest a Siam*, 1685 ; in del'-Isle's *Carte des Indes et de la Chine*, 1705, copied in 1710, and again by Covens and Mortier in 1720 ; in Van der Aa's maps, 1720, (1) *décrit par Ralph Fitch*, (2) Dutch map after Cæsar Frederiks; in a French map, 1764," Carte des Royaumes de Siam, de Tunquin, Pegu, Ava, Aracan." And, lastly, a French map, "Carte de l'Empire Birman dressée et dessinée par Desmadryl jeune, 1825" gives Persaïm as 35 "milles anglais" north of Cosmin, Persaïm being the more important place.

For **Persaim**, Yule, *s. v.*, quotes *Dalrymple's Repertory* in 1759, a chart by Capt. Baker in 1754, Symes in 1795, and Wood's chart above mentioned in 1796. These two last he quotes for both Bassein and Persaim,[4] and also for "Persaim or Bassein." Crawfurd, *Embassy to Ava*, p 513, quotes Lester, 1757, for Persaim.

**Bassein** appears to have come into use about the beginning of this century. It is Bassein throughout in Wilson's *Documents relative to the Burmese War*, 1827, who quotes, p. xliv. a *Gazette* Notification of 1826. It is Bassein also in Jackson's map, 1826, attached to Wilson's book. Boileau Pemberton's exceedingly rare and admirable "Map of the Eastern Frontier of British India with the adjacent countries extending to Yunan in China," 1838, has Bassein. But for the lower portion of the "Irawattee River" Pemberton expressly quotes "the chart of the late Colonel Wood of the Bengal Engineers and the map of Major Jackson, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of Bengal." Snodgrass, *Burmese War*, 1827, p. 289, also has Bassein throughout. By the time of the Second Burmese War in 1852 Bassein seems to have become thoroughly established, *vide* Wilson, *Narrative of the Burmese War in* 1824-6, 1852, p. 81; Laurie's *Pegu*, 1854, pp. 218ff; and in most authors of the period.

The evidence then is that up to 1764, A. D., Cosmin was the usual European name for the

[1] As an instance of the rise of corruptions in place names in the East, I found an impressive photograph of the great Kògun Caves in the Amherst District labelled in a Rangoon Photographer's show-book, "The Cocoon Cave."

[2] When the author was stationed at Bassein in Burma, about 17 years ago, letters for "Bassein" were constantly sent to the wrong place.

[3] Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*, Bassein. Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Thana, Vol. XIV. pp. 28 ff.

[4] Persaim occurs at pp. 57, 58, 62, etc. in Symes.

place, that by 1800 the situation of "Cosmin" had become forgotten, that by 1750 Persaim had also become established, and that Bassein began to supersede Persaim about 1800.

**The modern Burmese name is Paþêng, by ordinary Burmese phonetics used for Puþêng, spelt Pusin and Pusim.**

In the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions (1476 A. D.) we have **Kusima-nagara** for Bassein and **Kusimamaṇḍala** for the Bassein division of the Talaing Territories (Ramaññadêsa). In the Kaung-'mùdò' Inscription (1650 A. D.),[5] we have **Kuþêng,** and in the Pôŝûŝdaung Inscription (1774 A. D.) we have again Kuþêng (spell **Kusim).** Yule says, *s. v.* Cosmin, that Alaungp'ayâ changed the name from **Kuþêng to Puþêng** on his conquest of the Talaing Country in 1755-60. This is comparable with that monarch's well-known deliberate change of the name Dagôn to Yâ̤ngôn (Rangoon) in 1755,[6] but Yule's statement is unfortunately bad history, because we have Yule's own and other evidence to show that Persaim (Puþêng) was used before the date of Alaungp'ayâ's conquest in 1755-60.

It is, however, evident from the above quotations that **the Burmese changes of sound must have have been synchronous with the European attempts to pronounce them :** that as long as the Burman said Kaþêng, the European said Cosmin, etc. : and that when the Burman changed his pronunciation Kaþêng to Paþêng, the European used Persaim. The uncertainty in the initial consonant was still observable among the Burmans up to nearly the middle of this century, for Yule, *Ava*, p. 352, quoting Colonel Burney, 1830, says it is uncertain whether he wrote Kothein or Pothein for Bassein :—"The letter in Burney's MS. is doubtful."

**This change from initial P to K in such names is not isolated,** and is probably purely phonetic, for we have a well-known place name in Upper Burma, now called **Pâk'an (spelt Puk'an),** which in old Burmese MSS. is written **Kuk'an.** Doubtless upon this hint other examples might be unearthed.

**The s in such words as Bassein,** Syriam, Tenasserim, Cassay,[7] where the Burman distinctly uses þ, may be due to two causes.

Firstly, **the Talaing pronunciation** may be responsible, as the Talaings use *s* for the same letter that the Burmese pronounce þ. The Talaing pronunciation of the name Bassein is Pasêm or Pasîm, according to dialect.

Secondly, **many early European writers,** such as Sangermano, **could not say þ and attempted to reproduce the sound by s.** In Sangermano we have many instances of *s* for þ in parts of Burma beyond the influence of the Talaing tongue.

Thus, Sangermano, in a short account of the Burmese language, writes, p. 145[8] :— "Thus, I go is *suà si* ; I went, *suà bi* ; I will go, *suà mi*." And again :—"Thus, the imperative go is *suà tò* ; is he gone, *suà bi là* ; by going, *suà lien*." These vernacular expressions are really pronounced *þwâ ȣi, þwâ byî, þwâ mî, þwâ dò, þwâ bi lâ, þwâ-'lyin*.[9]

Besides the above we have such strong instances on the following :— p. 95, *sein=þêng* ; p. 144, *sôn=þông* (three) ; p. 78, *sesaucchì=þwêþaukchî*, a sergeant, (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 433), p. 104, *Mengasalot*, by mistake for *Mengalasot*, for the well-known book *Miṅgalàþôk* ; pp. 35 ;

[5] Yule, *Mission to Ava*, p. 307.

[6] Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, quotes in support Forchhammer's *Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma*, No. 2, p. 12. Forchhammer's statement that the word *puþêng* means a "hot image-house" is false etymology, for no Burman would use the expression, but would say "*þêngbû* :" besides *þêng* is not an "image-house," but a "hall of ordination." It may be interesting to make the following quotation from Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 1800, p. 23:—'Previous to his departure from Dagon, Alompra laid the foundation of the town now so well known by the name of Rangoon or Drangoon, which signifies victory atchieved (*sic*). Here stood in former days a large populous city called in the Pali Singounterra.' And here is a puzzle: close to "Dogon" in two maps by Van der Aa, 1720, both after Caspar Balby, is a place called "Lungon." If this ="Rangoon" the received tale falls.

[7] See Crawfurd's *Embassy to Ava*, pp. 283-284, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

[8] The pages refer throughout the paper to the reprint of 1885.

[9] It must be remembered that, as Sangermano wrote in Italian, all his transcriptions of Burmese sounds must be treated as Italian words.

51, etc., *Cassè*=*Kaḅè* (=Manipur); pp. 53, 73, &c. *Badonsachen*=*Bâdunḅaken*, a title of King Bôdòp'ayâ both before and after his accession to the throne, p. 177. *Damasat*=*D'ammàḅàt*, the great Burmese law book (Pâḷi, *Dhammasatta*, Skr , *Dharmaśâstra*).

Similar evidence is forthcoming from Quirini, who wrote in 1781 about Bishop Percoto, the missionary to Pegu and Ava. The good Bishop landed in Burma in 1761, and died in 1776, In this book we have *Satton*=*Thaton* (Ḅat'ôn) at p. 131; *Savedy*=*Tharrawaddy* (Ḅarâwadî) at p. 177; *Siriam* throughout; "il Re Peguano *Simingh-To*" = Ḅamindò, at pp. 98,100; "questo libro, il quale *Simingh-To* chiamosi" = ḅamaindò at p. 94, and the word again at p. 78; *Casse*=*Kaḅè* at pp. 76, 172.

The pronunciation of **Persaim**[10] must have been nearly **Pasêm**, and that of **Bassein** has always been **Bassîn**, both due, no doubt, to Talaing dialectic variation. In Sangermano, who wrote between 1783 and 1808, we have contemporary evidence of the sound of the word, at the time that Bassein began to supersede Persaim, in **Bassino**, thrice used by him at pages 67, 158 and 174.

There has however been used a variant spelling side by side with Bassein in **Bassien**: *vide* a French copy of Wood's chart, 1795; Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 1800, pp. 16, 17, 18, 28, etc.; *Two years in Ava*, 1827, p. 244; and a tract entitled *Negrais Island and Bassien*, 1852, by J. Martin, *passim*. Ever since Sangermano's time, *ie* has usually stood in Burmese transliteration for short *i* and frequently does so still, but to show the variant sounds represented by Symes and the writers of his and later times by identical letters I may quote his Talien, p. 34, for Talaing. Doveton, *Reminiscences of the Burmese War*, 1852, has, p. 276, Kokien and, p. 279, Kokien for Kôkkaing.

Quirini in the book above quoted, *Vita di Monsignor G. M. Percoto*, 1781, never mentions Bassein, getting no nearer than "Negraja[11] nuova colonia degl' Inglesi" (p. 117), unless we read a curious expression at p. 93 to include Bassein:—"li Regni di **Battiam**, Martaban e Pegù, cui spettava la citta, e porto di Siriam."

It may be as well to note here that **the evidence now collected upsets the theory that the Besyngytai** (βησυγγύται) **of Ptolemy represents the people about Bassein, or that the Besynga** (βήσυγγα) **River is the Bassein River,** or branch of the Irrawaddy (Êrâvatî).[12] At the same time it is right to note the following evidence: In a version which I have of Ptolemy, *undecima Asiæ Tabula*, 1552, there occurs **Besynga** fl. In another version of 1590, copied by Sanson d'Abbeville in a Latin map called *India Vetus*, 1674, there occur **Besyngitis** Reg. Besynga fl., and Besynga Emporium.

## Postscript.

**Sangermano requires editing** by the light of the increased knowledge of Burma that has been gained since he wrote, and the English edition of his work was published,[13] and the work is well worth undertaking. **The book is full of information as to the rise and cause of many common Anglo-Burmese words of the present day,** and all the forms of vernacular words in it are worth study and annotation. **The persistent use of z=ts for s** is curious, thus:—p. 59, *Zaboà*=*Sòbwâ*: p. 57, etc., *Zinguza*=*Singûsà*; p. 55, etc., *Zempiuscien*=*S'inbyûshin*; p. 50, etc., *Mozzobò*=*Mô(k)s'òbô* (=Shwêbô=Moutshobo, see *post*, p. 28); p. 67, *zicchè*=*si(t)kè* (=the *bakhshî* of Indian armies); p. 90, *zaradò*=*sayâdò* for *sarâdò* (=Pâli *âchâriya* + *tò*)=the modern pronunciation *sadò*; p. 139, *natzò*, an evil spirit, for *nàts'ô*.

[10] As to the *er* in this word it should be noted that in Rangoon the name of a well-known citizen, Râi Bhagwân Dâs Bahâdur, is sometimes written by Europeans "Bergwun Doss," as representing their pronunciation of the name, accent on the first syllable. So Persaim may well represent the sound of Pasêm.

[11] Negrais, the Negraglia of Sangermano, p. 38.

[12] McCrindle, *Ancient India described by Ptolemy*, p. 197. Yule, *Ava*, p. 205.

[13] A Description | of the | Burmese Empire | compiled chiefly from Native documents | by the | Revnd. Father Sangermano | and | translated from his MS. | by | William Tandy, D.D., | Member of the Roman Sub-committee. | Rome: | Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland: | Sold by | John Murray, Albermarle Street; and Parbury, Allen, and Co. | Leadenhall Street. | MDCCCXXXIII. | The Reprint, Government Press, Rangoon, is dated 1885.

It is also worth noting that he writes, p. 58, **Siam** as we do, but throughout his book **Sciam** for Shân.

The sounds of ƅ and ƌ always puzzled him, thus he wrote, p. 67, *miodighi* and *ioadighi* for *myôƅajî* and *ywâƅajî*. **The hard sound of the Burmese ky, k'y, gy and g'y** (which letters also represent the modern Burmese pronunciation of *kr, k'r, gr* and *g'r*) appears in the above two words, and in *sesaucchi* above quoted, and also in the following: pp. 66, etc., *vunghi* for *wunjî;* pp. 91, etc., *ponghi* for *p'ônjî.* This hard pronunciation is still common among Europeans in Burma in spite of the usual vernacular soft sound of *k* and *g* as *ch* and *j* in such circumstances.

**Quirini's book**[14] **is of much the same value in this connection,** though it has never been translated. Besides the instances of his expressions already given he writes *suemiudo* (pp. 77, 141) for *shwêmyôdò*, while giving a correct explanation of the import of the word. He has *rondai*=*yôndò*: *Cariani*, as also has Sangermano (pp. 35, 36), = *Karens,* with which may be compared Crawfurd's (*Embassy to Ava*) *Karians* (p. 354, *et passim*): and many other interesting words and names.

Quirini has further a curious **Miazza Pra Re dell' Ava,** (pp 79, 151, etc.), evidently meant for **S'inbyûyin** (1763-1775). Miazza Pra may possibly stand for **Myêdu (P'ayâ),** a title of that mighty monarch as prince.

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## FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

*No. 4.—The Gaḍaṛiyâ and the Rânî of Lâlpur.*[1]

Once upon a time a Râjâ went to hunt in a jungle. As he was returning he reached a great river on the bank of which was a fig tree (*baṛgad*) and then he sat down to rest. Meanwhile a boat appeared, coming from the direction of the city of Lâlpur. On it a woman was sitting. She looked at the king and let go the iron anchor of the boat into the water. After this she dropped a ruby into the water, and opening her bodice showed him her breast and smiled at him, showing her teeth. Then she raised the anchor and went away in the boat. The Râjâ fell into great fear and returned to his palace, and went to sleep on his couch. Then a handmaiden brought him his food, but **she could not wake him.** She returned and told the Rânî, who went herself to the Râjâ, but she could not make him sit up or speak. Then the Rânî proclaimed in the city that **whoever could make the Râjâ speak should receive half the kingdom.** Many people came and tried to wake him, but no one succeeded. Then a shepherd woman (*gaḍêṛin*) came to the Rânî and said to her, "My husband is grazing his sheep in the jungle; if he be sent for he can wake the Râjâ." The Rânî sent her soldiers to bring the Gaḍaṛiya. He said: "If one of the king's clerks (*musaddî*) comes and makes a list of my sheep, and the king's soldiers graze them for me, I will come." The Rânî ordered this to be done. **So the**

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[14] Della Vita | di Monsignor | Gio: Maria Percoto | della congregazione di S. Paolo | Missionario ne' Regni | di Ava e di Pegu' | vicario apostolico e vescovo Massulense. | libri tre | scritti dal padre | D. Michelangelo Griffini | della medesima congregazione | e | dedicati agl' illustriss sigg. | deputali della citta' di Udine. | per li Fratelli Gallici alla Fontana | con licenza de' superiori. The copy I have seen belongs to Bishop Bigandet, kindly lent me by him, It has a seal on the title page:—Missio Barmana * India * ✠ * Oblator B. M. V. * On the title page also is the very interesting note written in caps:—D. D. JO. BALMAE O. B. M. V. | EPISC. PTOLEMAID. | VICAR, APOSTOL. | AVAE ET PEGV | CL. REGVL. S. PAVLI AP. | PROVINC. TAVRINENS. | DD. DD. | A. MDCCCLIII. The date of the work is gathered from the colophon and other places. It contains pp. X. and 221, octavo. The colophon is worth reproduction here:—Noi Riformatori della studio di Padova. A vendo veduto per la Fede di Rivisione, ed approvazione del P. F. Gio: Tommaso Mascheroni, Inquisitor General del Santo Offizio di Venezia nel Libro intitolato *Della Vita di Monsignor Gio: Maria Percoto, etc.* M. S. non vi esser cosa alcuna contro a Santa Fede Cattolica, e parimenti per Attestato del Segretario Nostro, niente contro Principi, e buoni costumi, concediamo licenza alli *Fratelli Gallici* Stampatori di *Udine*, che possi essere stampato, osservando gli ordini in materia di Stampe, e presentando le solite Copie alle Pubbliche Librerie di Venezia, e di Padova. Dat li 24. Agosto 1781. (*Andrea Querini Rif.* (*Alvise Vallaresso Rif.* (*Girolamo Ascanio Giustinian K. Rif.* Registrato in libro a carte 17. a N. 139. Davide Marchesini Seg.

[1] A folktale told by Hîrâlâl, village accountant of Râmgaṛh, Mirzâpur District, and literally translated.

Gaḍariyâ came and sat by the Râjâ and after some time he woke. Then the Gaḍariya asked him what he had seen, which caused him to sleep in this way. The Râjâ got up and took the Gaḍariyâ with him to the jungle. They reached the same river where the fig tree stood. Then the Râjâ told the Gaḍariyâ what he had seen. The Gaḍariyâ asked what he wished. The Râjâ replied that he wished to see this woman. The Gaḍariyâ asked if he knew from where she had come and where she had gone. The Râjâ replied that he did not know. The Gaḍariyâ answered — "As she threw the ruby (*lâl*) into the water, she lives in Lâlpur; from her showing you the upper bone (*asthi*) of her chest, it appears that her name is the Bone Queen (*Asthrânî*), and as she showed you her teeth, she must be the daughter of the Tooth King (*Dantrâjâ*)." So they both went off in the direction of Lâlpur. They asked every one where Lâlpur was, but could get no trace to it. At last, when it was very late, they came to a village, where they saw a man ploughing with a pair of oxen, one very large and the other very small. The Gaḍariyâ said to him, "If you could not buy an ox to match the larger of the pair, why don't you sell the large ox and buy another small one and save a few rupees?" The ploughman answered, "How can I buy or sell?" The Gaḍariyâ said to the Râjâ, "I know that there is something curious about this ploughman's wife. Let us stay with him for the night and I will afterwards explain it to you." So they arranged to stay with him for the night and went on ahead to his house. The ploughman's wife said, "There is no room here for you, but you can sit a short distance off." When the ploughman came back from the field and heard what had happened, he made his wife give them a place to stay, and asked them if they would eat anything. They refused, and after some time the Râjâ fell asleep in the ploughman's hut.

The Gaḍariyâ remained awake. At midnight a lover of the woman came and went inside. As dawn came he said to her, "Give me some place to stay, as I cannot go away now." So she told him to go into the large mud granary (*kuṭhlâ*) inside the house, and plastered up the opening with clay. In the morning the Râjâ and the Gaḍariyâ wanted to go on, but the ploughman would not let them go till they had eaten. Then the Gaḍariyâ said to the ploughman, "There is something in your granary which does not grow in our country. Let us take it and we will convey it to our land and grow it there." The ploughman agreed to let them have it, but his wife objected. The Râjâ said, "Why do you object to give us such a trifle?" Then they opened the granary and the man appeared, whom, having made over to the ploughman, the Râjâ and the Gaḍariyâ went their way.

As they went on they came to a garden which was in charge of a gardener woman (*mâlin*) and there they halted. She used to supply the Rânî of that land with flowers. The Gaḍariyâ, knowing that it was the Rânî, who had come in the boat, sent a message to her by the Mâlin that the traveller, whom she had met near the fig tree, had arrived. The Rânî put some gold coins (*ashrafî*) in a tray, and covering them with rice secretly, gave it to the Mâlin, and, as if to show her displeasure with her, marked her five times on each cheek with black, and told her to give the tray to the traveller and dismiss him from her house. If she failed to do so she would have her children forced to work at stoking the furnace of the grain parcher. The Gaḍariyâ, when he heard the account of the Mâlin's interview with the Rânî, said: "There are still ten days of the dark-fortnight remaining. When the light-nights come you will obtain an interview." When that time elapsed he again sent the Mâlin to inform the Rânî that the traveller still awaited her pleasure. The Rânî again appeared displeased, and gave the Mâlin, as before, a tray filled with gold coins for the traveller, and, marking each of her cheeks with five lines of white dismissed her. Then the Mâlin came back, and striking the Râjâ with a house broom (*baṛhnî*), ordered him and his companion to leave her house. After five days the Gaḍariyâ again sent the Mâlin to the Rânî to announce that the traveller was still waiting. The Rânî again appeared displeased and pushed the old woman out of the wicket of her palace. But the Gaḍariyâ consoled her and enquired what had happened. Then he told the Râjâ, "The Rânî means that it is by this wicket you are to go and visit her."

When night fell the Râjâ went to the wicket. When he arrived there he found a silken string hanging from the roof of the palace. The Gaḍariyâ said: "Ascend by this cord and visit the Rânî."

He went up, found the Rânî there, and sat down beside her; but through modesty he chanced to sit by the end of her couch, and the Rânî, believing him to be a fool, gave him some *pân* and dismissed him. On his return he told the Gaḍariyâ what had happened, and he replied: "Well, as you did not obey my orders, you will not see her again."

Then the Gaḍariyâ purchased a small tent and he and the Râjâ got themselves up as ascetics (*sâdhû*) and stayed outside the town. He told the Râjâ to personate an image of Śiva, and if anyone came to sit motionless and silent. He himself took a rice pounder (*mûsal*) and went about the city saying, "I have worshipped Mahâdêva for 12 years and in answer to my austerities he has appeared on earth." All the people came to worship the deity. Finally the Râjâ of the land and his daughter the Rânî came to worship. The Gaḍariyâ stopped him outside and said: "If you want to do worship, you must dismount and enter on foot." So he worshipped, and after him the Rânî,—she who had gone in the boat,—came to worship. The Gaḍariyâ made her too come in on foot. As she came in the Râjâ, suspecting who she was, opened his eyes. The Gaḍariyâ said, "All my trouble is wasted." Thus the Rânî was alarmed at seeing that the god had come to life, and went and told her father, the old Râjâ, who came and offered the Gaḍariyâ a handsome reward to take the deity out of his land, lest he should incur his curse. Finally the Gaḍariyâ obtained a *karoṛ* of rupees from the old Râjâ. When he got the money he and the young Râja left the place.

They went on to a neighbouring city, and then the Gaḍariyâ sent for a goldsmith (*sunâr*) and had a quantity of splendid jewellery made. Then he dressed the young Râjâ in women's attire and adorned him with the jewellery, and promised to bring him back to the old Râjâ's city and again introduce him to the young Rânî, but that he was not to come until the Rânî gave him leave. The Gaḍariyâ then purchased a fine horse and a litter (*pâlkî*). He mounted the horse himself, and took the young Râjâ in women's dress in the litter. When the old Râjâ heard that this equipage was approaching he went out to meet them and escorted them to his palace. The Gaḍariyâ said to the old Râjâ: "I am a Râjâ myself and this lady is the wife of my younger brother who has gone on his travels. I am going to search for him: meanwhile I request that you will allow this lady, my sister-in-law, to stay in the female apartments." The Râjâ said, "I agree. She can remain with my daughter." So the young Râjâ went into the female apartments, and the Gaḍariyâ went away on pretence of searching for his missing brother.

Then the young Râjâ in women's attire stayed with the Rânî. Some time after, one of the handmaidens suspected that he was a man in disguise and told the Rânî's brother. So he went to the Rânî and said, "I must see the person that is with you, as I suspect he is a man, not a woman." The Rânî said, "If you see her it must be in private, and you can come after four days and investigate the matter." When he had gone away the Rânî said to the young Râjâ, "There is an inner room in the palace and in it is a well. Stand inside with a drawn sword, and when my brother comes in cut off his head." So on the day her brother was expected she shut up the Râjâ in the inner room, and told her brother to go in and make his inquiries. As he came in the Râjâ cut off his head and flung his body into the well. Then the Rânî advised him to go back to the Gaḍariyâ and let him out by the secret wicket of the palace.

The Rânî then raised an outcry and said that her brother had eloped with the lady who was in her private apartments. Hearing this news her father, the old Râjâ, was much distressed in mind: and the Gaḍariyâ dressed the young Râjâ in his own clothes and sent him back to the palace with instructions to demand the return of his wife, to listen to no excuses, and only to withdraw his claim when the old Râjâ agreed to marry him to his daughter. This all happened as the Gaḍariyâ instructed him. The old king was deeply ashamed that his son had eloped with the lady. So he was obliged to assent to the Gaḍariyâ's terms. So in the end the Râjâ married the Rânî and they lived happily ever after — and the Gaḍariyâ was suitably rewarded.

# MISCELLANEA.

## SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

The note under the above heading, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 94, is interesting as drawing attention to the use of Sanskṛit words in the far East, and it must be admitted that all the Burmese words mentioned in it are clearly derived direct from Sanskṛit and not through Pâḷi. At the same time I can scarcely agree with the learned author in considering that any of such words relate to social life. It would seem, on the contrary, that they relate almost entirely to the ideas of philosophy, of theology, and of astrology, which are precisely the subjects in which Sanskṛit words have made most headway in the Non-Aryan languages of Southern India. Most of the latter class of languages in the Far East, (Chinese forming a noteworthy exception), would indeed seem to be deficient in the more abstract terms which they have consequently borrowed from the Sanskṛit. In the case of Burma, where partial civilisation was introduced by the Buddhist missionaries from India, it is natural to find a considerable number of the more abstract terms derived from the Pâḷi, and such words are, as a general rule, transliterated according to the old system of Burmese vowel-sounds, thus showing that they were introduced at a period not long subsequent to that when the language was reduced to writing. It seems, however, pretty certain that from very ancient times indeed the kings of Burma kept Brâhmaṇ astrologers at their court for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not. Now the Brâhmaṇs have unquestionably always used Sanskṛit works in performing their duties, — indeed they would most certainly eschew any Pâḷi books on astrology and cosmogony, even if such existed. It is natural also that they should interlard their reports and speeches as much as possible with Sanskṛit words, (the more high-sounding the better,) for the purpose of adding weight and abstruseness to their rigmaroles, and a certain proportion of such words would thus come to be adopted by the Court, and thence by the more cultivated classes. Further, the courtiers would gladly adopt from the Brâhmaṇs any grand Sanskṛit titles which might please the king's ear, and thus in both these ways a certain number of Sanskṛit words would creep into the language, though owing to the circumstances of their introduction probably not into common use. A further source for the supply of Sanskṛit words would be translations from books in that language, which have undoubtedly from time to time been made in Burma.

It is natural therefore that there should be a certain number of Sanskṛit words in Burmese relating to philosophical pseudo-scientific and courtly expressions, but we should certainly be surprised to find any such terms in common use, even at this epoch. The list of words given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko scarcely supports Dr. Trenckner's theory of an early Pâḷi form, and so far as internal evidence goes they would seem to have been borrowed at a comparatively late epoch in one of the ways above mentioned.

To illustrate this position we will discuss seriatim the twenty-one words adduced.

The first of these is adhvan अध्वन, which is principally used in Sanskṛit as an astrological term, signifying the 'orbit' or 'way' of the heavenly bodies, from which the meaning in Burmese of 'length, duration' is obviously a derivation. The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten. The use of the short tone in this, a word of Sanskṛit origin, is noteworthy.

The form which the word amṛita (अमृत) has assumed in Burmese is a decidedly anomalous one, though it is more than doubtful whether the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form of it had formerly the value (ô) attributed to it by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko, who, it may be remarked, gives no reasons for adopting this spelling. The final letter also is given as *k* and not *t* in[1] Dr. Judson's dictionary, no alteration, moreover, having been made in this spelling by the late "Spelling Reform Committee" of which Mr. Taw Sein-Ko himself was a member. This being so, the Burmese word would be transliterated *amraik*, adopting the modern pronunciation of the penultimate vowel. That the letter had always the *ai* sound is almost certainly not the case, though it does not by any means follow that it was always pronounced ô, as it still is when final. But from this very fact of the change of the vowel sound it can be shown that the word *amṛita* was adopted into the Burmese language at a comparatively late period, long after it was first reduced to writing by the Buddhist missionaries. For it may be taken as granted that this vowel belonged originally to the *u* '*varga*' (so to speak) and not to the *i* one, and it seems incredible that a Burman in trying to pronounce the vowel sound in *amṛita* should render it by *u*, ô, &c. On the

[1] [The *t*, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 95, is a misprint for *k*: see also my note on an analogous spelling, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 193.]—ED.

other hand, the vocalic *ri* of the Sanskṛit would be naturally rendered first by *ri* in Burmese, (the *r* being still extant,) after which the strengthening or *vṛiddhi* on the elision of a final *a*, of the vowel *i* to *ai*, (the modern sound of the vowel) though somewhat anomalous in Burmese is a perfectly legitimate example of the compensation for the loss of a vowel common in many languages. The late date of the introduction of this word into Burmese is also borne out by the final letter *k* which shews that the modern practice of confusing the sounds of final *k* and *t* was already in existence. The application of the epithet *amraik (amṛita)* to the Buddhist *nirvâṇa* is obviously modern and needs no discussion here.

According to the corrected spelling, the Sanskṛit **abhishêka** (अभिषेक) is represented in Burmese by *bhisik*, (not *bhissik*,) which word is if anything rather nearer to the Pâḷi than the Sanskṛit. This is, however, a matter of small importance, as this word was very probably indeed introduced by the Brâhmaṇs with the king of Burma. It may be added that the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being *i* and not *ê* is a proof of its late introduction (see *amṛita*).

With regard to **chakra**, चक्र (transliterated by *chakrá* in accordance with the Burmese tendency to throw the accent on the second syllable), this word originally meant the disc of Vishṇu and has since come to mean any supernatural weapon. The Burmese use it particularly to denote the weapon of Sakrâ (see below), but a far commoner word is *chak*, which is obviously derived from the Pâḷi *chakka*. We have therefore in Burmese two forms of the original root, one of which is very commonly used, and has formed compounds with several indigenous words, whilst the other is comparatively rare and is used principally in the language of flattery and in the more 'high-falutin' books. Under these circumstances the inference is irresistible that the former or Pâḷi word was that originally used, and that the Sanskṛit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar.

**Chakravâla**, चक्रवाल meant originally in Sanskṛit the range of mountains supposed to encircle the world, but in Burmese it means generally the world itself. The received cosmogony in Burma with its central Mrang8-môr[2], (Mêru) mountain, &c. &c., is so obviously of Brahmanical origin that little importance could in any case be attached to this word. It seems very probable that the Burmese have derived their cosmogony from the Brâhmaṇ astrologers at the Court.

The same observations apply to **chakravatî**, 'universal ruler,' as to **chakra**, the word having probably come into use through the courtiers at the king's court, (and who are more cunning flatterers than the Brahmans ?). The last syllable we would derive direct from the Sanskṛit nominative *varti*, the Burmese phonological ideas coinciding very much with those of the old speakers of Pâḷi.

**Chaṅkram** चङ्क्रम्. This seems to be rather a doubtful Sanskṛit word, — at any rate it is not given in Monier Williams' *Dictionary*. There may possibly be such a word with the meaning "promenade" derived like *chaṅkramá* from *kram*, but, so far as we can see at present, authority is wanting, and such being the case it is unnecessary here to discuss further this word.

The Sanskṛit **dravya** द्रव्य, meaning 'stuff' or 'wealth,' (and generally used in Southern India with the latter signification) becomes *drap* in Burmese spelling, but is there used solely in philosophical works to signify 'substance' or 'matter,' and has never come into common usage. It is evidently a purely scientific term probably introduced by some translator of a Sanskṛit work on philosophy. As regards the word for planet (**groh**) we need only say that if any word was likely to be introduced by the Brahman astrologers it would be this.

The Sanskṛit **kalpa**, कल्प, and the Pali kappa have both derivatives in Burmese, namely *kambhá*[3] and *kap*, but as precisely the same observations apply to these as to *chakrá* and *chak* it is unnecessary to discuss them further.

**Mrigasiras** मृगशिरस् and **Pushya** पुष्य, are merely the names of two lunar *nakshatras* and it is therefore natural to find the Burmese equivalents derived from Sanskṛit and not from Pâḷi.

**Parisat**, (as it is now spelt,—not *parisad*) is defined in Judson's *Dictionary* as a 'religious assembly,' but it is also used for an assembly in general. The original Sanskṛit word means rather a 'council,' as in a Court, or an assembly of ministers, and it is not a violent assumption to

[2] [It would be interesting to know how the author would account for *môr* = Mêru.]—ED.

[3] Mr. Taw Sein Ko is doubtless right in deriving this word from *kalpa*, but at the same time the words *allâpa-llâpa* quoted by him are always pronounced, in Arakan at least, as spelt, and not as *aṅlâpa-saṅlâpa*. The change of final *l* to *n* is however not unknown in the Tibeto-Burman family, *cf.* Lushai *lâl*, and Southern Chin *lân*, 'a chief.'

suppose that it was so first used by the Brâhmaṇs in the king's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended.

As with *chakra* and *kalpa*, so has the Sanskṛit prakṛiti प्रकृति (not *prakati*) two derivatives in Burmese one direct from Sanskṛit and the other (*pakati,*) from Pâḷi, and as with those words the latter is the more commonly used.

The Sanskṛit **prâsâda** प्रासाद (Burm. *prâsâd*), means 'a palace,' and although the word has now come to mean a pointed turret, wherever placed, it seems probable that it first meant the king's palace, as consisting originally mainly of this kind of building, and has thence come to mean generally this peculiar architectural ornament. The latter would seem to have been introduced from China at a comparatively late period, and it is unlikely that the early Buddhist monks (coming as they did from India), adorned their monasteries with them, as is the custom now-a-days.[4]

The fact of **pritta** (from the Sanskṛit *prêta*), being spelt with an *i* instead of an *ê* is fairly conclusive that this word was introduced at a comparatively late period when the modern pronunciation of penultimate *i* as *ê* had become established. This word has not the meaning assigned to it in Sanskṛit and it is met with principally in books.

The Pâḷi form **isi** of the word *ṛishi* ऋषि is found in Burmese (at least according to Dr. Judson), as well as in Talaing, but **rasê** or *yaþê* (for *ṛishi*) is undoubtedly more generally met with. Practically in Burmese it is however more used as a title of respect than otherwise, and looking to the fact of the Pâḷi term being generally used by the Talaings it would seem probable that the Sanskṛit word has with the Burmans superseded the Pâḷi one, owing to its being more 'high-falutin' and therefore more likely to please the monk addressed.

The term **samudarâ** for 'sea' has in Burmese never in the slightest way supplanted the vernacular *panglay* (*pinlè*) and it is used almost entirely for purposes of metaphor. It was therefore probably introduced at a late period by some philosophical writer.

The next word, **Sâriputtarâ,** is the only one which I think in any way supports Mr. Taw Sein-Ko's case, and it is undoubtedly remarkable as noted by him that the chief disciple of Gautama Buddha should be known in Burma by his Sanskṛit appellation.

It is however possible that this name may have become popularised through a Burmese translation of some Sanskṛit Buddhistic work, in which this disciple formed a prominent figure; but the matter requires further investigation.

**Sattavâ** has the meaning in Burmese only of a 'rational being,' though in Sanskṛit besides the common meaning of 'goodness' it denotes beings in general, and not merely rational ones. It seems probable that the Sanskṛit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works), was adopted in Burmese, because in that language the Pâḷi root *satta* would have been identical with *satta* "seven," and might have led to confusion.

Last on the list given by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko is **Sikrâ,**[5] (whose name is however more correctly spelt by Dr. Judson as **Sakrâ,**) and who is styled by him the "Recording Angel of Buddhism." In giving this personage the latter title however the learned writer must surely have allowed this religious zeal to overstep his discretion, as a very little inquiry would have shown him that the popular Burmese "Thajâ" is simply our old friend Indra (Śakra) somewhat altered to suit Burmese (not Buddhist) ideas. In spite of their Buddhistic professions no people are less atheists than the Burmese, and in addition to the old *nàt* or spirit worship (common to all races of the Tibeto-Burman stock), they have adopted as a superior kind of spirits many of the Hindu gods.[6] Indra (Śakra) is naturally the chief of these, and has from one cause or another come to occupy a very conspicuous place in Burmese ideas. Now however much the Buddhists in India may have found it expedient to adopt the Hindu cosmogony it is very unlikely that the early Buddhist missionaries in Burma, finding themselves amongst a Mongoloid race of spirit-worshippers would have dragged any Hindu gods into their religious system; and the absence therefore of a Pâḷi synonym is easily a explained. It is true that in several of the *Zâts*, the Sakrâmang (Thajâ-min) is brought in as a kind of *Deus ex machinâ*, but no argument can be drawn from this until the date and place of origin of these stories is more definitely ascertained. (The fact of Śakrâ (Indra), being made to figure favourably in Buddhist stories would seem to imply that this god was very popular amongst the Hindus converted by Buddhism, and hence it was considered expedient to incorporate him into the Buddhist system), So warped have the modern

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4 [The ancient remains in the Talaing Country do not bear out this idea.]—ED.

5 The popular etymology of this word would seem to be responsible for this alternative spelling. Many cases of wrong spelling in English can be shown to be due to this cause.

6 The word *dêva* is commonly understood to mean a spirit or fairy by the Burmese.

ideas of *śakra* become that it is even supposed that there is a whole class of spirits of that name of whom Sakra-mang (Indra) is chief, but never until now we fancy has that worthy figured as the Buddhist Recording Angel. Truly, *mutato nomine de te fabulae narrantur.*

In connection with *Śakrâ* it may be noted the well-known Burmese sankran is obviously derived from the Sanskrit *Sankrânti*[7], meaning the passage of the sun from one sign to another. It may be predicated with equal certainly that both words were introduced by the Brâhmaṇs[8] at the king's court.

BERNARD HOUGHTON, C. S.

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A NOTE ON THE NAME SHWE-DAGON.

The name Shwê-Dagôn has always been a stumbling-block to antiquaries. It is now spelt Takun and pronounced Dagôn. But in the last and earlier centuries it was evidently also pronounced Digôn, for Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s.v.* Dagôn, quotes Pinto, 1546, to this effect, and the word is always Digon in Flouest's account of his travels in 1786.[1] It is always Digon (except once: "Digone capitale del Pegù," p. 149) in Quirini's *Vita di Monsignor G. M. Percoto*, 1781: and it is Digon in a map by Antonio Zultae e figli, Venezia, 1785.

Yule further quotes Gasparo Balbi, 1585, for Dogon, and Fitch, 1587, for Dogonne. Dogon also occurs in eight of Van der Aa's maps in my possession dated 1720: and Dougon in French maps, dated 1705, 1710, 1720 and 1764. The modern pronunciation of the word was used in 1755, for Yule quotes the *Oriental Repertory* both for Dagon and Dagoon. Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 1803 (pp. 18, 23) has Dagon. Crawfurd, 1829, *Embassy to Ava* (pp. 346, 347) calls it Dagong. There is further a curious word Tocdegon in one of Mortier's maps, 1740.

In the Pôgûg daung Inscription, 1774 A.D., the shrine is called, in Pâḷi, Digumpachêti, so that the Burmese Dagôn (=Digôn) = the Pâḷi Digumpa, The form Digôn would be a legitimate equivalent in the vernacular for Digumpa. *Pace* Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early Hist. and Geog. of British Burma*, No. 1, the name of Rangoon, or more correctly of the town round the Shwê-Dagôn Pagoda, then newly restored and enlarged, in the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, (1476 A.D.) is Tigumpanagara, and not Trikumbha°, or Tikumbha°, as he says, following the modern (false ?) Palicism of the Burmese *literati*, who always write Tikumbha and Tikumbhachêti. Whether Digôn or Dagôn is a Burmese derivative from a Pâḷi form Tigumpa or Digumpa, or whether the latter are false Palicisms for the Burmese word is not yet certain: but the presumption would be in favour of the latter hypothesis. We then have to fall back on Digôn or Dagôn as an indigenous or borrowed word.

Now the modern Anglo-Indian word dagoba, formerly also dhagope, dagop and dhagob, is no doubt derived ultimately from the Pâḷi (and ? Prakritic) dhâtugabbha = Skr. dhâtugarbha, which in modern Siṅhalese is dâgaba. It means a receptacle for Buddhist relics, but, literally, an inner chamber for deposits (ἄδυτον, *cella*). Yule says that to derive dagôn from the same source as dagoba is mere guess-work. There is, however, more in favour of this derivation than of any other yet produced, so far as I know. Thus, we have *dâgaba*, Siṅhalese, admittedly from *dhâtugabbha*, and as far back as the 16th century we have a persistent word *tigumpa* or *digumpa* (= *dagôn, digôn*) in Burma with the same meaning. Until a clear derivation is made out, it is, therefore, not unsafe to say that *dagôn* represents some mediæval Indian current form of *dhâtugabbha*. This view is supported by a word gompa, used in the Himâlayas about Sikkim for a Buddhist shrine, which looks *primâ facie* like the remains of some such words as *gabbha*, the latter half of the compound *dhâtugabbha*.

The derivation of Dagôn from a Talaing word Takkun, and the legend[2] attached thereto, may be safely discarded as folk-etymology, and the derivation from tikumbha or trikumbha is even more open to the charge of guess-work, though accepted by Yule, who follows Forchhammer blindly, as final. For, in the first place, either form is a doubtful reading from the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions; in the next place neither Trikumbha-nagara[3] in Sanskrit nor Tikumbha-nagara in Pâḷi would mean 'Three' hill City, as Forchhammer, *loc. cit.*, says, *kumbha* being in no sense a 'hill,' which is *kûta*; and in the third place, there are not (*pace* Forchhammer)

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[7] [But see my note Vol. XXI. p. 193 *ante*, on this word.] —ED.

[8] It is curious to note how in some parts of the *Zâts* the Brâhmaṇ is made to play the part of the modern 'villain,' whilst at the same time he is always resorted to for purposes of divination and state-craft.

[1] *T'aung Pao*, Vol. I. Les Français en Birmanie au XVIIIe Siècle, *passim*.

[2] Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Dagon. *British Burma Gazetteer*, *s.v.* Shwêdagôn.

[3] The form Tikum[bha]nagara is comparable with Kêlâsa[bha]pabbatachêtiya in the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, where *bha* has been clearly interpolated. I understand that there are other instances of such insertions of *bha* in the "Pâli" writings of the Talaings.

three hills on the site of the Shwê-Dagôn Pagoda at Rangoon.

**There is another Shwê-Dagôn at Martaban,** now said to be so-called because it was founded at the same time as the great Shwê-Dagôn at Rangoon, but it is quite possible that it was really so named because it also was a 'golden dagoba.'

R. C. TEMPLE.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### RATANASINGHA—SHWEBO—MOUTSHOBO—KÔNGBAUNG.

**The Burmese are so fond of Pâḷi designations for places in their epigraphic, official and historical documents, that it will be necessary, as these are further studied, to prepare a "classical map" of Burma.** This I hope to do before very long.

The name above given, **Ratanasiṅgha,** or as the Burmese pronounce it **Yedanâþêṅgà,** is typical of these classical and semi-classical names, of which many are quite modern inventions. The second part if it is not *saṅgha*, as Gray in his *Alompra Dynasty* supposes, but *siṅgha*.

There are three Burmese words, all having the same phonetic value, *viz*., *þêṅgà*, which are written respectively *siṅga*, *siṅk'a*, and *siṅg'a*. *Siṅga*[1] is a kind of gold used in ornaments. *Siṅk'a* is said to mean 'the Capital.' *Siṅg'á* is said to mean 'a meeting point, a place where four cross-roads meet.' The Burmese meaning attached to the name Ratanasiṅg'a is 'the meeting point of the treasures.'

The Pâḷi word for *siṅga* is *siṅgî* = Skr. *śṛiṅgi* and *śṛiṅgî*. *Siṅg'a* appears in Pâli as *siṅghâṭaka*, and in Skr. as *śṛiṅgâṭa* and *śṛiṅgâṭaka*. *Siṅk'a* I cannot trace in the classical tongues, though it would apparently be a legitimate enough derivative from the root common to *siṅga* and *siṅg'a*. All the three words, and at any rate *siṅga* and *siṅg'a*, are traceable to a stem, which in Skr. is *śṛiṅga*, 'a top or summit.'

*Ratana* is the Pâḷi form of the Skr. *ratna*, 'a gift, a treasure,' and appears in the classical name for two famous Burmese towns, *viz*., **Yedanâpûyà** and **Yedanâbôn.** Yedanâpûyà = **Ratanapura = Âva,** as the English pronounce the well-known word, = **Awà and Iṅwà,** as Burmese pronounce it. Yedanâbôn = **Ratanapuṇṇa = Mandalay.**

**Ratanasiṅgha**[2] = **Shwêbô,** the first Capital of the Alompra Dynasty and the home of Alaungp'ayâ (Alompra) himself.

Shwêbô, as the town is now known, is the **Moutshobo** of Phayre and the old histories, documents and maps.

Near Shwêbô is a famous reservoir, known as **Kôngbaung,** and hence to the Burmese the two names have become synonymous. They so appear in the title of the eighth king of the Alompra Dynasty, 1837-1846 A. D., who is known to us as **Þarâwadî** (Tharawaddy), his title as prince,[3] but to the Burmese as Shwêbô or Kôngbaung, his title as king.

R. C. TEMPLE.

**Moutshôbô**[4] represents the Burmese word **Môksôbô** (spelt Mus'gôp'ô 8), the old name for **Shwêbô.** It means the cooking-place (*p'ô*) of the hunter (*mus'ô* g, pronounced *môksô*).

There is a curious legend attached to this name. When the Talaings in 1751 A. D. turned out the Burmese (Taung-ngû) Dynasty of Ava there was current a prophecy that one of the *p'ôs* (an apparent pun on the word *bô*,[5] spelt *bôl*, = Pâḷi, *bala*, a leader) would restore the Burmese line. At that time there were three towns having the suffix *p'ô* (*bô*) to their names, *viz*., Môksôbô, Ôkp'ô now a deserted town in the Mandalay District, and a third, whose full name and site are now forgotten, in the Magwê District. The duty of turning out the Talaings fell four years later to Môksôbô, under the leadership of Alaungp'ayâ.

TAW SEIN KO.

[1] It is also written with its true Pâḷi form, *siṅgî*. See below in the text.

[2] Ratanâthinga in Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 152.

[3] Þarâwadi, Pâli Sarâvatî, (= ? Skr. Śarâvatî) was a division of the old Talaing kingdom of Pegu (Haṁsâvatî in Pâli), and is now the Tharawaddy District.

[4] [The *tsh* in this word and the *ths* of Phayre's form of it (see next note) are interesting. The letter pronounced by the Burmese as *s* is the *ch* of the Nâgarî Alphabet, and was always represented by the school to which Phayre and the writers of his time belonged by *ts*, for some reason I have been unable to ascertain. The aspirated form, pronounced by the Burmese as *s*, (=*chh* of Nâgarî), Phayre and the others wrote *tsh* and often also *ths*. This last arose from assimilation to the other aspirates they employed, such as *hk*, *hg*, *ht*, *hd*, &c., in place of the usual *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, &c. This latter habit arose from the pronunciation of the Nâgarî *s* by the Burmese both as þ and ð, which these writers represented by *th*, as in English. Hence *tsh* really = *s'* and Moutshobo = Mous'obo. The pronounciation of *mou* in the above word is gauged by Phayre's writing it *mu*. Moutshobo and Muthsobo are in fact nothing but attempts to transliterate the characters represented by Mus'obo.—ED.]

[5] [Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 150, explains "Muthsôbô" as the home of the hunter-captain, *i. e.*, *môksô*, hunter, *bô(l)*, leader.—ED.]

# A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI. 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(*Continued from page* 17.)

ON arrival at Kusimanagara, Uttarâjîvamahâthera embarked in a ship, accompanied by many other priests and by a *sâmaṇêra*, whose age was fully 20 years. Who was this *sâmaṇêra* ? Why was he called Chhapaṭasâmaṇêra ? His parents were natives of Kusimaraṭṭha, while he himself was a pupil of Uttarâjîvamahâthêra. He was called Chhapaṭasâmaṇêra, because his parents were natives of a village called Chhapaṭa, in Kusimaraṭṭha.

Uttarâjîvamahâthêra embarked in a ship and set out for Laṅkâdîpa. On his arrival there, the *mahâthêras*, residing in Laṅkâdîpa, came together in a body and accorded him a meet reception. As they were well disposed towards him they said: "We are the spiritual successors of Mahâmahindathêra, who established the Religion in Laṅkâdîpa, while you and the other priests in your company are the spiritual successors of the two *mahâthêras*, called Sôṇa and Uttara, who established the Religion in Suvaṇṇabhûmi. Let us all, therefore, perform together the ceremonies incumbent upon the Order." Having spoken thus, they performed the *upasampadâ* ordination on Chhapaṭa, the twenty-year old *sâmaṇêra*.

After this, Uhttarâjîvamahâthêra, having accomplished the object of his visit, namely, the worshipping, &c., at the shrines in Laṅkâdîpa, made preparations to return to Pugâma.

Then the priest Chhapaṭa thought thus: "If I were to return home with Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, owing to the impediments caused by my relatives, I should not be able to enjoy that peace and quiet, which are conducive to the study of the *Tipiṭaka* together with its commentaries. It is, perhaps, advisable, therefore, that I should, with the permission of the *mahâthêra*, remain in Laṅkâdîpa, and return home only after I have mastered the *Tipiṭaka* together with its commentaries." Accordingly, Chhapaṭa asked permission from Uttarâjîvamahâthêra and remained behind in Laṅkâdîpa.

Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, accompanied by his large company of priests, embarked in a ship, and returned to Kusimanagara. Thence he proceeded to Pugâma, and took up his residence there.

Meanwhile, the priest, Chhapaṭa, by dint of hard study, had acquired a knowledge of the *Tipiṭaka* together with its commentaries; and, as he had completed his tenth year in orders, he acquired the designation of *thêra*. Being now desirous of returning to Pugâma, he reflected thus: "If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, I did not wish to associate with the priests of Pugâma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of a *pañchavaggagaṇa*, perform such functions separately? It is, perhaps, proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other priests, who are well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*."

After reflecting thus, he appointed Sîvalithêra, a native of Tâmalitthi,[13] Tâmalindathêra, the son of the Râjâ of Kambôja, Ânandathêra, a native of Kiñchipura, and Râhulathêra, a native of Laṅkâdîpa, to accompany him, and, embarking in a ship, returned to his native country. These five *mahâthêras* were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, and were learned and able; and, among them, Râhulathêra was the ablest and the most learned.

On the arrival of these five mahâthêras at Kusimanagara, the time for journeying on to Pugâma was unseasonable, because of the approaching *vassa*, and they, accordingly, observed their *vassa* at Kusimanagara. The site and walls of the monastery, where they spent the *vassa*, may be seen to this day, on the south side of Kusimanagara. At the conclusion of the

[13] Tâmalitthi is probably Tamluk in Bengal; Kambôja is either Cambodia or the Shân States, and Kiñchipura is probably Conjeveram in Madras.

observance of the *vassa*, **Chhapaṭamahâthêra** celebrated the *pavâraṇâ*, and **set out for Pugâma**, accompanied by the four *thêras*.

Meanwhile, a few days before the arrival of Chhapaṭamahâthêra, Uttarâjîvamahâthêra had died.

On reaching Pugâma, Chhapaṭathêra heard that his own teacher, Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, was dead, and repaired to his tomb and performed such acts as that of making obeisance and asking the forgiveness of the deceased. He then took counsel with the four *thêras*, addressing them thus: "As the *mahâthêras* of Laṅkâdîpa associated with our teacher, the venerable Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, it is proper that we should now perform such functions after associating ourselves with the priests of Pugâma, who are the spiritual successors of Sôṇathêra and Uttarathêra. **However, our teacher, Uttarâjîvamahâthêra, who was a native of Râmaññadêsa, was formerly the sole Head of the Church: but now, the priests of Marammadêsa**[14] **have become Lords of the Church; and we are not disposed to associate with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies."** Thus, through pride, Chhapaṭamahâthêra declined to associate with the priests of Pugâma in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately.

**It should thus be borne in mind that, in the year 543,**[15] **Sakkarâj, and the 124th year that had elapsed since the introduction of the Religion to Pugâma in Marammadêsa from Sudhammanagara in Râmaññadêsa, the Religion from Laṅkâdîpa was established in Pugâma.**

At that time, a king, called **Narapatijayasûra, was ruling in Pugâma. He conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five mahâthêras,** and, after having had a bridge of boats constructed on the great river Êrâvatî (Irrawaddy), requested them to perform the *upasampadâ* ordination on the many priests who desired to receive it. In consequence of this, the *mahâthêras* gradually gained influence and their following grew in numbers.

One day, the king ordered festivals to be held in honour of the occasion of his giving a great offering to the five *mahâthêras*. On that occasion, **Râhulathêra** saw a beautiful dancing-girl, and the loss of his delight in asceticism became burdensome to him. He longed to be a layman, and made preparations to carry out his object. Chhapaṭamahâthêra and the three other *mahâthêras* repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, and, in a body, entreated him to turn away, from the course he had resolved to take. But the religious discourses expounded by the four *mahâthêras*, by way of admonition, were of no avail in turning his mind. They, therefore, said: "Brother, we have expounded to you various religious discourses by way of admonition, and yet, we have not been able to turn you away from your object. Such being the case, do you forbear to become a layman here, but go to Râmaññadêsa, and there embark for Malayadîpa, where you may carry out your wish." Being repeatedly urged to adopt this course, he **went to Râmaññadêsa, and thence by ship to Malayadîpa.**

Now, the **King of Malayadîpa** was desirous of learning the *Vinaya*, and **Râhulathêra taught him** the *Khuddasikkhâ* together with its commentary, and instructed him in the meaning of the text of the whole of the *Vinaya*. The King was pleased with the *thêra*, and presented him with an alms-bowl filled with many kinds of gems. **Râhulathêra** accepted the gift, **became a layman, and married.**

Subsequently, of these four *mahâthêras*, Chhapaṭamahâthêra died, and the surviving three *mahâthêras*, namely, Sîvalimahâthêra, Tâmalindamahâthêra, and Ânandamahâthêra, continued to maintain the Religion in splendour in Pugâma.

One day, the King of Pugâma, having conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the

[14] Burma proper, as distinguished from Râmaññadêsa, the land of the Talaings.

[15] This yields the date 1181 A.D.

three *mahâthêras*, presented them with three elephants. The two *mahâthêras*, namely, Sîvalimahâthêra, and Tâmalindamahâthêra, liberated their two elephants in a forest. But Ânandathêra, saying to himself: — "I shall make a present of my elephant to my relatives living in Kiñchipura," proceeded to Kusimanagara and shipped it off. The two *mahâthêras* then said: 'Brother, when we received our elephants, we set them free in a forest. Why have you caused pain to an animal by making a present of it to your relatives? Your action is improper." Ânandathêra replied: "Why, Reverend Sirs, have you spoken to me in this manner? What! Reverend Sirs, has not the Blessed One declared that kindness to one's relatives is a sacred duty?" The two *mahâthêras* continued: "Ânanda, you are indeed headstrong. If, brother, you will not accept the advice and admonition from elders like us, do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and we shall perform ours in like manner." Thenceforward, the two *mahâthêras* performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and Ânandathêra performed his likewise.

In course of time, Tâmalindamahâthêra, for the benefit of his pupils, who were learned, wise, and able, said to the laymen, belonging to the ruling and other classes, that came to his presence: "O laymen, the priests are learned, wise, and able; but, because of their not being supplied with the 'four requisites,' they are unable to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts. Laymen, it is our desire, therefore, that these priests should be furnished with the 'four requisites.' Should you undertake to do this, the priests would certainly be enabled to devote themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, or to the observance of the precepts." The *thêra* thus procured the 'four requisites' by means of *vachîviññatti*. Then Sîvalimahâthêra said to Tâmalindathêra: "Brother, the acquisition of 'requisites,' by means of *vachîviññatti*, was censured by the Blessed One; but why, brother, have you procured the 'four requisites' by means of *vachîviññatti?* Your action is improper." Tâmalindathêra replied to Sîvalimahâthêra: "Reverend Sir, the acquisition of 'requisites,' by means of *vachîviññatti*, was censured by the Blessed One, when such property was for oneself; but, Reverend Sir, the 'four requisites,' procured by me by means of *vachîviññatti*, were not for myself. I thought that, if my pupils, who are learned, wise, and able, obtained the 'four requisites,' and devoted themselves to the acquisition of scriptural knowledge, and to the observance of the precepts, the interests of the Religion would be promoted; and therefore, I procured for them the 'four requisites' by means of *vachîviññatti*." Sîvalimahâthêra again said to Tâmalindathêra: "Brother Tâmalinda, is this your explanation? Do you perform your ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and I shall perform mine likewise. Brother Tâmalinda, association in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies is agreeable only when the parties taking part in the performance are of the same mind and opinions and are amenable to the advice and admonition of each other." Thenceforward, these two *mahâthêras* performed their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

**At that period, there were, in Pugâma, four distinct communities of priests, each of which formed a separate sect, namely, — (i) the successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara; (ii) the disciples of Sîvalimahâthêra; (iii) the disciples of Tâmalindamahâthêra; (iv) the disciples of Ânandamahâthêra.**

**Of these communities, that of the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sudhammanagara, was called by the Marammas of Pugâma the 'Purima' fraternity, because of their anterior arrival; and the remaining communities, whose members were the spiritual successors of the priests, who introduced the Religion from Sîhaḷadîpa, were called the 'Sîhaḷa' fraternity, and also the 'Pacchima' fraternity, because of their later arrival.**

Two of these three *mahâthêras*, namely, Sîvalimahâthêra and Tâmalindamahâthêra, passed away according to their deeds after maintaining the Religion in splendour to the end of their lives; and **Ânandathêra**, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the

Religion in splendour in Pugâma, also **passed away according to his deeds in the year 607, Sakkarâj.**[16]

## Reverse face of the first Stone.

*May the Religion of the Conqueror shine forth in splendour!*

A *sâmaṇêra,* called **Sâriputta, who was a native of Padippajêyya village,**[17] **in the province of Dala, went to Pugâma and received the upasampadâ ordination at the hands of Ânandathêra.** He studied both the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* together with their commentaries. Being thus well-versed in the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*, the fame of the learning, wisdom, and ability of the priest, Sâriputta, spread abroad. The King of Pugâma heard about his fame, and reflecting:—"If the priest, Sâriputta, is learned, well-informed, a seeker of knowledge, wise, and able, and, if the members of his body are perfect, I shall do him honour by appointing him to be my Preceptor," sent messengers to institute enquiries. The messengers sent by the King, accordingly proceeded to enquire whether the members of the body of the priest, Sâriputta, were perfect. In the course of their enquiry, they found that one of the big toes of the priest was too short, and reported the result of their investigation to the King. **The King** thinking inwardly: "The priest is not perfect in all the members of his body," presented him with a great many offerings, **conferred on him the title of Dhammavilâsathêra,** and dismissed him with the injunction: "Do you maintain the Religion in splendour in Râmaññadêsa."

**Dhammavilâsathêra proceeded to Râmaññadêsa,** and taught the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* to a great many priests in Dalanagara.[18] The people of Râmaññadêsa called, at the time, **the fraternity of these priests at Dalanagara, the Sîhaḷapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha,** and designated as **the Ariyârahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha, the fraternity of priests who were already in the country** and were the spiritual successors of Sôṇâmahâthêra and Uttaramahâthêra.

**There was a learned mahâthêra, belonging to the Ariyârahantapakkhabhikkhusaṅgha,** who lived in a monastery situated near the mouth of a river, **in the Lakkhiyapura, province,**[19] **called the Bakâsa,** because of its teeming with fish, which served as food for paddy-birds. Near the monastery, was a market, and not far from the latter was a settlement where a great number of Kambôja prisoners of war were located. On account of this fact, the market was called the Kambôja[20] Market, and the monastery was called the Kambôjâpaṇavihâra, because of its vicinity to the Kambôja Market. The *mahâthêra,* living in the monastery was, in like manner, called the Paṭhama-Kambôjâpaṇavihârathêra. Subsequently, the designation **Paṭhama-Kambôjâpaṇavihârathêra** was changed to **Kambôjâpaṇamahâthêra.**

A pious nobleman, called Sîrijayavaḍḍhana, who was living at Dalapura, built a monastery near a great lake, and invited the Kambôjâpaṇamahâthêra to occupy it. At that period, because this Kambôjâpaṇamahâthêra was the oldest and most celebrated member of the Ariyârahantasaṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, the whole of that fraternity was designated the **Kambôjâpaṇamahâthêrasaṅghapakkha.**

In after times, the designation Kambôjâpaṇamahâthêrasaṅghapakkha fell into disuse, and the fraternity was called the **Kambôjâpaṇasaṅghapakkha.** However, the latter term Kambôjâpaṇasaṅghapakkha itself fell into disuse, and the fraternity came to be known as the **Kambôjâsaṅghapakkha.**

**Because the Ariyârahantasaṅghapakkha, in Dalanagara, was called the Kambôjasaṅghapakkha, the same designation was, thenceforward, applied to that fraternity in the whole of Râmaññadêsa.**

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16 *i.e.,* in 1245 A.D.

17 Near Rangoon.

18 The modern Dalà, about 15 miles S. E. of Rangoon.

19 Lekk'aik near Twàntê in the Hanthawaddy District.

20 *i. e.,* the Shân Market.

There were in Muttimanagara[21]—(i) the Kâmbôjâsaṅghapakkha; (ii) the Sîhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Sîvalimahâthêra; (iii) the Sîhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Tâmalindamahâthêra; (iv) the Sîhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Ânandamahâthêra; (v) the Sîhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Buddhavaṁsamahâthêra, the Preceptor of the Queen, who went to Sîhaḷadîpa and received his *upasampadâ* ordination there, and who, on his return, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately in Muttimanagara; and (vi) the Sîhaḷasaṅghapakkha, whose members were the spiritual successors of Mahâsâmimahâthêra, otherwise called Mahânâgamahâthêra, who visited Sîhaḷadîpa and received his *upasampadâ* ordination there, and who, on his return to Muttimanagara, performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately.

Through the inability of these six divisions of the Order to perform ecclesiastical ceremonies together, various fraternities and sects arose into existence.

Owing to the want of a large number of priests, who were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, learned, wise, and able, and who could, after meeting and consulting together, investigate as to what was proper or not, the *mahâthêras*, belonging to any of these six sects, would, whenever they had to perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as the consecration of a *simâ* and the *upasampadâ* ordination, carry out their object in a manner that appeared fitting to them, thinking inwardly: "We, indeed, are wise and qualified."

There were some *thêras*, who, wishing to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta* of whatever size, would place boundary-marks all round it, and carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapâsa* the priests who were within the boundary; but they would not effect purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa* the priests living outside the boundary, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. In such a *simâ* the *upasampadâ* ordination would be performed.

There were some *thêras*, who declared: "If it is desired to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta*, such consecration should be carried out after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa*, &c., the priests residing round that *gâmakhêtta*, who are inside or outside the boundary." Therefore, whenever a *simâ* was to be consecrated, they thought that it would be difficult to purify the whole of the *gâmasimâ*, and would not ascertain the true nature of the characteristics of a *visuṁgâma*. They, however, assumed that, if a piece of land, with its boundaries defined, was granted by a king, that land was a *visuṁgâma*; and they would ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of a piece of land, which they had chosen, and whose area would be sufficient for the consecration of a *simâ*, or of a piece of land of larger area. They would then consecrate the *simâ* after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa*, &c., the priests residing on the *gâmakhêtta*, but without effecting purification in regard to the whole of the *gâmasimâ*. In such a *simâ* the *upasampadâ* ordination would be performed.

There were some *thêras*, who, holding the opinion that "there would be mutual confusion, if two *baddhasimâs* were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c., but there would be no such confusion, if a *baddhasimâ* and a *gâmasimâ*, or two *gâmasimâs*, were connected with each other by the branches of trees, &c.," would, whenever there was a *simâ* to be consecrated on a *gâmakhêtta*, perform the consecration without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that *gâmakhêtta* with the others around it, but after effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa*, &c., the priests residing on that *gâmakhêtta*. In such a *simâ* the *upasampadâ* ordination would be performed.

There were some *thêras*, who would not ascertain, in every way, the characteristics of rivers or lakes, mentioned in the *pâḷi* and the *aṭṭhakathâs*, and who, without ascertaining well

[21] Martaban near Maulmain.

the interpretation of the words mentioned in the *aṭṭhakathâs*, namely, *anvaḍḍhamâsaṁ anudasâhaṁ anupañchâhaṁ* would, in this excessively rainy region of Râmaññadêsa, perform the *upasampadâ* ordination in an *udakukkhêpasimâ* consecrated on a river or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristics.

There were some *thêras*, who, whenever they wished to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta*, would cut off the branches of trees, &c., that connected it with other *gâmakhêttas*, and carry out their object through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa* the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gâmakhêtta*, of receiving the declarations of assent of such of them as were absent, and of excluding such of them as merited exclusion. But, whenever there was an *upasampadâ* ordination to be performed in such a *simâ*, the ceremony would be performed without cutting off the branches of trees, &c., which connected that *gâmakhêtta* with others.

**In the two thousand and second year that had elapsed since the Parinirvâṇa of the Fully Enlightened One, and the 820th year of Sakkarâj,[22] there reigned in Haṁsavatînagara,[23] Râmâdhipati, who, assuming the title of Sîripavaramahâdhammarâjâdhirâjâ, ruled justly and righteously and afforded protection to the people of Râmaññadêsa, which comprised the three provinces of Kusimamaṇḍala, Haṁsavatîmaṇḍala, and Muttimamaṇḍala.[24]** He was the Lord of a White Elephant, whose colour was like that of the white esculent water-lily, or of the *jasminum multiflorum*, or of the autumnal moon, and was replete with faith and many other qualities. He was well-acquainted with the languages of various countries, and with many manual arts, such as masonry and carpentry. He was, moreover, learned and well-read, and was versed in the *Tipiṭaka* and the sciences of *takka*, *byâkaraṇa*, *chanda*, *alaṅkâra*, astrology, medicine, and arithmetic, pertaining to the *Vêdasâ*. The King had exceedingly deep faith in the Religion of the Teacher, and the following thoughts arose in his mind: "The *upasampadâ* ordination is dependent on that of *pabbajjâ*, and the basis of the Religion itself is the *upasampadâ* ordination, which in order to be appropriate, inviolable, and valid, must be possessed of five characteristics, namely, *simâsampatti*, *parisasampatti*, *vatthusampatti*, *ñattisampatti*, and *anusâvanasampatti*. Of these characteristics there exist means of attesting the validity of *vatthusampatti* and *ñattisampatti*, owing respectively to the ability of a candidate for the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination to fulfil the condition of the former, and to the accessibility of qualified *âchâriyas*, who could recite the *kammavâchâ* with correct intonation. But, by what criterion can I ascertain the non-existence of *simâsampatti* and *parisasampatti*?"

**The King, in repeatedly investigating and considering the ruling of the Vinaya as regards the consecration of a simâ, which would be in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One,** as interpreted by the authors of *aṭṭhakathâs*, *ṭîkâs*, and *pakaraṇas*, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the *aṭṭhakathâ* by means of the *pâḷi*, the *ṭîkâ* by means of the *aṭṭhakathâ*, and the *pakaraṇa* by one another, and, at the same time, collating what was gone before with what came after:—the *Vinayapâḷi*; the *Vinayaṭṭhakathâ*; the *Vinayaṭîkâ* called the *Sâratthadîpanî*; the *Vinayaṭîkâ* called the *Vimativinôdanî*; the *Vinayaṭîkâ* written by Vajîrabuddhithêra; the *Mâtikaṭṭhakathâ* called the *Kaṅkhâvitaraṇî* together with its *ṭîkâ*; the *Vinayavinichchhayapakaraṇa* together with its *ṭîkâ*; the *Vinayasaṅgahapakaraṇa*; the *Simâlaṅkârapakaraṇa*; and the *Simâlaṅkârasaṅgaha*. To the King, who repeatedly investigated and repeatedly considered this question, **the ruling of the Vinaya appeared to be thus:—**

"If it is desired to consecrate a *simâ* on a selected site, whether it be a *pakaṭigâmakhêtta* or a *visuṁgâmakhêtta*, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue,

[22] Or 1458, A. D.

[23] The modern Pegu.

[24] These comprise the major part of what are now known as the Bassein, Thôngwâ, Henzada, Hanthawaddy, Pegu, Shwêgyin and Amherst Districts of Lower Burma.

and which possesses the following characteristics, namely, that it is inaccessible to men and women; that it is favourable to the exercise of the four *iriyapathas*; that it is not a place subjected to noise; and that the usufructuary right, exercised in respect of it, is capable of supporting life;—the branches of trees, &c., connecting that *pakatigámakhêtta* or *visuṁgámakhêtta* with other *gámakhêttas* should be cut down; and a number of boundary-marks should be placed around the site selected for the consecration of the *simá*, should such *simá* be a *mahásimá*, whose extent is difficult to apprehend and whose form is not well defined. If, however, it is desired to consecrate a *khuddakasimá*, whose form is triangular, and whose extent is easy to apprehend, three boundary-marks should be placed. But if the form of the *simá* to be consecrated is square or rectangular, four boundary-marks would suffice; and if the form is a polygon, the number of boundary-marks should be in proportion. The connecting branches of trees, &c., which are either within or without the boundary, should be cut down, and the extent of the *simá* clearly defined. Of all the priests residing within or without the boundary of that *gámakhêtta*, those, who are worthy of the privilege, should be inducted within the *hatthapása*, and the declarations of assent of those who are absent, should be received, the remaining priests being excluded from the *gámakhêtta*. For the purpose of guiding travelling priests, guards should be stationed all round the *gámakhêtta*; and, in order to notify the fact publicly, flags and streamers should be planted at various places; and the boundaries should be proclaimed three times by the sounding of drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments. Eventually, the *simá* should be consecrated by having the *kammaváchá* read with proper intonation. The consecration of a *simá*, which is attended by such ceremonies, is inviolable and valid; and the *upasampadá* ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a *simá*, are likewise inviolable and valid.

"The characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that, during the four months of its continuance, an uninterrupted shower falls once every half month, or every fifth day; that of a deficient rainy season is, that a shower falls after the lapse of a half month; and that of an excessive rainy season is, that the intervening period between one shower and another is less than five days, that is to say, rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, whether it be a landing-place or not, is wetted to the extent of one or two finger-breadths, such a stream acquires the status of a *nadí*. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every half-month, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a *mahánadí*. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every tenth day, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a *majjhimanadí*. If, during the four months of the rainy season, which is an equable one because of rain falling once every fifth day, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, such a stream acquires the status of a *khuddakanadí*.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, is wetted, but is not wetted when the rainy season is a deficient one, it should not be declared that such a stream does not acquire the status of a *nadí*, because a deficient rainy season cannot be the criterion in determining its status. If, however, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, the under-robe of a *bhikkhuní* crossing a stream, at any place, is not wetted, but is wetted when the rainy season is an excessive one, it should not be declared that such a stream acquires the status of a *nadí*, because an excessive rainy season can neither be the criterion in determining its status.

"A lake is of spontaneous origin. It is not excavated by any one, but is filled with water that flows from all round it. If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an

equable one, there is, in a reservoir of such description, water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, such a lake acquires the status of a *jâtassara*. If a lake, which satisfies such a condition, when the rainy season is an equable one, does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is a deficient one, or during winter or summer, it should not be declared that such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jâtassara*.

"If, during the four months of a rainy season, which is an equable one, a lake does not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution, but satisfies this condition when the rainy season is an excessive one: such a lake does not acquire the status of a *jâtassara*.

"This Râmaññadêsa is a very rainy region, but how could one know that its rainy season is an excessive one? That the rainy season comprises four months is thus declared in the *aṭṭhakathâs*:—'*Yasmâ hi vassânassa chatûsu mâsêsu*.' But, in this country of Râmaññadêsa, the rainy season comprises six months. Because it is said that the characteristic of an equable rainy season is, that rain falls every fifth day, methinks that the characteristic of an excessive rainy season is, that rain falls every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption).

"In this country of Râmaññadêsa, sometimes once every fourth, third, or second day, or every day (without interruption), sometimes once every seventh or tenth day, the rays of the sun are invisible, and the sky becomes cloudy and murky, and a continuous shower of rain falls. Therefore, it is established beyond doubt that the rainy season of Râmaññadêsa is an excessive one.

"For the reasons stated above, in this country af Râmaññadêsa, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner described, the under-robe of a *bhikkhunî* crossing a stream of such description, at any place, is wetted. On such a *mahânadî* an *udakukkhêpasimâ* may be consecrated, and the *upasampadâ* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable.

"If, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls as described above, a lake of such description contains water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution: on such a *mahâjâtassara* an *udakukkhêpasimâ* may be consecrated; and the *upasampadâ* ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable."

**The following thoughts arose in the mind of Râmâdhipati**, to whom the valid manner in which a *simâ* should be consecrated, had appeared, as described above:—

"There are some *thêras* who, wishing to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta*, carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapâsa* the priests residing inside the boundary, but without effecting purification through the acts of inducting within the *hatthapâsa*, &c., all the priests residing on that *gâmakhêtta*. The consecration of such a *simâ* by the *thêras* is invalid by reason of *parisavipatti*.

"If, in order to alienate the revenue of a selected place, whose boundaries have been defined for the purpose of collecting revenue, and which is situated on a *pakaṭigâmakhêtta*, the boundaries are again defined, and the place itself is given away by the ruling authorities: such a place acquires the status of a *visuṁgâmakhêtta*. The consecration of a *baddhasimâ* is consummated at the conclusion of the recitation of the *kammavâchâ*, and not merely by the proclamation of its boundaries. Therefore, the land referred to above, which is situated inside the boundary, does not acquire the status of a *visuṁgâma*, because of its perpetually forming a part and parcel of the *gâmasimâ*; nor does the *simâ* become a *baddhasimâ*, because the lands, both inside and outside the boundary, constitute but one *gâmasimâ*. If all the priests residing on that very *gâmasimâ*, who are deserving of the privilage, are not inducted within the *hatthapâsa*; if the declarations of assent of those, who are entitled to send them, are not received; if those who deserve exclusion, are not excluded; and, if only the priests residing within the boundary are inducted within the *hatthapâsa*: the consecration of the *simâ* (attended by such ceremonies)

is violable and not in accordance with the law. The *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a *simâ*, are void by reason of the invalidity of its consecration.

" There are also *thêras*, who ask the ruling authorities to define the boundaries of some place selected by them, but which does not possess the characteristics of a *gâma*. Considering that such a place is a *visuṁgâmakhêtta*, they select a site on it, and consecrate a *simâ* by inducting within the *hatthapâsa* only the priests residing at that place, and not all those residing on the whole of the *pakaṭigâmakhêtta*. The consecration of the *simâ* by these *theras* is void by reason of *parisavipatti*. Therefore, because of *simâvipatti*, the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a *simâ*, are invalid.

" There are also other *thêras*, who, wishing to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta*, do not cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that *gâmakhêtta* with others, but carry out their object after effecting purification through the act of inducting within the *hatthapâsa* the priests residing on that *gâmakhêtta*. By reason of *parisavipatti*, the consecration of the *simâ* by these *thêras* is invalid.

**Obverse Face of the second Stone.**

" As there is mutual junction between two *baddhasimâs*, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c., so there is mutual junction between a *baddhasimâ* and a *gâmasimâ*, or between two *gâmasimâs*, because of their being connected by the branches of trees, &c. By reason of *simâvipatti*, the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies, performed in such a *simâ*, are void.

" There are other *thêras*, who perform the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies in an *udakukkhêpasimâ* consecrated on rivers and lakes, that are devoid of their respective characteristics (judged by the conditions prevailing) in the exceedingly rainy region of Râmaññadêsa. By reason of *simâvipatti*, the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies, performed by these *thêras*, are void. As to this exceedingly rainy region of Râmaññadêsa: during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, the under-robe of a *bhikkhunî* crossing a river, at any place, may not get wet (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But owing to excessive rainfall in this country, the under-robe will get wet. Judging, therefore, by the wetting of the under-robe, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a river acquires the status of a *nadî*? Again, during the four months of an equable rainy season, when rain falls in the manner indicated above, a lake may not contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution (provided that the prevailing conditions are normal). But, owing to excessive rainfall in this country, during the four months of the rainy season, it will contain water sufficient for the purpose of drinking or ablution. Judging, therefore, by the sufficiency of water in such a lake for the purpose of drinking or ablution, when the rainy season is, as stated before, an equable one, how can it be correct to say that such a lake acquires the status of a *jâtassara*?

" There are also some *thêras*, who, desiring to consecrate a *simâ* on a *gâmakhêtta*, cut down the branches of trees, &c., connecting that *gâmakhêtta* with others, and carry out their object by inducting within the *hatthapâsa*, &c., all the priests residing inside or outside the boundary of that *gâmakhêtta*. But, whenever the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies are performed in such a *simâ*, the connecting branches of trees, &c., of that *gâmasimâ* are not cut down. The *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies of these *thêras* are, therefore, void by reason of *parisavipatti*, caused through the confusion (of boundaries) of such *baddhasimâ* and *gâmasimâ*. If, on the other hand, these *thêras* perform the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies in a valid *baddhasimâ*, or on a *pakaṭigâmakhêtta*, or *visuṁgâmakhêtta*, possessing the characteristics of a *gâma*, or on a *mahânadî* possessing the characteristics of a *nadî*, or on a *jâtassara* possessing the characteristics of a *jâtassara*, or on a *samudda* possessing the characteristics of a *samudda*, they may constitute a Chapter; but the functions, performed by them,

are void by reason of *parisavipatti*, caused through their having been ordained in a *simâ*, whose consecration was invalid for the reasons indicated above, or on a *visuṁgâmakhêtta*, that does not possess the characteristics of a *gâma*, or on a *khuddakanadî*, that does not possess the characteristics of a *nadî*, or on a *khuddakajâtassara*, that does not possess the characteristics of a *jâtassara*."

**Then King Râmâdhipati** became aware of the existence of *simâvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies in Râmaññadêsa, and **thought thus**:—

"The *simâvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies appear to me in the manner indicated above. Now, there are, in Râmaññadêsa and Haṁsavatînagara, many priests, who are well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, learned, and able; and I am not sure whether the *simâvipatti* and *parisavipatti* of the *upasampadâ* ordination and other ceremonies appear to them in the same manner. It is, perhaps, advisable that I should ask all of them to investigate the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the *Vinayapiṭaka* together with its *aṭṭhakathâs* and *ṭîkâs*, to compare and collate the *aṭṭhakathâs* with the *pâḷi* texts, the *ṭîkâ* with the *aṭṭhakathâs* and what follows with what is gone before, and to give an authoritative ruling, based on the *Vinaya*, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simâ*."

All the priests, who were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, were accordingly asked to give an authoritative ruling, based on the *Vinaya*, as to the valid manner of consecrating a *simâ*.

Then, in compliance with the request of King Râmâdhipati, all the priests, who were well-versed in the *Tipiṭaka*, investigated the subject by the light of the interpretation, literal or otherwise, of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, together with its *aṭṭhakathâs* and *ṭîkâs*, and, through repeated comparison and collation, perceived the existence of *simâvipatti* and *parisavipatti*, and communicated to the King the result of their enquiry as to the manner prescribed in the *Vinaya*.

**The King said to himself**: "The excellent compilers of *aṭṭhakathâs* have declared that the Religion of Buddha will last 5,000 years; but alas! only 2,047 years have now passed away since the Enlightened One attained Buddhahood, and the Religion has become impure, tainted with heresy and corruption, and **the upasampadâ ordination has also become invalid**. This being the case, how can the Religion last till the end of 5,000 years?" The King again reflected thus: "Being aware of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, methinks that, in order to ensure the continuance of the Religion to the end of the period of 5,000 years, it is essential that it should be purified by resuscitating the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination. However, if I do not exert myself and remain indifferent, I shall be guilty of not having intense love for, or faith in, the Blessed Fully Enlightened One, and of being devoid of respect and reverence for Him. It is, therefore, I think, expedient that the purification of the Religion should be effected by me. How shall I first call into existence the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, and establish it in this country of Râmaññadêsa? There are men having faith, belonging to good families, and desirous of receiving such *upasampadâ* ordination. If, at my instance, they receive it, the Religion will become purified through the existence of a pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination."

The following were the thoughts that arose in the mind of King Râmâdhipati, who considered about the condition of the Religion:—

"It is said that, **in the 236th year**[25] **that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâṇa** by the Fully Enlightened One, **Mahâmahindathêra, who was sent by Môggaliputtatissamahâthêra, went to Tambapaṇṇidîpa**, and established the Religion. **Devânampiyatissa, King of Sîhaḷadîpa**, conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence for the *thêra*, and **founded the Mahâvihâra** monastery. During **the period of 218 years**,[26] that elapsed since the foundation of the Mahâvihâra, the Religion remained pure, and there was only one fraternity, namely, that of the residents of the Mahâvihâra. **Then King Vaṭṭagâmaṇi-**

[25] Or 308 B. C.

[26] This yields a date, 90 B. C.

**Abhaya conquered Dâdhiya, King of the Damiḷas, and attained to kingship in Lankâdîpa.** **After founding the Abhayagirivihâra** monastery, this King was defeated by a confederacy of seven Damiḷa princes, and was obliged to fly the country and remain in hiding for fourteen years. (On his restoration) he invited a *thêra*, called Mahâtissa, who had afforded him assistance during his exile, and presented the monastery to him. This **Mahâtissathêra,** however, used to associate with lay people, and, for this very offence, had been expelled from the Mahâvihâra by the fraternity of that monastery. **Thenceforward, the priests were divided into two sects, namely, that of the residents of the Mahâvihâra, and that of the residents of the Abhayagirivihâra.**

**" In the 357th year that had elapsed since the foundation of the Abhayagirivihâra monastery, a king, called Mahâsêna, ruled over Lankâdîpa for 27 years.** This king, in the course of his reign, **founded the Jêtavanavihâra** monastery, and presented it to **Tissathêra, a resident of the Dakkhiṇavihâra,** who associated with wicked people, and was of an intriguing and licentious character, but for whom he conceived a feeling of esteem and reverence. Thenceforward, the priests of the Jêtavanavihâra monastery detached themselves from those of the Mahâvihâra and the Abhayagirivihâra monasteries, **and thus arose the (third) sect of the residents of the Jêtavanavihâra monastery.**

**" Thus, 600 years had not yet elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lankâdîpa, when the priests in that Island were divided into three divisions,**[27] and three sects were formed. Among these sects, that of the Mahâvihâra was extremely pure and orthodox; but the remaining two were neither pure nor orthodox. In course of time, however, in Lankâdîpa, the number of the orthodox priests gradually decreased, and their sect became weak, while the unorthodox priests continually received fresh accession of strength owing to increased numbers. These heretical sects did not conform to the rules of the Order, and were followers of evil practices. Owing to this circumstance, the Religion became impure, and tainted with heresy and corruption.

**" In the 1472nd year that had elapsed since the establishment of the Religion in Lankâdîpa, the 1708th year**[28] **that had elapsed since the attainment of Parinirvâṇa by the Master, and the 18th year since the inauguration of Mahârâjâ Sirisanghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhu as ruler of Lankâdîpa,** that king, by seeing the priests, who, though professing the Religion,* did not conform to the rules of the Order, and followed evil practices, became aware of the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that had arisen in the Religion, and he thought thus: —

" 'If such an one as I, knowing the existence of the impurity, heresy, and corruption, that have arisen in the Religion, do not exert myself and remain indifferent in the matter of effecting its purification, it will be said of me that my love for, or faith in, the Fully Enlightened One, and my respect and reverence for Him, are not intense. It is, perhaps, expedient that **I should afford support to the Mahâvihâra fraternity, who are orthodox,** whose conduct is in conformity with the rules of the Order, and **whose superior is Mahâkassapathêra of Udumbaragiri;** and that, as Asôka, King of Righteousness, with the assistance of Môggaliputtatissamahâthêra, afforded support to the great fraternity of exceedingly pure and orthodox priests, who declared that the Fully Enlightened One was a Vibhajjavâdi, and effected the purification of the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the 60,000 impure and sinful priests who declared that the Fully Enlightened One professed the doctrines of the Sassata and other schools, even so, should I purify the Religion by commanding the expulsion from the Order of the large number of impure, unorthodox, and sinful priests, who do not conform to the rules of the Order, and are followers of evil practices, and by constituting the fraternity of the residents of the Mahâvihâra, the only sect (in my kingdom).'

[27] *I.e.*, before 292 A. D. The 600 years must have nearly elapsed, however, because 218 + 27 + 357 = 602 years as the date of Mahâsêna's death.

[28] This yields the date 1164 A. D.

"The King acted accordingly, purified the Religion, and caused a covenant to be entered into by the priests. In after times, with a view to purifying the Religion, Vijayabâhurâjâ and Parakkamabâhurâjâ caused (similar) covenants to be made.

"From that time up to the present day, there has been existing in Laṅkâdîpa, a sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the fraternity of the Mahâvihâra, the exceedingly pure and orthodox sect, whose members conformed, in a proper manner, to the rules of the Order.

"I (Râmâdhipati) shall, therefore, invite, in a respectful manner, learned and qualified priests to receive the extremely pure form of the upasampadâ ordination in Laṅkâdîpa, and to establish it in this country of Râmaññadêsa. By inducing men of good family, who have faith, and are desirous of taking orders, to receive it, and by thus calling into existence the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, the Religion will become purified and free from impurity, and will last to the end of the period of 5,000 years."

Accordingly, King Râmâdhipati invited the twenty-two thêras, headed by Môggalâna, and addressed them thus: "Reverend Sirs, the *upasampadâ* ordination of the priests in Râmaññadêsa now appears to us to be invalid. Therefore, how can the Religion, which is based on such invalid ordination, last to the end of 5,000 years? Reverend Sirs, from the establishment of the Religion in Sîhaḷadîpa up to the present day, there has been existing in that island an exceedingly pure sect of priests, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahâvihâra monastery. If, Reverend Sirs, you go to Sîhaḷadîpa, and, after selecting out of the fraternity, whose members are the spiritual successors of the priests of the Mahâvihâra, a Chapter, who are pure and free from censure and reproach, receive at their hands the upasampadâ ordination in the udakukkhêpasimâ consecrated on the Kalyâṇî River, where the Fully Enlightened One enjoyed a bath; and, if you make this form of the *upasampadâ* ordination the seed of the Religion, as it were, plant it, and cause it to sprout forth by conferring such ordination on men of good family in this country of Râmaññadêsa, who have faith and are desirous of taking orders, the Religion will become pure and last till the end of 5,000 years.

"Reverend Sirs, by your going to Sîhaḷadîpa, much merit and great advantages will accrue to you. Reverend Sirs, on your arrival in Sîhaḷadîpa, an opportunity will be afforded you of adoring and making offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic, to the Bôdhi trees, headed by the one which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayâ), to the Ratanachêtiya and other shrines, and to the Chêtiya of the Holy Foot-print of the Blessed One on the top of the Samantakûta Hill. Therefore, Reverend Sirs, your great accumulation of merit will increase. For the reasons stated above, I beseech of you the favour of going to Sîhaḷadîpa."

To this the *thêras* replied: "Mahârâja, your excellent request is, indeed, in conformity with the law, because it is actuated by a desire to promote the interests of the Religion. The visit to Sîhaḷadîpa will increase our great accumulation of merit. We, therefore, grant you the favour, and will visit Sîhaḷadîpa." Saying thus, the *thêras* gave a promise.

On receiving the reply of the *thêras*, the King directed the preparation of the following articles to serve as offerings to the Holy Tooth Relic:—a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value, and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 *phalas*; an alms-bowl, with stand and cover complete, made of gold weighing 60 *phalas*; a golden vase weighing 30 *phalas*; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 *phalas*; a golden relic-receptacle weighing 33 *phalas*, and constructed in the shape of a *chêtiya*; a relic-receptacle made of crystal; a relic-receptacle, embellished with pieces of glass resembling *masâragalla* gems; and golden flowers.

For the purpose of offering to the Ratanachêtiya and other shrines, to the Holy Foot-print, and to the twenty-two Bôdhi trees, the following articles were prepared:—85 canopies of various colours; 50 large, gilt, waxen candles; and the same number of small, gilt, waxen candles,

For presenting to the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa the following articles were prepared:—40 boxes containing cotton cloth of delicate texture; 20 silk and cotton upper robes of various colours, namely, red, yellow, motley, and white; 20 betel-boxes of motley colour, manufactured in Haribhuñja; four stone pitchers; eight painted pitchers manufactured in Chinadêsa; and 20 fans manufactured in Chinadêsa.

Râmâdhipatirâjâ, the Lord of Râmaññadêsa and of the White Elephant, sent respectful greeting to Their Reverences the Mahâthêras of Sîhaḷadîpa, and thus addressed them by letter:

"Reverend Sirs, for the purpose of adoring the Holy Tooth and other Relics I have sent priests with offerings. Vouchsafe to afford them assistance in making such offerings. With the twenty-two *thêras* and their disciples, I have sent Chitradûta and Râmadûta together with their attendants. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, to afford them such assistance as they may require in seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic and making offerings to it. After seeing and adoring the Holy Tooth Relic, and making offerings to it, the twenty-two *thêras* and their disciples will proceed to elect from among the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahâvihâra monastery, a Chapter of priests, who are free from censure and reproach, and will receive at their hands the *upasampadâ* ordination in the *udakukkhêpasimâ* consecrated on the Kalyâṇî River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. May it please the Venerable Ones to afford them assistance also in this matter?" Thus was prepared a letter addressed to the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa.

The following articles were prepared for presentation to Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sîhaḷadîpa:—two sapphires valued at 200 *phalas* of silver; two rubies valued at 430 *phalas;* four pieces of variegated China cloth, of great value, for making long mantles, which would cover the wearer from neck to foot; three pieces of thick, embroidered China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; two pieces of plain, thick, China cloth, of white and dark blue or ash colour; one piece of plain, white, thick, China cloth; two pieces of green, thick, embroidered, China cloth; one piece of plain, green, thick, China cloth; two pieces of plain, black, China cloth; one piece of yellow, thick, embroidered China cloth; one piece of red, thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture; one piece of thin, embroidered, China cloth, of delicate texture, and of white and dark blue, or ash colour: in all, 20 pieces of China cloth; the same number of variegated silk cloths called *pavitti,* and 200 mats wrapped up in leather cases. The letter addressed to Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sîhaḷadîpa, was in import similar to that addressed to the *mahâthêras* of that Island, and was inscribed on a tablet of gold.

Having thus prepared everything that was necessary, the King presented the twenty-two *thêras* with the following articles:—44 boxes of fine cotton cloth for making the *tichîvara* robes; 22 carpets made of the wool of Marammadêsa; 22 variegated leathern rugs; 22 variegated Haribhuñja betel-boxes, with covers; and many other articles required for food and for medicinal purposes on the voyage.

The twenty-two priests, who were the disciples of the *thêras,* were each presented with a piece of cloth called *kaṭiputta*, and a thick, embroidered, carpet manufactured in Marammadêsa.

The twenty-two thêras and their disciples were consigned to the care of the two emissaries, Chitradûta and Râmadûta, into whose hands were likewise delivered the above-mentioned offerings intended for the Holy Relics, the letter and presents for the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa, and the letter inscribed on a tablet of gold and presents for Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of that Island. Two hundred *phalas* of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the twenty-two *thêras* and their disciples with the 'four requisites,' should any mishap, such as scarcity of food, arise. The eleven thêras, headed by Môggalânathêra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta; while the remaining eleven thêras, headed by Mahâsîvalithêra, together with their disciples, were embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta.

Reverse Face of the second Stone.

**The ship, in which Râmadûta embarked, left the mouth of the Yôga[29] River on Sunday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month Mâgha 837, Sakkarâj,** and went out to sea.

The ship, in which Chitradûta embarked, however, left the mouth of the same river on **Monday, the 12th day of the dark half of the same month,** and going out to sea, reached, through skilful navigation, **the port of Kalambu on the 8th day of the dark half of the month Phagguṇa.**

When Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sîhaḷadîpa, heard the news (of the arrival of the ship), he, on the new-moon *upôsatha* day of the month Phagguṇa, directed that a welcome be accorded to the eleven *thêras* and Chitradûta. He was exceedingly delighted when he had heard the letter read out, which was inscribed on a tablet of gold, and brought by Chitradûta, and which was sent by Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ, who was replete with faith and many other good qualities and who, being a descendant of Lords of White Elephants, was himself Lord of a White Elephant, which was possessed of all the characteristics (of such animals), and whose colour was very much whiter than that of a conchshell, the *jasminum multiflorum*, the white-lily, or the autumnal moon. The King (of Sîhaḷadîpa), having exchanged the compliments of friendship and civility with the *thêras* and Chitradûta, arose from his seat, and with his own hands, offered them betel-leaf with camphor. He likewise had arrangements made for the entertainment of the *thêras* and Chitradûta.

On the following day Chitradûta delivered to the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa the letter and the presents sent by Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ; and the *mahâthêras*, saying: "Whatsoever is pleasing to Râmâdhipatimahârâjâ, that will we perform," gave a promise.

The eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta, perceiving the non-arrival of their brethren, who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta, reflected: "With the permission of the King of Sîhaḷadîpa, we shall remain in the Island of Laṅkâdîpa, awaiting the arrival of these *thêras*." They accordingly asked permission from the King, and remained there awaiting the arrival of the *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta.

Meanwhile, the ship in which Râmadûta embarked, missed the route to Anurâdhapura, and meeting with adverse winds, performed a difficult voyage; and it was not till **Sunday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Chitra, that she reached Valligâma.**

**Now, at Valligâma, resided a Sîhaḷa minister, called Garavi, who had rebelled against the King.** At the time of the arrival of the ship, the younger brother of the King of Sîhaḷadîpa had proceeded by ship to the same village, accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men, in order to fight the rebel minister. The latter was stricken with terror, and, being unable to defend himself, fled the village and sought refuge in a forest. The village having fallen into his hands, the King's brother took up his residence there. The soldiers of the rebel minister remained in hiding at various places between Valligâma and Jayavaḍḍhananagara, and were a source of danger to the people who passed by that way. Owing to this circumstance, the King's brother withheld permission from the *thêras* and Râmadûta, who were desirous of going to Jayavaḍḍhanagara. **However, on the second day of the dark half of the first of the two months of Âsaḷha, 838, Sakkarâj, permission was obtained and the thêras and Râmadûta left Valligâma. After passing five days on the journey, they arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara on the 8th day.**

When Bhûvanêkabâhu, King of Sîhaḷadîpa, heard about the arrival of the *thêras* and Râmadûta, he directed that a welcome be accorded to them. After he had heard read out the letter of Râmâdhipatimahârâja, inscribed on a tablet of gold, which was brought by Râmadûta,

[29] The Pegu River.

he was delighted, and, in the manner indicated above, exchanged with the *thêras* and Râmadûta the compliments of friendship and civility, and had arrangements made for their entertainment.

On the following day, Râmadûta delivered to the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa the letter and presents sent by the King, who was the Lord of Haṁsavatînagara; and all the *mahâthêras* gave a promise to Râmadûta similar to that given by them to Chitradûta.

After a month had elapsed from that date, the *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta, visited Anurâdhapura, and adored the Ratanachêtiya, Marichivattichêtiya, Thûpârâmachêtiya, Abhayagirichêtiya, Silâchêtiya, Jêtavanachêtiya, and the Mahâbôdhi tree, which was the Southern branch (of the tree at Buddha Gayâ), and saw the Lôhapâsâda. They likewise, to the extent of their ability, removed grass, creepers, and shrubbery found growing in the court-yards of the various *chêtiyas*, and cleaned their walls. After fulfilling such religious duties as were performed subsequent to making offerings, they returned and arrived at Jayavaḍḍhananagara.

The Sîhaḷa King now thought that the time had arrived for him to exhibit the Holy Tooth Relic for the adoration of all the *thêras*, who had come by the two ships. **On Sunday, the 1st day of the dark alf of the second month Âsaḷha, and the day on which vassa residence was entered upon,** he had the whole of the tower containing the receptacle of the Holy Tooth Relic decorated, had a canopy of cloth put up, and had an offering made of scents, lights, incense, and flowers. The *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa were set apart on one side, while the twenty-two *thêras* and their disciples, who had come by the two ships, together with Chitradûta and Râmadûta, were invited to be present. The Holy Tooth Relic, contained in a golden receptacle, was brought out in order that the twenty-two *thêras*, and Chitradûta and Râmadûta might see and adore it, and make offerings to it. Then the Sîhaḷa King, calling to mind the letter of Râmâdhipatirâja, had the Holy Tooth Relic deposited in the golden relic-receptacle sent by the latter, and had a white umbrella placed over it. The golden vessel containing the Relic, the golden vase, and the golden duodecagonal jewel-box were deposited together, and shown to the twenty-two *thêras*, and Chitradûta and Râmadûta.

"Reverend Sirs, and Chitradûta and Râmadûta, may it please you to let me know the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant?" asked the Sîhaḷa King, who, saying to himself: "Whatsoever may be the purport of the letter of the Lord of the White Elephant, I shall act accordingly," issued commands to the Sîhaḷa ministers and directed the construction of a bridge of boats on the Kalyâṇî River, where the Blessed One had enjoyed a bath. A tower and a canopy of cloth were erected on the bridge, and various kinds of hanging awnings were likewise put up. **Vidâgamamahâthêra** was requested to elect from among the fraternity of priests, who were the spiritual successors of the residents of the Mahâvihâra monastery, a Chapter, who were free from censure and reproach; and he accordingly elected a Chapter of twenty-four priests such as **Dhammakittimahâthêra, Vanaratanamahâthêra, Pañchaparivêṇavâsi-maṅgalathêra, and Sîhaḷarâjayuvarâjâchariyathêra.** Having thus had a bridge of boats constructed, and a Chapter of priests elected, the King invited the twenty-four ordaining priests, headed by Dhammakittimahâthêra, **on Wednesday, the 11th day of the dark half of the month of second Âsaḷha,** and had them conducted to the bridge of boats, and had the forty-four priests of Râmaññadêsa ordained by them. In conformity with the custom followed by the Sîhaḷa *mahâthêras* of old, whenever priests from foreign countries were ordained, the forty-four priests of Râmaññadêsa were first established in the condition of laymen, and then admitted to the Order as *sâmaṇêras* through the act of **Vanaratanamahâthêra,** who presented them with yellow robes, and accepted their profession of faith in the 'Three Refuges.'

**On the night of Wednesday, five thêras, namely, Môggalânathêra, Kumârakassapathêra, Mahâsîvalithêra, Sâriputtathêra, and Ñâṇasâgarathêra were ordained in the presence of the Chapter of the twenty-four priests, Dhammakittimahâthêra and Pañ-**

chaparivêṇavâsi-maṅgalathêra being respectively the upajjhâya and âchariya. On the night of Thursday, the 12th, ten thêras, namely, Sumanathêra, Kassapathêra, Nandathêra, Râhulathêra, Buddhavaṁsathêra, Sumaṅgalathêra, Khujjanândathêra, Sôṇuttarathêra, Guṇasâgarathêra, and Dhammarakkhitathêra were ordained, Vanaratanamahâthêra and Pañchaparivêṇavâsi-maṅgalathêra being respectively the upajjhâya and âchariya. In the course of the day on Friday, the 13th, seven thêras, namely, Chûḷasumaṅgalathêra, Javanapaññâthêra, Chûḷakassapathêra, Chûḷasîvalithêra, Maṇisârathêra, Dhammarâjikathêra, and Chandanasârathêra were ordained, Vanaratanamahâthêra and Pañchaparivêṇavâsi-maṅgalathêra being respectively the upajjhâya and âchariya. On Saturday, the 14th, the twenty-two young priests, who were the disciples of the thêras were ordained, Pañchaparivêṇavâsi-maṅgalathêra and Sîhaḷarâjayuvarâjâchariyathêra being respectively the upajjhâya and âchariya.

When the twenty-two *thêras* of Râmaññadêsa had been ordained, the Sîhaḷa King invited them to a meal, at the end of which, he presented each of them with the following articles:— three yellow robes; a curtain and a canopy manufactured in the country of Gôcharati; a leathern mat painted in variegated colours; a fan shaped like a palmyra-fan, but made of ivory, carved by a skilful turner; and a betel-box. Then the Sîhaḷa King said: "Reverend Sirs, you will return to Jambudîpa and maintain the Religion in splendour in Haṁsavatîpura. If, Reverend Sirs, I present you with any other gifts, no reputation would accrue to me, because such gifts are subject to speedy decay and dissolution. Therefore, I shall now confer titles on you. If, Reverend Sirs, this is done, such titles would last throughout your lifetime." So saying, he conferred on the eleven *thêras* who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta, namely, Môggalânathêra, Kumârakassapathêra, Ñâṇasâgarathêra, Buddhavaṁsathêra, Nandathêra, Râhulathêra, Sumaṅgalathêra, Dhammarakkhitathêra, Chûḷasumaṅgalathêra, Kassapathêra, and Maṇisârathêra, the following titles respectively: Sîrisaṅghabôdhisâmi, Kittisirimêghasâmi, Parakkamabâhusâmi, Buddhaghôsasâmi, Sîhaḷadîpavisuddhasâmi, Guṇaratanadharasâmi, Jinâlaṅkârasâmi, Ratanamâlisâmi, Saddhammatêjasâmi, Dhammârâmasâmi, and Bhûvanêkabâhusâmi. On the eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta, namely, Mahâsîvalithêra, Sâriputtathêra, Sumanathêra, Chûḷakassapathêra, Chûḷanandathêra, Sôṇuttarathêra, Guṇasâgarathêra, Javanapaññâthêra, Chûḷasîvalithêra, Dhammarâjikathêra, and Chandanasârathêra, the following titles were respectively conferred: Tilôkagurusâmi, Sîrivanaratanasâmi, Maṅgalathêrasâmi, Kalyâṇîtissasâmi, Chandanagirisâmi, Sîridantadhâtusâmi, Vanavâsitissasâmi, Ratanâlaṅkârasâmi, Mahâdêvasâmi, Udumbaragirisâmi, and Chûḷâbhayatissasâmi.

The eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta, together with the latter, left Jayavaḍḍhananagara and returned to Valligâma. The eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta, however, returned to Jayavaḍḍhananagara, after adoring the Padavalañjachêtiya, called the Sîripâda, which is situated on the top of the Samantakûṭa Hill.

The eleven *thêras*, who had returned to Valligâma, embarked on Wednesday, the second day of the light half of the month Bhadda, and returning home, arrived at the mouth of the Yôga River on Thursday, the second day of the dark half of the same month.

When Râmâdhipatirâja, received the tidings that the *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta, had arrived at the mouth of the Yôga River, he bethought himself: "Considering that these *thêras* visited Sîhaḷadîpa at my solicitation, and that they are the inaugurators of the *upasampadâ* ordination, it would not be proper to send any of my officials to welcome them. It would, indeed, be appropriate that I should myself welcome them on my return from Tigumpanagara,[30] where, on the *mahâpavâraṇâ* day, which falls on the full-moon day of Assayuja, I shall present the *chêtiya* containing the Hair Relics of the Fully Enlightened

[30] Rangoon.

One, obtained during His life-time, with a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 *tolas*." Agreeably with this thought, he wrote a letter saying : " As I am visiting Tigumpanagara, may it please the Venerable Ones to remain in that town ?" And, after making arrangements for their entertainment, he had them disembarked from their sea-going vessel and conveyed to Tigumpanagara in river-boats.

Meanwhile, the eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Chitradûta, missed the appointed time favourable for returning to Râmaññadêsa, because the Sîhaḷa King had said to them : " Reverend Sirs, it is my desire to send an emissary to Râmâdhipatimahârâja, the Lord of the White Elephant, with presents, including a religious gift in the shape of an image of the Holy Tooth Relic, embellished with a topaz and a diamond, valued at a hundred *phalas*, which were constantly worn by my father, Parakkamabâhumahârâja. When the vessel, now being fitted out for my emissary, is ready, an opportunity will be afforded to her of sailing in the company of your ship. May it please your Reverences to postpone your departure till then ? " The eleven *thêras* and Chitradûta, therefore, waited for the emissary of the Sîhaḷa King and anchored their ship at the port of Kalambu. Meanwhile, a violent wind, called *parâdha*, arose and sank in the sea the large sea-going vessel, in which passengers had already embarked. When the Sîhaḷa King received the intelligence that Chitradûta's ship had foundered in the sea, he said thus to the *thêras* and Chitradûta : " If you have no ship, you might embark in the same ship as my emissary, and return home." Accordingly, the *thêras* and Chitradûta, together with his attendants, embarked in the same ship as the emissary of the Sîhaḷa King and left the port of Kalambu.

Sailing out to mid-ocean, the ship continued her course through **the Straits of Silla**, which lies between Sîhaḷadîpa and Jambudîpa. After three nights had elapsed since the ship left the port of Kalambu, she was wrecked by a violent storm, and, immersed in sea-water, she remained fast between the jutting peaks of rocks. All the passengers, realizing their inability to extricate the ship from amidst the rocks, collected all the timber and bamboos that happened to be in her, and, constructing a raft of them, and embarking on it, crossed to **the coast of Jambudîpa**, which was close by.

Having lost the presents, the emissary of the Sîhaḷa King returned to Sîhaḷadîpa. The *thêras* and Chitradûta, however, travelled on foot to **Nâgapaṭṭana**,[31] and there visited the site of the Padarikârâma monastery, and worshipped **the image of Buddhâ in a cave, constructed by command of the Mahârâja of Chinadêsa** on the spot, on the sea-shore, where the Holy Tooth Relic was deposited in the course of its transit to Lankâdîpa in the charge of Daṇḍakumâra and Hêmamâlâ, who were husband and wife. Thence they travelled on to the **port of Nâvuṭapaṭṭana. At this port resided Mâlimparakâya and Pacchaḷiya, two intendants of the port, who annually sent two ships for trading purposes (to Râmaññadêsa.)** In doing so, they sent presents for Râmâdhipatimahârâja, and thus, because of their having exchanged with him the compliments of friendship and civility, they conceived feelings of great respect and honour for him. Owing to this circumstance, they provided the *thêras* with food, clothing, and residence, and treated them with much reverence. Chitradûta was likewise provided with clothing, food, and lodgings. The intendants of the port then said: " Reverend Sirs, when our ships start from this port, may it please you to embark in them in order to be once more near the Lord of the White Elephant ?" Accordingly, the four *thêras*, namely, Tilôkaguruthêra, Ratanâlankârathêra, Mahâdêvathêra, and Chûḷâbhayatissathêra, and their four disciples resided with them. The remaining seven *thêras*, however, saying : " We shall embark, together with the seven priests, in a ship at **Kômâlapaṭṭana**," went and resided at that port.

**On Wednesday, the fourth day of the light half of the month Visâkhâ, 839, Sakkarâj**, the three *thêras*, namely, Tilôkaguruthêra, Ratanâlankârathêra, and Mahâdêvathêra,

31 Negapatan.

embarked in the ship belonging to Mâlimparakâya, while Chûḷâbhayatissathêra embarked in the ship belonging to Pacchaḷiya, and they left Nâvuṭapaṭṭana. Of these *thêras*, the three, who embarked in the same ship, **reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nâgarâsi[32] Mountain, on Friday, the 12th day of the dark half of the month Visâkhâ, and arrived at Kusimanagara[33] on Tuesday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Jêṭṭha.** Chûḷâbhayatissathêra, however, **arrived at Haṁsavatînagara on Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Âsaḷha.**

Of the seven *thêras*, who, together with the seven priests, went and resided at Kômâlapaṭṭana, Maṅgalathêra, accompanied by his own attendant priest, as well as by those of Vanaratanathêra, and Siridantadhâtuthêra, embarked in a ship, commanded by Binda, and **left Kômâlapaṭṭana on Wednesday, the new-moon day of the month Bhadda, 841, Sakkarâj. They reached the mouth of the river, which takes its source in the Nâgarâsi Mountain, on Friday, the 1st day of the light half of the month Kattika, and, touching at Kusimanagara on Monday, the 11th, eventually arrived at Haṁsavatînagara on Friday, the 14th day of the dark half of the month Kattika.**

The remaining six *thêras* and the four young priests had been dead, as they were unable to obviate the consequences of demerit and the course of the law of mortality, to which all living beings are subject. Alas! "Whatever is material is subject to change and dissolution."

### Obverse face of the third Stone.

**On Thursday, the 8th day of the light half of the month Assayuja, 838, Sakkarâj, Râmâdhipatimahârâja,** with the object of presenting a great bell to the **Kêsadhâtuchêtiya,**[34] embarked on a barge surmounted by a golden spire, and, escorted by a number of boats, headed by golden boats, such as the *indavimâna*, **proceeded to Tigumpanagara. On Tuesday, the 13th day of the light half of the month Assayuja,** the day of his arrival at Tigumpanagara, he invited the eleven *thêras*, who embarked in the same ship as Râmadûta, and served them with various kinds of delicious food. He likewise presented each of them with two couples of cloths for their *tichîvara* robes, and, having exchanged with them the customary compliments of friendship and civility, commanded that their residence be shown to them.

Râmâdhipatimahârâja had grand festivals held for three days; and on Thursday, the day of *mahâpavâraṇâ*, the great bell was conveyed to the quadrangle of the Kêsadhâtuchêtiya, in order that it might be presented to it. On Friday, the 1st day (after the day of *mahâpavâraṇâ*), offerings were made to the priests residing in Tigumpanagara, and the King commanded that largess be given to paupers, way-farers, and beggars. On Sunday, the 3rd day (of the dark half of the same month), eleven boats were adorned in a reverent manner, and ministers were sent to escort the *thêras*. Having thus made preparations for escorting the *thêras*, Râmâdhipatirâja left Tigumpanagara on the morning of Monday, the fourth day, and, reaching, in due course, Haṁsavatînagara on Friday, the eighth day, entered the bejewelled palace, which was his home. The *thêras*, however, halted a day at a ferry near the **Mahâbuddharûpa**;[35] and on Sunday, the tenth day, ministers were sent with many boats appropriately adorned, with various kinds of flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments, to wait upon the *thêras*, who, on their arrival, were ushered into the palace.

When the *thêras* had entered the Royal Palace, called the Ratanamaṇḍira, they presented Râmâdhipatimahârâja with the following articles: — a casket containing the sandal-wood powder, with which the Holy Tooth Relic was besmeared; an image of the Holy Tooth Relic; some branches, leaves, and seeds of the Bôdhi tree; a treatise giving an account of the purification of the Religion effected by Sîrisaṅghabôdhi-Parakkamabâhumahârâja, Vijayabâhumahârâja, and

[32] Negrais. [33] Bassein. [34] The Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon. [35] The Kyaikpun Pagoda near Pegu.

Parakkamabâhumaharâjâ; a treatise setting forth the covenants entered into, at the solicitation of the said kings, by the priesthood for the observance of the Order; a letter sent by the Sîhaḷa *thêras* and a book recording the covenants entered into by them; a book of *gâthâs* written by Vaṇaratanamahâthêra; and a letter from the Sîhaḷa King, Bhûvanêkabâhu. Râmâdipatimahâ-râja accorded a gracious greeting to the eleven *thêras*, and commanded his ministers to escort each of them to his monastery with many flags and streamers flying, and with the sounding of gongs and many other kinds of musical instruments.

Then the following thoughts arose in the mind of Râmâdhipatimahârâja: "These eleven *thêras* visited Sîhaḷadîpa, and have now returned bringing from thence the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination. In this city of Haṁsavatî, there does not exist any pure *baddhasimâ*, nor any *mahânadî* possessing the characteristics of a *nadî*, nor any *mahâjâtassara* possessing the characteristics of a *jâtassara*, nor any *gâmakhêtta* whose purification can easily be effected. Where can these *thêras* perform such ecclesiastical ceremonies as *upôsatha* or *upasampadâ* ordination?

"Surely, it is proper that I should cause a search made for a small *gâmakhêtta*, that can easily be guarded, and there have a *baddhasimâ* properly consecrated by these *thêras*. If this is done, they will be in a position to perform, in that *simâ*, such ecclesiastical ceremonies as *upôsatha* or *upasampadâ* ordination." Râmâdhipatirâja accordingly sent his attendants to search for a *gâmakhêtta* answering the description. During the course of their search, the King's attendants found on the skirts of a forest to the west of a mahâchêtiya, called Mudhava, a gâmakhêtta belonging to the Minister Narasûra, which was small and could easily be guarded; and they reported accordingly to the King. Râmâdhipatirâja personally inspected the site, and considered that it was a *gâmakhêtta*, which could easily be guarded, and was an appropriate spot for the consecration of a simâ. The ground of a selected place on that land was cleared of jungle, the site of the proposed *simâ* was marked out, and a house was built in the middle of that site. The inside and outside of that house, as well as the site of the proposed *simâ*, and a selected place outside that site, were smeared with cow-dung. Then a fencing was erected enclosing the whole place on its four sides, and four openings with doors were constructed. In order to obviate the junction of that *gâmakhêtta* with others around it, the means of connection, such as the branches of trees, &c., both on the ground below, and in the air above, were cut down, and a small trench, about a span in depth and the same in width, was dug. Not far from the site of the proposed *simâ*, and on its west side, a monastery, a refectory, a lavatory, and a privy were constructed for the use of the eleven *thêras*, who were to perform the ecclesiastical ceremony; and they were invited to take up their residence in that monastery.

Râmâdhipatirâja again reflected: "The eleven *thêras*, and the eleven young priests, who are their disciples, have returned from Sîhaḷadîpa after receiving there the exceedingly pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination. It would, however, be as well that I should enquire as to whether these *thêras* and their disciples are free from censure and reproach. Should any of them be not free from censure and reproach, their exclusion, in spite of their having received the exceedingly pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination from the Chapter of priests appointed to consecrate the *simâ*, would be pleasing to us; because a *simâ* constitutes the basis of the Religion, and also because the inclusion of priests, who are not free from censure and reproach, though they may have received the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination in the Chapter consecrating a *simâ*, would, in after times, afford matter for objection to the enemies of the Religion."

Accordingly, the King sent learned men to institute enquiries. On enquiry it was found that, previous to their receiving the Sîhaḷa form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, one *thêra* and four young priests were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature; and the matter was reported to the King. Râmâdhipatirâja was, however, determined to maintain the Religion in extreme purity, and excluded

(from the Chapter) the *thêra*, together with his disciple, as well as the four young priests, who, before receiving the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, were not free from a measure of censure and reproach, which was not of a grave character, but only of a trivial nature. The King then resolved that the remaining ten *thêras* and the six young priests, who had received the exceedingly pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, and were free from the smallest measure of censure and reproach, were qualified to constitute a Chapter for the consecration of the *simâ*.

When the time approached for the consecration of the *simâ*, out of these (ten) *thêras* Guṇaratanadharathêra, on the plea of illness, returned to his own monastery, accompanied by his pupil, and remained there. Therefore, the nine *thêras*, namely, **Sîrisaṅghabôdhisâmi, Kittisîrimêghasâmi, Parakkamabâhusâmi, Buddhaghôsasâmi, Jinâlaṅkârasâmi, Ratanamâlisâmi, Saddhammatêjasâmi, Sudhammârâmasâmi, and Bhûvanêkabâhusâmi, and their disciples, the five young priests, namely, Saṅgharakkhita, Dhammavilâsa, Uttara, Uttama, and Dhammasâra,** — in all, fourteen priests—took up their residence in the monastery built on the west side of the site of the proposed *simâ*.

Then the King, who was desirous of having a *simâ* consecrated, came to the following conclusion: "If, at a place, where priests desire to consecrate a *simâ*, there does not exist an ancient *simâ*, the *simâ* consecrated, at that place, is valid; but, if otherwise, the new *simâ* is null and void, because of the doubtful defect of the junction and overlapping of *simâs*. Therefore, it is only by the desecration of the ancient *simâ* at that place, that the validity of the new *simâ* to be consecrated, can be secured. For this reason, previous to the consecration of a *simâ*, the ceremony of desecrating the *simâ* (which may possibly exist on the site), should be performed." The King accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the (existing) *simâ* in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the *aṭṭhakathâ*.

"Priests, an *avippavâsasimâ* may thus be desecrated by means of the *tichîvara*." There are certain conditions to be observed by a priest desecrating a *simâ*. The following are the conditions. Standing on a *khandasimâ*, a *mahâsimâ*, called *avippavâsasimâ*, should not be desecrated; and similarly, standing on a *mahâsimâ*, called *avippavâṣasimâ*, a *khaṇḍasimâ* should not be desecrated. It is only when standing on a *khaṇḍasimâ* that another *khaṇḍasimâ* may be desecrated; and the same rule applies *mutatis mutandis* to the other class of *simâ*. A *simâ* is desecrated for two reasons, namely, (i) in order to make a *mahâsimâ* of one, which is originally a *khuddakasimâ*, with a view that its area may be extended; (ii) in order to make a *khuddakasimâ* of one, which is originally a *mahâsimâ*, with a view that sites for monasteries may be granted to others. If, at the place of desecration, the existence of both *khaṇḍasimâ* and *mahâsimâ*, called *avippavâsasimâ*, is known, a *simâ* may be desecrated or consecrated. If, however, the existence of a *khaṇḍasimâ* is known, but not that of a *mahâsimâ*, called *avippavâsasimâ*, a *simâ* may be desecrated or consecrated. If, on the other hand, the existence of a *mahâsimâ*, called *avippavâsasimâ*, is known, but not that of a *khaṇḍasimâ*, it is only by standing on such places as the premises of a *chêtiya*, a *bôdhi* tree, or an *upôsatha* hall, which are undoubtedly outside (the limits of an *avippavâsasimâ*), that a *simâ* may be desecrated; but by no means can it be consecrated. If, however, a *simâ* is consecrated, there will be a junction of *simâs*, and a *vihârasimâ* will be transformed into an *avihârasimâ*. Therefore, the ceremony of desecration should not be performed.

If the existence of both kinds of *simâs* is unknown, neither desecration nor consecration should be effected. A *simâ* is invalidated by means of the *kammavâchâ*, or through the declension of the Religion, or because those, who do not know a *simâ*, are incompetent to recite the *kammavâchâ*. Therefore, desecration should not be effected. Because it is said that it is only when (the different classes of *simâs*) are well-known, that desecration or consecration may be effected, priests desiring to desecrate a *simâ*, and who are aware of either the existence of an ancient *simâ* or its extent, may, by stationing there duly qualified priests, desecrate an

ancient *simâ* or consecrate a new one. The interpretation appears to be that, if the extent of an ancient *simâ* is unknown, that *simâ* cannot be desecrated, nor can a new one be consecrated.

But the *Vimativinôdanî* says: "There are some *thêras*, who, in the case of such *vihârasimâs*, would convene a Chapter of five or six priests, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of the *vihârasimâ*, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an *avippavâsasimâ*, and a *samânasaṁvâsakasimâ*. If either a *khaṇḍasimâ* or a *mahâsimâ* exists on that *vihâra*, the priests standing, as they do, in the midst of the *simâs*, would, from a *mañchaṭṭhâna*, certainly desecrate that *simâ*, and the *gâmasimâ* would remain. In this matter, it is not essential to know the *simâ* or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the *kammavâchâ* to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a *simâ*,' (and to act accordingly).

"It is stated in the *aṭṭhakathâ* that those, who are aware of the existence of a *khaṇḍasimâ*, but not that of an *avippavâsasimâ*, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and that thus, although the extent of a *mahâsimâ* is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining *gâmasimâ*, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of *simâs* and to perform the *upasampadâ* ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry." The interpretation of these *thêras*, therefore, appears to be correct. With regard, however, to the desecration of a *simâ* with an ordinary, but not a great, amount of exertion, by those, to whom the performance of the ceremony is difficult, because of their not knowing the existence of an ancient *simâ* or its extent, it is said in the *aṭṭhakathâ*: "If both classes of *simâ* are not known, the *simâ* should not be desecrated or consecrated." This dictum does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the *simâ* to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that *simâ* will not be desecrated.

If, at a place where a new *simâ* is desired to be consecrated, the existence of an ancient *simâ*, or its extent, is unknown; if, at selected spots within and without the places suitable for the fixing of the boundary-marks of the new *simâ* to be consecrated, allotments of space, each measuring about four or five cubits in length are marked out in rows or groups; and, if duly qualified priests station themselves in the said continuous rows of the allotments of space, and effect the desecration of a *simâ*: how can there be no desecration of the existing ancient *simâ* at that placè, and how can only the *gâmasimâ* be not left? **The King, therefore, had the ceremony of desecrating a simâ performed in the following manner:—**

On the inside of the places, suitable for fixing the boundary-marks of the new *simâ* to be consecrated, allotments of space of five cubits each in length and the same in breadth were marked out, and allotments of similar dimensions were marked out also on the outside; and, by means of a line drawn with lime or chalk, rectangular spaces in rows were marked out. Then the nine *thêras* and the five young priests were invited, and the ceremony of desecrating a *simâ* was performed in the manner described below. The said fourteen priests stationed themselves in the first rectangular space of the first row of the allotments of space, and read seven times the *kammavâchâ* for desecrating a *simâ* at seven different spots; then stationing themselves successively at each of the remaining rectangular spaces in the first row, they continued reciting the *kammavâchâ* till the last rectangular space was reached. Again, beginning with the last rectangular space in the second row, they stationed themselves successively in a reverse order till the first rectangular space in the second row was reached, and read the *kammavâchâ*. Thus, in the manner described above, the *kammavâchâ* was read at every rectangular space in each of the two rows, in a forward order in the first, and in a reverse order in the second. When the number of rectangular spaces had been exhausted, the ceremony of desecrating a *simâ* was concluded. **It should be borne in mind that this ceremony was concluded on Saturday, the 7th day of the light half of the month Migasîra.**

**On the 8th day, Râmâdhipatirâja, in order to have the ceremony of consecrating a simâ performed, visited the place in the morning, and had the preliminary arrangements carried out in the following manner :—**

On the outside of the site selected for consecrating the *simâ*, and facing the four quarters, four boundary-marks were fixed; and in order to bring into prominence the advantage derived from fixing the boundary-marks in a form other than that of a four-sided figure, each of the additional four boundary-marks was placed at the end of a line drawn from the middle of the line joining each of the two corners facing the four quarters. Within the space thus enclosed by the eight boundary-stones, a rope was stretched, and along it a line was drawn on the ground. As the *simâ* was to be consecrated within the line, and, as it was desirable to make manifest the limit of its site, a small trench, a span in depth and the same in width, was dug outside that line. In order to obviate junction with other *gâmakhêttas*, both inside and outside the limit of the boundary-stones, such means of connection as the branches of trees were cut down. The small trench was smeared with mud, and some water was placed in it. The eight boundary-stones were beautified with gilding and vermilion, and were wrapped up in red and white cloth. By way of showing honour to the Blessed One, near the boundary-stones, umbrellas, banners, lamps, incense, and flowers were offered; water-pots, whose mouths were covered and adorned with *kumuda* flowers, were placed; and other offerings such as of cloth were made.

The preliminary arrangements connected with the consecration of the *simâ* having thus been carried out, the nine *thêras* and the five young priests were invited, and the eight boundary-marks in the eight quarters, commencing with the one in the East quarter, were successively proclaimed. The proclamation was continued till the first boundary-mark, which had previously been proclaimed, was reached. In this manner the boundary-marks were proclaimed three times.

On the following morning, flags and streamers were planted at various places around the *gâmakhêtta* belonging to the Minister Narasûra; drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded; and the guards, mounted men, and swift messengers, who had been stationed for the purpose of stopping the progress of travelling priests, and of causing other priests residing on that *gâmakhêtta* to be speedily excluded from it, were sent out to patrol all round it. It was only when the absence of other priests on that *gâmakhêtta* had been reported, that the *kammavâchâ* relating to the consecration of a *simâ* was read seven times with proper intonation, and that the ceremony of consecration was concluded. At the conclusion of the ceremony, gongs and other musical instruments were sounded three times, and the populace were commanded to raise a shout of acclamation. **In commemoration of the consecration of this simâ by the priests, who had received their upasampadâ ordination in the udakukkhêpasimâ situated on the Kalyâṇî River, it received the appellation of the Kalyâṇî-simâ.**

Previous to the consecration of the Kalyâṇî-simâ, and also since the return of the *thêras* from Sîhaḷadîpa after receiving their *upasampadâ* ordination there, **the leading priests**, who were imbued with faith, learned, and able, had approached Râmâdhipatirâja and said to him thus: "Mahârâja, it is, indeed, an anomaly that we, who have received both the *pabbajjâ* and *upasampadâ* forms of ordination of the Religion of Buddha, and practised all the precepts that have been enacted, should find our *upasampadâ* ordination to be impure. **We desire, Mahârâja, to receive the upasampadâ ordination at the hands of these thêras, and thus shall our ordination become pure."** To this Râmâdhipatirâja thus replied: "Reverend Sirs, if any leading priests who are replete with faith, should, after investigating the ruling of the *Vinaya*, that is in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, find that their *upasampadâ* ordination is impure, and should desire to receive the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the *thêras*, who have returned home after receiving such ordination at the hands

of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the extremely orthodox Mahâvihâra sect, I am not in a position to say to them: 'Do receive it,' or to prevent them by saying; 'Do not receive it.' On the other hand, if the leading priests should, after investigating the ruling of the *Vinaya*, that is in conformity with the intention of the Blessed One, find that their *upasampadâ* ordination is pure, and should not desire to receive at the hands of these *thêras* the form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, that has been handed down by the ordained priests of Sîhaḷadîpa, I would not venture to urge them by saying: 'Do receive it.' **The ruling of the Vinaya should, indeed, be the guiding principle.** Do you investigate the *Dhamma* well."

Then Râmâdhipatirâja thought thus:

"The office of *upajjhâya* is the basis of both the *pabbajjâ* and the *upasampadâ* forms of ordination; and it is decreed by the Blessed One that such an office should be conferred only on qualified priests, who, by reason of their having been ten years in orders, have acquired the status of a *thêra*. But these *thêras* received their *upasampadâ* ordination this year only; and not one of them is, therefore, qualified for the office of *upajjhâya*. Whence can we get such an *upajjhâya*? He, indeed, is qualified for the office of *upajjhâya*, who has returned home, after receiving the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect. After appointing such a one as *upajjhâya* all the leading priests, who are desirous of receiving the form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the ordained priests of Sîhaḷadîpa, will be afforded an opportunity of receiving such ordination at the hands of these *thêras*, who have returned from that island." Accordingly, the King commanded that a search be made for such a priest. Then Parakkamabâhusâmithêra said: "Mahârâja, there is a *thêra* called **Suvaṇṇa-sôbhaṇa.** He received his *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect. He is, indeed, **qualified for the office of upaj-jhâya.** Mahârâja, he is a solitary dweller in the forest, and observer of *dhûtaṅgas*, has few desires, is easily satisfied, and austere in his mode of living, eschews all evil through an innate feeling of shame, is repentant of his sins, an observer of the precepts, and is learned and competent." The King sent messengers to invite Suvaṇṇasôbhaṇathêra, and asked him, "Reverend Sir, when you visited Sîhaḷadîpa, in which *simâ* were you ordained, and what was the strength of the Chapter that ordained you? Who was your *upajjhâya*, and who your *kammavâchâchariya*? How many years have elapsed since you received your *upasampadâ* ordination in Sîhaḷadîpa?"

**Suvaṇṇasôbhaṇathêra** replied thus to the King: "Mahârâja, **in the udakukkhêpasimâ situated on a mahâjâtassara, called Kalambu, and at the hands of a Chapter composed of innumerable priests, with Vaṇaratanamahâthêra, ex-Mahâsaṅgharâja, as my upajjhâya, and with Vijayabâhu-saṅgharâja, who was formerly known as Râhulabhaddathêra, as my kammavâchâchariya, I received my upasampadâ ordination. Since then twenty-six years have passed away."** The King was extremely delighted, and invited the *thêra* to assume the office of *upajjhâya* in respect of the priests desiring to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination. The *thêra* then said: "Mahârâja, the *thêras* of old, in whom human passion was extinct, disregarded their own interest in effecting the purification of the Religion in foreign countries. Mahârâja, I will follow in the footsteps of these holy men, and even like them, will purify the Religion." So saying, he gave a promise to the King.

### Reverse face of the third Stone.

Immediately after the consecration of the *simâ*, **the priests,** who had faith, and were learned and able, and who, **being aware of the impurity of their previous upasampadâ ordination,** were desirous of receiving the form of ordination, that had been handed down through a succession of the ordained priests of Sîhaḷadîpa, approached the King and renewed their former request. Having approached the King, they said: "Mahârâja, now that a *simâ* has been consecrated in a valid manner, and that a *mahâthêra*, who is qualified for the office of *upajjhâya*,

has been appointed, we are prepared to receive the Sîhaḷa form of the upasampadâ ordination."

On the morning of Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migasîra, the King visited the Kalyâṇîsimâ accompanied by the leading priests. The nine *thêras*, together with the five young priests, and Suvaṇṇasôbhaṇathêra, who was qualified for the office of *upajjhâya*, were invited and seated in the Kalyâṇîsimâ. Setting aside the leading priests, who were desirous of receiving the Sîhaḷa form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, the King approached the *thêras*, who had visited Sîhaḷadîpa, and having approached them, said to them thus: "Reverend Sirs, these leading priests are desirous of receiving, at your hands, the Sîhaḷa form of the *upasampadâ* ordination. Vouchsafe, Reverend Sirs, to confer such ordination on them."

To this the *theras* replied: "Mahârâja, we were sent by you to Sîhaḷadîpa, where we received the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination at the hands of the fraternity, who are the spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect. Mahârâja, previous to our receiving such ordination at their hands the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa addressed us thus: 'Reverend brethren, this is the custom of the Sîhaḷa *mahâthêras* of old. Previous to the conferment of the *upasampadâ* ordination on priests, who have come from foreign countries, they are directed to make a confession that they have become laymen, to doff their priestly robe, to suffer themselves to be established in the condition of laymen by accepting the gift of a white garb, and again, to become *sâmaṇêras* by receiving the *pabbajjâ* ordination, by accepting a gift of the priestly robe, and by professing openly their faith in the 'Three Refuges.' (It is only when all these stages have been passed through, that they are permitted) to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination in their capacity as *sâmaṇêras*. It might be asked: What is the reason of such procedure? Reverend brethren, the priests, who came to this country with the conviction that their previous *upasampadâ* ordination was impure, but that the Sîhaḷa form of it was pure, being imbued with faith, received fresh *upasampadâ* ordination. Reverend brethren, these priests would subsequently attach themselves to others who might have been their own disciples, and, being dissatisfied with their condition, would, disregarding the time that had elapsed since their new ordination, reckon their status from the date of their old one. This is not approved by us: hence the custom described above. Therefore, if you, who are replete with faith, desire to receive the pure form of *upasampadâ* ordination, do you act in accordance with the custom of the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa. If you comply, we shall be able to confer the *upasampadâ* ordination on you; but if you do not, by reason of not being in accordance with custom, we shall be unable to confer such ordination on you.' It was only when we had conformed ourselves to the custom of the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa, that they conferred the *upasampadâ* ordination on us."

Then the large number of leading priests said: "Reverend Sirs, since you yourselves received the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination only after conforming to the custom of the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa, even in this wise, do we, who are replete with faith, desire to receive it. Therefore, we are prepared to receive the pure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination after conforming ourselves to the custom of the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa." The *thêras*, who had returned from Sîhaḷadîpa, being thus in concord with all the leading priests, the latter, headed by Dhammakittithêra, were eventually treated in accordance with the custom of the mahâthêras of Sîhaḷadîpa, and the upasampadâ ordination was conferred on them, with Suvaṇṇasôhaṇathêra as upajjhâya, and with the nine thêras, who had returned from Sîhaḷadîpa, as âchariyas, the kammavâchâ being read by two of these thêras in turn.

On Monday, the 9th day of the light half of the month Migasîra, which was the first day of the conferment of the *upasampadâ* ordination, Râmâdhipatirâja was present in person, and directed the preparation of a bounteous supply of food and various kinds of drinks suitable for consumption before or after noon, for the use of the *thêras*, who conducted the ordination ceremony, of the leading priests, who had been ordained, and of other leading priests, who were

candidates for the ordination. For the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of *sâdhu* at the conclusion of each conferment of the *upasampadâ* ordination, drums, conch-shells, and other musical instruments were sounded. Scribes skilled in worldly lore, and innumerable nobles and learned men were appointed to note the number of priests that had received the *upasampadâ* ordination. And, in order that the ceremony might be performed at night, many lamps were provided. It was near sunset when the King returned to his palace.

(*To be continued.*)

## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

### No. 15. — *The Parrot's Tale and the Mainâ's Tale.*[1]

Once upon a time there was a king who had an only son, the pride of his parents. The prince grew up strong and beautiful, and no pains were spared to give him a fitting education. When he was old enough the king got him married to the daughter of a neighbouring king, and they lived happily for some time in their father's house.

After a few months the prince wanted to go and live with his wife in another country. So he got a ship fitted for the voyage, and at once set sail with her. Now, when they had got half the way the prince remembered that he had a *pôpat* (parrot) at home, which he would have liked to take with him, and he said to his wife: — "Oh dear! I left my parrot behind me at home."

This put the princess in mind of her *mainâ,* which she, too, had forgotten at the time of leaving their palace, and so she, too, said: — "Yes, dear, I, too, have left my *mainâ* behind me, which I should have liked to have taken with me."

They, therefore, turned their ship round homewards, and when they had returned to their house, the prince took his parrot and the princess her mainâ, and again set sail. After a favourable voyage they reached their destination, where they hired a large house, and put up there.

When a few days had passed the princess one day said to her husband: — "My dear, we are now married and live happily, I should like to see my mainâ married to your parrot, and I am sure they will like it."

"Very well," said the prince; "we have only to put them into one cage, and they will be a married couple. What more is necessary to be done?" The princess then told him to go and fetch a cage, which he did, and they both took the parrot and the *mainâ,* and put them into it. Now it must be known that parrots and *mainâs* seldom agree; so they pecked at each other, and pecked so long and so fiercely, that they plucked each other's feathers to such an extent that both began to bleed, and looked like lumps of live flesh.

The following morning the prince took them some food, but he was astonished when he saw the state they were in, and wondered what was the matter with them, whereupon the mainâ said:—

"Listen, O king, to my story. There once lived a king who had an only son, who was brought up with great tenderness, and when he was old enough he was married, whereon he left his father's house and lived with his wife. He was very profligate, and had many friends who were daily entertained at a sumptuously laid-out table. In the meanwhile his wife had gone to her parents' house. In the course of his profligacy the prince soon squandered all his treasure, and, as is always the case, his friends all abandoned him. The poor prince had now barely anything left to maintain himself on, and he thought he would go to his wife's house, where he doubted not he would be welcomed by his royal father and mother-in-law. He,

[1] [A novel version of a very old tale. The previous tale published in Vol. XXI. p. 374 should have been numbered 14. — ED.]

therefore, took the earliest opportunity to go there, and, as he expected, he was given a cordial welcome.

"The prince lived in his wife's house for several months, when he again thought of his friends. So he told his father-in-law that he wished to take his wife with him. The father-in-law had no objection; on the contrary he gave them plenty of money, and moreover offered to send his regiments with them, if necessary, to escort them. The prince, however, accepted the money, but refused to take any one with him.

"On the way they had to pass a forest, and he took this opportunity **to rob his wife. He had recourse to the following stratagem.** They had passed a well, and the prince said he felt very thirsty and wanted to drink some water from it, but the princess offered to go and fetch the water. Before she went her husband said to her: — 'You will do well to remove all the jewellery and costly garments you have on, for this forest is infested with thieves and rogues, and should any of them see you they are sure to rob and even kill you.'

"The princess thought her husband's advice sensible, and so divested herself of all her jewellery and costly garments, and went to the well to fetch the water. The prince quietly followed her to the well. She drew out one *lôṭâh* which she drank herself, and stooped to draw a second, when her husband **caught her by the legs and threw her into the well,** where she remained for a long time, **but was rescued by a passer-by,** and went back to her father's house. Her father asked her what was the matter, and why she came back in that state. **She never said a word against her husband,** but said that she had been robbed by thieves in the jungle, and did not know what had become of her husband.

"The prince, after throwing his wife into the well, bundled up all her jewellery, money, and whatever else he could, and went to his own home. Once there, he again joined his wild friends and ate and drank with them, till he had once more squandered all his wealth, as well as his wife's jewellery and rich garments, which had brought him an immense sum of money. When everything had been disposed of, his friends, who saw he was sliding into poverty, again left him, and would not so much as even speak to him. What is a man to do in such circumstances?

"He thought to himself: 'My wife is dead. I must go and tell some tales to my father-in-law, and so squeeze some more money out of him, or how shall I live?'

"So thinking **he started immediately for his father-in-law's house.** After a tiresome journey he reached it, but **to his utter embarrassment he saw his wife standing at a window of the palace.** In shame and confusion he retraced his steps, but his wife, who was very kind-hearted and pitied his condition, called out to him, and said: 'Come in, dear, come in. Why do you turn back? There is nothing surprising in your behaviour. Such occurrences are not very rare.'

"The prince, though quite ashamed and confused, again went and lived for some time with his wife at her father's house. A few months afterwards he again told his father-in-law that he wished to go home with his wife. His father-in-law allowed them to go with the greatest pleasure, again giving an immense sum of money, besides jewellery and garments to the princess. This time, however, the prince took his wife home in safety, and having given up his extravagance and bad society, lived with his wife in peace and prosperity."

And then the *mainâ* ended her story with this moral: "**Such, O king, is the character of husbands,** and you can now imagine to yourself the reason of my being in the position you see me."

When the *mainâ* had finished her story, **the parrot said**: "You have listened to the *mainâ's* tale, O king, which teaches us that husbands are bad; but wait one moment, and **listen to my story,** which will shew you that wives are no better than their husbands."

"Very well," said the prince; "out with what you have to say."

The parrot (*pôpaṭ*) then began : —

"Listen, O king. There once lived in a certain country a well-to-do couple, **husband and wife.** It came to pass that **the husband had to go to a distant country for employment,** and there he had to spend several years. In his absence **the wife was day and night visited by a paramour,** with whom she ate and drank and made merry. When some ten or twelve years had elapsed she received a letter from her husband that he was soon coming back, and that she might expect him on a certain day. That day soon came, and with it her husband, who came home with a large fortune; but when he reached his house, to his great regret **he found his wife sick.** Of course, she was not really sick, but only pretended to be so, and had tied up her head and ears with a kerchief, which gave her an appearance of a really sick person.

"During the day she sent a message privately to her paramour not to visit her, as her husband had come home, but that she would come to his house. The day passed, and night came on, and the husband, who had to perform the domestic business himself on account of his wife's illness, being quite fatigued, went to bed and slept very soundly. **In the dead of night the wife arose and took the road to her paramour's house.**

"Now it happened that **a ḍâkait,** who had learnt that the husband had come back after amassing a large fortune, **thought of visiting his house that night** with a view to carrying on his vocation of plundering. So just as the *ḍâkait* at the dead of night was about to break into the house he saw the wife come out of it.

"'I will not rob the house to-night, but **will follow this woman,** and watch where she goes, and what she does," said the *ḍâkait* to himself, and went quietly after her.

"She went on and on for a long while till she came to **her paramour's** house, which she entered, and there saw her paramour apparently sleeping. But he **was really dead, having been visited by the wrath of God, and killed in his bed!**[2] Thinking he was only asleep, she called out to him in endearing terms, and threw herself on the corpse, but not a word came from him in return. Upon this she shook him and asked him why he was angry, why he did not speak to her, and such like questions. At length, after trying to make him speak for more than hour, she ceased from her attempts; but before going away she thought : — 'Well, well, if you will not speak to me, let me at least kiss you for perhaps the last time.'

"But **as she put her lips to the corpse it opened its mouth and bit off her nose!** Streams of blood ran to the ground, and she was at a loss to know what to do; for how could she go home without a nose? What would her husband and her neighbours say? What answer was she to give when questioned about her nose? In this plight, and thus thinking she retraced her steps homewards.

"On her way there was a hut in which lived an old woman, on whom she called, told her everything, and asked her advice. The old woman was at once ready with an answer, and told her to resort to **the following stratagem :—**

"'Go home,' she said; 'and quietly lie down beside your husband, and when you have been there for a little while, get up and make a noise, saying, '**My husband has bitten off my nose,** my husband has bitten off my nose.' When people collect at the noise they will believe you!'

"Having taken the old woman's advice, the wife went home, and lay down by the side of her husband, who was still fast asleep. After half an hour or so she got up and suddenly commenced bawling out : — 'My husband has bitten off my nose, my husband has bitten off my nose!' It was nearly dawn by this time, just at the time when people generally begin to be awake, and in consequence a great throng of neighbours was attracted by the wonderful story of a husband

[2] The original expression for these words are : *pûn tô niṅzlâ nôtâ, tiâlâ Parmêsôrâzûn khiâst dhârlî, âni tô mêlâ;* the literal meaning of which is : "but he was not asleep, God sent him a punishment, and he died."

biting off his wife's nose! When the neighbours saw her they assumed she was telling the truth, and some of them advised her to lodge a complaint against her husband before the magistrate! Accordingly, she went and filed a suit at the magistrate's Court. Her husband was immediately summoned to answer the complaint, and as for evidence there was no lack, for had not the whole neighbourhood seen his wife without her nose before dawn by his side?

"Her husband appeared before the magistrate, and pleaded ignorance of the matter, but was at last convicted and sentenced to be hanged. But fortunately for him, the *ḍâkait*, who had watched his wife on her night's excursion, had also come to the Court to see how the case was being conducted, and what the ultimate result would be. He now stood up before the magistratet and asked leave to say a word or two, which was given him. He then told the story: first about himself, who and what he was; how, having learnt that the accused had come home after several years' absence bringing, with him a large fortune, he had determined to plunder his house, how, when he came in the night on his plundering errand, he saw the complainant come out of the house and go to her paramour's; how he changed his mind about plundering and followed her quietly; how he saw what she did with the corpse of her paramour, who was killed by the wrath of God; and how, finally, as she stooped to kiss him, the corpse bit off her nose! He also told the magistrate how she had entered the old woman's hut, who advised her to play the trick which had brought the accused before the magistrate. He then asked the magistrate to lend him the services of two peons, and on the magistrate complying with his request he went and brought the corpse with the piece of the nose still in its mouth! The magistrate ordered the part of the nose to be removed from the mouth of the corpse and to be placed on the nose of the wife, and it fitted her exactly!

"The magistrate then gave judgment accordingly, cancelled the sentence of death passed on the husband, and ordered instead the wife and the old woman to be hanged. The *ḍâkait* was handsomely rewarded by her husband, and went away, and ever thereafter left off robbing.

"Such, O king, is the character of women. Judge for yourself the reason for the plight I am in."

When the prince had heard the stories of the *mainâ* and the parrot, he saw there was a great deal of truth in both the stories! But at the end he got them both reconciled, and they then all lived happily together:— the prince and the princess; and the parrot and the *mainâ*.

## MISCELLANEA.

### THE EVIL EYE.

With reference to Note B on page 168, Vol. XXI, *ante*, it is worthy of remark that similar ideas prevail in Burma as in Bihar. It is believed there that, if a person looks steadily at a child or animal and says how well or beautiful it is, it will forthwith become ill. This is called *lû-sŏn*[1]*-kyà*, *i.e.*, "man-magic falls (to it)." The evil eye can be averted by a string called *let-p'we* (or armlet,) tied round the arm or neck, and this is even worn by pregnant women to protect the child within them. In the latter case, however, it is called *mî-yat let-p'we*, its more especial function being to protect against a hobgoblin, called Mī-yatma. Sometimes women are hired for as long a period as five days simply to guard pregnant woman against this latter personage. The use of a string as an amulet is also known to the Southern Chins, as is shown by the following extract from Appendix IV. to my *Essay on the Language of Southern Chins and its Affinities*: —

"Four or five days after the birth of a child it is duly initiated into the clan and placed under the guardianship of the Khun. A cotton string, (called *khunhlüng*) is tied round its wrist for a few days; as a sign to all evil spirits that the child is under the latter's protection."

BERNARD HOUGHTON.

[1] Also '*nôk-sôn*' 'môuth-magic' and *let-sôn* 'hand-magic.' Another expression is *àn-kyà*_ꝡî.

# MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF JATILAVARMAN.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A.; BANGALORE.

THE original of the subjoined inscription belongs to the Government Central Museum at Madras, and is referred to in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 24 (Madras Museum Plate No. 15). Two impressions prepared by Dr. Fleet, and the original copper-plates which had been lent to Dr. Hultzsch, have been kindly placed by him at my disposal for publication in this *Journal*.

The inscription is engraved on seven copper-plates, each measuring $11\frac{1}{4}''$ by $4\frac{1}{8}''$, strung on a ring, whose diameter is about $3\frac{1}{4}''$ and which is $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick. The weight of the seven plates is $328\frac{1}{2}$ tolas and that of the ring $11\frac{1}{4}$; total $339\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. The ring contains no traces of having borne a seal, and the copper-plates seem to have been issued without it. Each of the plates is slightly folded at the extremities, so as to make rims on two of the opposite sides in order to protect the writing from defacement. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, and the remaining five on both sides.

The inscription contains two passages in the **Sanskṛit** language and the old **Grantha** character. The first of these consists of six verses in the beginning (lines 1 to 19) and the second of four of the customary imprecatory verses at the end. The rest of the inscription is in the **Tamiḻ** language and the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** or **Chêra-Pâṇḍya** alphabet, as it has been termed by Dr. Hultzsch, but is interspersed with a large number of Sanskṛit words written in the Grantha character. The following is a list of the words and syllables in the Tamiḻ portion of the inscription which are written in the Grantha character:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Line 33. | ka-bhûmi. |
| ,, 34. | bhûmi. |
| ,, 42. | kula-dhana. aravinda-mukha. |
| ,, 44. | Karavandapu. |
| ,, 46f. | êvamâdi-vikrama. |
| ,, 48. | Manu-darśśita-mârgga. |
| ,, 49. | guru-charitaṁ. kaṇḍaka-śôdhanai. |
| ,, 50f. | *from* Pâṇḍya-nâthan *to* paramavaishṇavaṇ. |
| ,, 52. | râjya-varsha. |
| ,, 53. | ndharmma. |
| ,, 54. | karmma. Magadha. mahîdê. |
| ,, 55. | 'Sabdâḷi. grâma. Vidyâ-dêvatai. |
| Line 56. | *from* Bhârggava *to* sûtra. |
| ,, 57. | Bahvṛijan Sîhu-Miśra. Yajña-vidyai. |
| ,, 58. | śâstra. Sujjaṭa-Bhaṭṭa. |
| ,, 60. | 'Srîvara-maṁgala. brahma-dêya. |
| ,, 61f. | sarvva-parihâra. |
| ,, 72. | Pâṇḍya. |
| ,, 72f. | mataṁgajâddhyakshan. |
| ,, 76. | mra-śâsana. |
| ,, 76f. | vâdya-gêya-saṁgîta. |
| ,, 78. | Vaidya-kula. |
| ,, 79. | mahâ-sâmanta. |
| ,, 80. | Vîra. |
| ,, 81. | Dhîrataran Mûrtti. |
| ,, 84. | mra-śâsana. |
| ,, 92f. | Arikêsari. |

The historical introduction (ll. 19 to 46) is in High Tamiḻ and possesses one characteristic of Tamiḻ poetry, *viz.* constant alliteration. The only inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet that have been hitherto published, are the Tirunelli plates of Bhâskara-Ravivarman which appeared in a former number of this *Journal*,[1] and the three inscriptions mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch in the introductory remarks to his paper on those plates (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 287).

[1] *ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 285-292. Mr. S. M. Naṭêśa Śâstrî has published his own version of this grant in the September number of Vol. IX of the *Christian College Magazine*. The following misreadings in it may be noted as the most important:—

Line 1. Śrî Amachchar *for* śrîḥ [illegible] Kô Pâskaran.
,, 2. iruppattârâm ,, nâlppatt-âṛâm.

The alphabet employed in the subjoined inscription differs slightly from that of the four others. In the latter, the individual characters have a tendency to slant towards the left, while in the former they are more straight. This has perhaps to be accounted for by the different nature of the writing materials commonly in use, and the mode of holding the style, prevalent in the two parts of Southern India to which these inscriptions severally belong. The use of Sanskṛit words and Grantha characters is very common in the Pâṇḍya grant, while in the four others most of the Sanskṛit words have assumed Drâviḍian forms and are written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. In the latter some of the characters are distinctly round, for example *t*, *ṇ*, *ṟ* and *ṉ*, while in the former they are not quite round. It is not possible to say which of these two is the more developed form, until the immediate source of the alphabet is determined, and the two types of characters compared individually with those of the parent alphabet. From other **Pâṇḍya** inscriptions which are published, we know that, besides the Vaṭṭeḻuttu, the **Tamiḻ** alphabet was also used in the Pâṇḍya kingdom. The former was probably imported from the **Chêra** kingdom and the latter from the **Chôḷa** country. As the earlier Pâṇḍya inscriptions, like the present one, are found engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu character, and the later ones, — like the stone inscriptions found at Madura, Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam and other places, and the large Tiruppûvaṇam copper-plate grant of Kulaśêkhara-Pâṇḍya, — in the Tamiḻ alphabet, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was the former that was originally used in the Pâṇḍya kingdom. The latter was probably introduced during the time when the great Śaiva devotees, Tiruñâṇasambandar and Tirunâvukkaraiyar, flourished, or on the occasion of a subsequent Chôḷa conquest. The forms which the characters have assumed in the present inscription, might be due to the influence of the Tamiḻ alphabet on the original Vaṭṭeḻuttu. This Pâṇḍya grant also throws some light on the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu numerals,** as the plates are numbered on their left margins. The number on the third plate is rather indistinct, and the symbols for *four*, *five*, *six* and *seven* seem to be closely allied to the corresponding ones used in Tamiḻ inscriptions, while those for *one* and *two* do not exhibit any intimate connection with the known South-Indian numerals. The investigation of the origin of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu numerals is closely connected with, and must throw considerable light on the question of the immediate source of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. We must have a complete set of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu numerals and their earlier forms, and the earlier forms of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet, before we can speculate on the origin of either of them, or on the relation which existed between them. Dr. Burnell has expressed himself as follows on this question:—"Of all the probable primitive alphabets with which a comparison of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu is possible, it appears to me that the **Sassanian** of the inscriptions presents most points of resemblance."[2] A comparison of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters with the Tamiḻ alphabet, which is used in ancient inscriptions found in the Chôḷa country and in other Tamiḻ districts, yields the following results:—The symbols for *î*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *r*, *l*, *ḻ* and *ḷ* are almost the same in both, while those for *a*, *â*, *u*, *û*, *o*, *k*, *ṅ*, *ch*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *v*, *ṟ*

Line 2. śu dinattil *for* Śiṅṅattil.
„ 5. Sevvaraṅgôṉ „ Śaṅṅaraṅ=Kôda.
„ 7. muṅgu=vvâlum „ mudugûṟu vâlum.
„ „ . . . vaṉ=ṉudippaḍiy *for* vannu ti[ru*]vaḍiy.
„ 9. aruṭkkaḍaviya *for* kuda=kkadaviya.
„ 11. koḍukkum „ keḍukkum.
„ 12. orâttaṉ „ ôr-ôttarai.
„ 13. kôṇamannа „ kâṇam poṉ.
„ 20. vil chchila *and* paśaiyar *for* vilakkil *and* vagaiyra.
„ 21. âda vaitti kai *for* âṭṭai=ttiśai.
„ 27. aḍichchu „ alikku.
„ 28. . . . m Makaḷ *and* Îśuri *for* mavagaḷ *and* i-śiri.
„ 29. paṉṉinadu *and* Madaippaḷḷi *for* uṉṉiṉru *and* Malaiyampaḷḷi.
„ 33f. Niḍatâṅganaññûradey *for* ôdadâṟu Karaiññaṉûr sabha.
„ 34. yûde Ainamandarai munachchuppotti *for* nûṟṟu-aiymbatt-êl-arai kâśu poṉṉi.
„ 36f. śonnân *for* Karaiñña[ṉûr sabha].

The seven small lines of writing on the right margin of the second side of the second plate seem to have been entirely ignored.

[2] *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 51.

and ṉ are not quite dissimilar, and those for *i*, *e*, *ai*, ṇ, *t* and *n* do not exhibit any points of close resemblance. In the subjoined inscription more than two hundred and fifty of the *virâmas* are distinctly marked, in most cases by means of a dot attached to the top of the letter. In some cases the dot is attached to the right or to the left of the letter. There is no attempt at marking the *virâmas* either in the Jews' grant or in the Syrian Christians' grants, — if the copies published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII. are faithful, — as well as in the Tirunelli grant. As regards Tamil̤ inscriptions, we find that the *virâmas* are sometimes marked only in the oldest ones.[3] If the marking of the *virâma* had the same history in the Vaṭṭeluttu script as it seems to have had in Tamil̤ inscriptions, we should conclude that the present grant belongs to a time earlier than any of the inscriptions from the Western coast hitherto discovered.

Of the **Pâṇḍya** kingdom nothing like a connected history is known, and it is doubtful if it will ever be possible to get a really trustworthy account of it from the earliest times. That it was a very ancient one, is established by various facts. According to some versions of the *Mahâbhârata*, **Arjuna** is believed to have gone to the Pâṇḍya kingdom during his rambles in the South.[4] The Buddhist king **Aśôka** refers to the Pâṇḍyas in one of his edicts.[5] The late Dr. Caldwell considered it nearly certain that it was a Pâṇḍya king who had sent an ambassador to the emperor **Augustus** of Rome.[6] From the **Greek** geographers who wrote after the Christian era, we learn that the Pâṇḍya kingdom not only existed in their time, but rose to special importance among the Indian states, though no names of Pâṇḍya kings are known. Tûttukkuḍi (Tuticorin), Korkai, Kâyal, Kaḻḻimêḍu (Point Calimere), Kumari (Cape Comorin) and Pâmbaṉ (Paumben) were known to the ancient Greeks.[7] Kâlidâsa, the great dramatist, refers to the Pâṇḍya kingdom as one of the provinces overrun by Raghu in his tour of conquest.[8] The astronomer Varâhamihira refers to this kingdom in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*.[9] The frequent mention of the Pâṇḍyas in ancient inscriptions shows that the kingdom continued to exist and that some of its rulers were very powerful. The Western Chalukya king **Pulikêśin** II. (A. D. 610 to 634) boasts of having conquered the Pâṇḍyas among others.[10] The **Pallavas** are constantly reported to have conquered the Pâṇḍyas. The inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamalla published by the Rev. T. Foulkes, refers to a victory gained by the Pallava general Udayachandra against the Pâṇḍya army in the battle of **Maṉṉaikuḍi**.[11] The **Chalukyas**, — Western as well as Eastern, — and the **Râshṭrakûṭa** kings sometimes boast in their inscriptions of having conquered the Pâṇḍyas.[12] It was, however, with the **Chêras** and the **Chôḻas** that the Pâṇḍya history was more intimately connected. They formed the 'three kingdoms' of the South,[13] and were constantly at feud with one another. Each of the kings

3 Compare Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 113 and 147; *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII. pp. 99 and 273.

4 It is in connection with a marriage of Arjuna that the Pâṇḍya kingdom is supposed to be mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. Dr. Caldwell (*History of Tinnevelly*, p. 13) says that only the Tamil prose translation and the southern Sanskṛit versions of the epic state that Arjuna's bride belonged to the Pâṇḍya family, while most of the northern Sanskrit versions state that her father was the king of Maṇipûra.

5 *ante*, Vol. V. p. 272.

6 *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 17. Captain Tufnell in his *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, Part II. p. 3, says that the small insignificant Roman copper coins found in and around Madura in such large numbers and belonging to types different from those discovered in Europe, point to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 291, seems to have first started this theory to explain the discovery of the small Roman coins.

7 See *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 330 ff. and Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 17-22.

8 *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv. 49.

9 Dr. Kern's edition, iv. 10.

10 See *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 245.

11 *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 276; the reading of the first line of Plate iv. first side, is not *Mannaiku[saṁ]grâme* as the published text has it, but *Mannaikuṭi-grâmê*.

12 For the Western Chalukya conquest of the Pâṇḍyas see Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 27, 28 and 29. Only one of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings is explicitly stated to have conquered the Pâṇḍyas. For the Eastern Chalukya conquest see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 51.

13 In Tamil̤, the phrase *mûv-araśar*, 'the three kings,' is used to denote the Chêra, the Chôḻa and the Pâṇḍya kings. In Tamil inscriptions *mûva-râyar*, and in Kanarese ones *mûru-râyaru* are used to mean the same three kings; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 111, note 3.

of any one of these dynasties often called himself 'the destroyer' of the other two kingdoms.[14] As the history of the Chêras is now very little known, we have only what has been done for the Chôḷa history to fall upon. The Chôḷa king **Parântaka** I. calls himself Madirai-koṇḍa, or in Sanskṛit, **Madhurântaka**, 'the destroyer of Madura.' Mr. Foulkes' inscription of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla reports that Parântaka I. conquered **Râjasiṁha-Pâṇḍya.**[15] One of the grandsons of the same Chôḷa king was also called Madhurântaka, while one of his great-grandsons, **Âditya-Karikâla**, "contended in his youth with **Vîra-Pâṇḍya**,"[16] and another great-grandson, Kô-Râjakêsarivarman *alias* **Râjarâjadêva**, "deprived the Ṡeḷiyas (*i. e.* the Pâṇḍyas) of their splendour."[17] In two of the Tanjore inscriptions (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 3, paragraphs 5 and 6, and No. 59, paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 9 and 11), the conquest of the **Pâṇḍyas** is mentioned along with that of **Ṡêramâṉ**, the Chêra king, and in one of them (No. 59, paragraph 3), it is said that both of them were defeated in Malai-nâḍu. Perhaps this shows that the Chêra king and the Pâṇḍyas united together in opposing Râjarâja. The son of the last-named Chôḷa king, Kô-Parakêsarivarman *alias* **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva**, was also called Madhurântaka.[18] The immense number of copper coins found in the Madura *bâzâr*, containing the legend **Râjarâja**, and the Chôḷa inscriptions which are reported to be found in the Pâṇḍya country,[19] almost establish the Chôḷa conquest. Dr. Hultzsch's latest *Progress Report* (Madras G. O. dated 6th August 1892, No. 544, Public) mentions several Pâṇḍya princes. Of these, **Mânâbharaṇa**, **Vîra-Kêraḷa**, **Sundara-Pâṇḍya**, and **Laṅkêśvara** *alias* **Vikrama-Pâṇḍya**, who had undertaken an expedition against **Vikramabâhu** of Ceylon, were contemporaries of the Chôḷa king **Kô-Râjakêsarivaman** *alias* **Râjâdhirâjadêva** (No. 12 of Dr. Hultzsch's list); **Vîra-Kêsarin**, the son of **Ṡrîvallabha**, was a contemporary of **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* **Vîra-Râjêndradêva I.** (No. 14 of the list). A third Chôḷa king, No. 18. **Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **Vîra-Râjêndradêva II.**, whom Dr. Hultzsch identifies with the Eastern Chalukya **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa II.**, is reported "to have cut off the nose of the son of **Vîra-Pâṇḍya**, to have given Madura to **Vikrama-Pâṇḍya**, and to have cut off the head of **Vîra-Pâṇḍya.**" In the inscriptions of the Chôḷa king Râjarâjadêva, found at Tanjore and elsewhere, the Pâṇḍyas are always mentioned in the plural number (Ṡeḷiyar, Pâṇḍyar). An inscription, found on one of the walls of the great temple at Chidambaram in the South Arcot district, reports that **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa** conquered 'the five Pâṇḍyas.'[20] The defeat of 'the five Pâṇḍyas' is also referred to in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of Kô-Râjakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor Ṡrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 58, and *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 286), who was evidently identical with the Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa of the Chidambaram inscription. Again, the word Pañchavaṉ, 'one of the five,' is used in inscriptions as well as in Tamiḻ literature as a title of the Pâṇḍya kings. It may, therefore, be concluded that very often, if not always, there were five Pâṇḍya princes

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[14] The seals of Pâṇḍya copper-plate grants, of which two are now known, and published in Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, — one belonging to the large Tiruppûvaṇam grant and the other to the "Madacolam" grant, — contain the following emblems; — two fish, a tiger and a bow. The fish was the Pâṇḍya emblem. But the insertion of the tiger and the bow, the Chôḷa and the Chêra emblems, is meant to indicate that the kings who issued these grants, conquered the Chôḷas and the Chêras. In the description of the seals of the two Leyden copper-plate grants, published in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. only the fish and the tiger are mentioned. The bow, which must have been there, has evidently been mistaken for something else Some of the Chôḷa coins also contain these three emblems; *e. g.* No. 152 of Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, whose legend has been read by Dr. Hultzsch as *Gaṅgai-koṇda Chôlaḥ* (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 323), and Nos. 153 and 154 of the same, whose legends are *Ṡrî-Râjêndraḥ* and *Uttama-Chôlaḥ*, respectively.

[15] *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 372 (verse 11).

[16] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

[17] *ibid.* pp. 65 and 95.

[18] Lines 87 f. of the large Leyden grant (*Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 208), and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 112.

[19] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 286 and 287; Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 29. In one of the Tanjore inscriptions (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 36) Pâṇḍi-nâḍu is otherwise called Râjarâja-maṇḍalam. This confirms Râjarâja's conquest of the Pâṇḍyas.

[20] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 168.

ruling at the same time.[21] Almost throughout the Tamiḻ districts of Southern India we meet with Pâṇḍya inscriptions which, to judge from the characters employed in them, must belong to some of the later kings. Among these may be mentioned **Sundara, Vîra, Vikrama, Kulaśêkhara** and **Parâkrama.** Marco Polo mentions a "Sonder Bandi" of the Pâṇḍya dynasty,[22] who may be identical with the Sundara-Pâṇḍya of the inscriptions. Later on, the Pâṇḍya kingdom fell a prey to the ambition of the **Vijayanagara** kings and their feudatories. Coins bearing one or other of the names Sundara Pâṇḍiyaṉ (**Sundara-Pâṇḍya**), Vîra-Pâṇḍiyaṉ (**Vîra-Pâṇḍya**) and Kulaśêgaraṉ (**Kulaśêkhara**), are not infrequently met with in the *bâzârs* of Tanjore and Madura. Another coin, bearing the legend Samarakôlâgalaṉ (*i. e.* in Sanskṛit, **Samarakôlâhala**),[23] a name which occurs in the traditional lists of Pâṇḍya kings, is also often found. He was a king whose dominions extended as far north as **Kâñchîpura**, where an inscription, dated during his reign, is found, and contains the Śaka date 1391 expired.[24] From this inscription we learn that he was also called Puvaṉêkavîraṉ (*i. e.* in Sanskṛit **Bhuvanaikavîra**), a name which is likewise found on coins.[25] Coins bearing the legends *Kachchi-vaḻaṅgum Perumân*,[26] *Ellântalaiy-âṉâṉ*,[27] *Jagavîra-Râmaṉ*,[28] *Kaliyuga-Râmaṉ*,[29] *Śêra-kula-R[â*]maṉ*,[30] and *Pûtala*,[31] are generally ascribed to the Pâṇḍya dynasty. From Tamiḻ inscriptions we learn that the capital of the Pâṇḍyas was **Madura**, and that their dominions were often very extensive. That their emblem was the fish, is borne out by inscriptions as well as coins.[32] From certain names which occur in Kanarese inscriptions, and which are referred to in Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency*, it may be concluded that there was a family of **Pâṇḍya** chiefs ruling in the North as feudatories of one or other of the Kanarese dynasties. Probably, some member of the Pâṇḍya dynasty of Madura, for some unknown reason, migrated to the North and established for himself a small principality; and his successors appear to have preserved their family name. **Tribhuvanamalla-Pâṇḍyadêva**,[33] **Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva**[34] and **Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva**[35] were ruling the **Noṇambavâḍi**

[21] The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (canto xi. verse 69) mentions five Pâṇḍya princes who had been defeated by Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻa. This king was, as has been shown by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 338) and Dr. Fleet (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 279 f.), identical with the Eastern Chalukya Kulottuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. (Śaka 985 to 1034), and it is very probable that it is this defeat of the Pâṇḍyas that is referred to in the Chidambaram inscription and in the inscriptions found at Tanjore and other places.

[22] Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 35. But see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121, where the date of the accession of Sundara-Pâṇḍya is calculated from materials supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. We have thus obtained the date of one of the several Sundaras.

[23] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Nos. 134 and 135.

[24] Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report for February to April 1890*, Madras G. O. dated 14th May 1890, No. 355, Public.

[25] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, No. 133. [26] *ibid.* No. 145.

[27] This is the reading of the legend on Elliot's No. 133 suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 324) who ascribes it to Sundara-Pâṇḍya. The Rev. J. E. Tracy of Tirumaṅgalam, in his paper on Pâṇḍya coins, published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, had read Ellâ-nagaraiy-âḷan.

[28] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, No. 144. This legend has been read by Mr. Tracy.

[29] Mr. Tracy's *Pandyan Coins*, No. 3, and Elliot's No. 147. In an inscription of the Jambukêśvara temple on the island of Śrîraṅgam (*ante*, Vol. XXI p. 121) Sundara-Pâṇḍya is called *Laṅkâ-dvîpa luṇṭana-dvitîya-Râma*, 'a second Râma in plundering the island of Laṅkâ.' It is not impossible that the *biruda* Kaliyuga-Râmaṉ bears the same meaning and is intended to denote the same Pâṇḍya king.

[30] Mr. Tracy's *Pandyan Coins*, No. 11 (wrongly for No. 6).

[31] *ibid.* No. 1. The legend on No. 130, Plate iv. of Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* has been read *Koṟkai-âṇḍâr*. But the correct reading seems to be: — [1.] Śônâ- [2.] ḍu ko- [3.] ṇ ḍâ[n] Śônâḍu means 'the Chôḻa country.' 'One who conquered the Chôḻa country' would be an appropriate *biruda* for a Pâṇḍya king. In the Tiruppa-raṅkuṉṟam inscription, published in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. Sundara-Pâṇḍya has the biruda *Śônâḍu vaḻaṅgiy-aruḷiya*, 'one who is pleased to distribute the Chôḻa country,' which has been misread (pp. 45 f.) *Śêranâḍu-vaḷaṅgiyaruḷiya*.

[32] The Rev. E. Loventhal in his *Coins of Tinnevelly* (p. 7) says that "there must have been two distinct Pâṇḍya dynasties, one in Koṟkai and one in Madura, and there were several branch lines, especially of the Madura Pâṇḍyas. Both the chief lines had the elephant and the battle-axe as their royal marks, probably because they were closely related to each other." He adds (p. 8) that, later on, "the Madura Pâṇḍyas chose the fish mark as their dynastic emblem, that is, when they left Buddhism they changed the elephant mark and took instead of it a pure Vishṇu mark — the fish."

[33] Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 51. [34] *ibid.* p. 52. [35] *ibid.* p. 53.

Thirty-two thousand as contemporaries of the Western Châlukya kings Vikramâditya VI., Sômêśvara III. and Jagadêkamalla II. respectively. A Yâdava inscription belonging to the time of Krishṇa ('Saka 1175), refers to "the Pâṇḍyas who shone at **Gutti**."[36] The Hoysaḷa king Ballâla II. "restored to the Pâṇḍya his forfeited kingdom when he humbled himself before him." The kingdom referred to consisted of **Uchchaṅgi**, — part of the Koṅkaṇa, — and the districts of **Banavâsi** and **Pânuṅgal**.[37]

So much of the Pâṇḍya history we learn from inscriptions, numismatics and contemporary authorities. We shall now see what **Tamiḷ literature** has to say on this dynasty. The following are some of the Tamiḷ works which may be expected to throw some light on Pâṇḍya history: — *Tiruviḷaiyâḍalpurâṇam*, *Periyapurâṇam*, *Pattuppâṭṭu* and *Puṟappâṭṭu*. The boundaries of the Pâṇḍya kingdom are thus laid down in Tamiḷ works:— the river **Veḷḷâṟu** to the north; **Kumari** (Cape Comorin) to the south; the sea to the east; and 'the great highway' to the west. According to Dr. Caldwell, the river Veḷḷâṟu is the one which rises in the Trichinopoly district, passes through the Pudukkôṭṭai state, and enters the sea at Point Calimere; and the same scholar has identified 'the great highway' with the Achchankôvil pass.[38] This would include a part of the modern state of Travancore into the Pâṇḍya kingdom. The Pâṇḍya king is often called *Koṟkaiyâḷi*, 'the ruler of Koṟkai.' From this fact it may be concluded that **Koṟkai** was once the Pâṇḍya capital.[39] In later times the seat of the government was certainly **Kûḍal** (*i. e.* Madura). The *Tiruviḷaiyâḍalpurâṇam*[40] is an account of the divine sports of 'Siva, as represented by the god at Madura, and professes to give a history of that town and its kings from very early times. It also furnishes a list of Pâṇḍya kings, most of the names in which sound more like *birudas* than actual names. Whether the accounts given in this work are based on genuine tradition or not, it has not been possible to determine from a lack of ancient Pâṇḍya inscriptions. It is almost certain that there are some historical facts contained in it. But they are so much mixed up with myths and legends that it is at present hardly possible to distinguish historical facts from worthless matter. The sixth verse in the Sanskṛit part of the subjoined inscription refers to victories gained by some of the ancient Pâṇḍya kings over Indra, Varuṇa and Agni, and reports that the garland of **Indra** had been wrested from him by the Pâṇḍya kings, and that some of them survived the great *Kalpa*. Some of the chapters of the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍalpurâṇam* describe the futile attempts made by Indra to destroy the Pâṇḍya capital, Madura. One of these consisted in inducing Varuṇa to flood the city and drown it under water. A great deluge is said to have occurred during the reign of the Pâṇḍya king Kîrtivibhûshaṇa, after which 'Siva re-created Madura as it was before. It is this legend that is referred to in the present inscription by the words *mahâ-kalp-âpad-uttârishu*. Again, in the chapter headed *Varaguṇaṉukku=chchivalôkaṅ=gâṭṭiya paḍalam* ("the chapter which describes how Varaguṇa was shewn the world of 'Siva"), the then reigning king **Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya** is said to have gained a victory over the **Chôḷa** king. In the 18th verse of this chapter, the Chôḷa king is described as *Nêri=pporuppaṉ*, and his army denoted by the expression *Kiḷḷi-śêṉai*. It is not impossible that it was the Chôḷa king **Kô-Kkiḷḷi** who is spoken of as having been defeated by Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya. This Chôḷa king is mentioned in the large Leyden grant and the copper-plate inscription of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla, as one of the ancestors of Vijayâlaya. The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* also mentions him, though not by name.[41]

36 *ibid.* p. 73. 37 *ibid.* p. 68. 38 *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 24 f. 39 See note 32, above.

40 Dr. Caldwell, in the Introduction (p. 139) to the second edition of his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, says that this *purâna* was very probably translated from Sanskṛit at the request of Ativîrarâma-Pâṇḍya, the poet king of Madura, and that it dates from the 16th century. To this Pâṇḍya king is generally attributed the composition of the Tamiḷ poem called *Naiḍadam* (Naishadha); see the remarks on pp. 144 f. of the Introduction to the *Comparative Grammar* as regards the other literary productions of this king.

41 In verse 18 of the chapter headed *Irâśa-pâramparìyam*, he is described as follows: *taṉi naḍand=Uragar-tamgaḷ=maṇi koṇḍav=avaṉ*, 'he, who, walking alone, seized the jewel of the Uragas (Nâgas).' In Paṇḍit V. Śâminâd-aiyar's edition of the *Pattuppâṭṭu*, p. 111, the same king is called Nâgapaṭṭiṉattu=Chchôḷaṉ, and the tradition about the birth of an illegitimate son to him by the Nâga princess is referred to. In other Tamiḷ works the name Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavaṉ occurs; see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 339.

That Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya was a historical personage, is shewn by the same Bâṇa grant, which reports that the Gaṅga king Pṛithivîpati, who was a contemporary of Amôghavarsha, defeated the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa in the battle of **Srî-Purambiya** (not 'Srîpura, as it is on page 373 of the *Salem Manual*, Vol. II.). Srî-Purambiya has probably to be identified with the village called Tiru-Purambiyam in Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr's *Têvâram*, and Purambayam in Tiruñâṉasambandar's *Têvâram*. The exact place occupied by Kô-Kkiḷḷi in the Chôḷa genealogy, is not known. The two inscriptions which mention the early Chôḷa kings, say that Karikâla, Kô-Chchaṁkaṇṇâṉ and Kô-Kkiḷḷi belonged to the Chôḷa family. Of these two authorities, the Leyden grant mentions Karikâla first and Kô-Kkiḷḷi last, while the Bâṇa inscription mentions Kô-Kkiḷḷi first and Kô-Chchaṁkaṉ last. The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* mentions Kô-Kkiḷḷi first and Karikâla last. Thus the three authorities for Chôḷa history that are now known, do not give a regular genealogy for this period, and one may doubt if it will ever be possible to reconstruct it and to determine the dates of these kings from Chôḷa inscriptions alone. There is only one Varaguṇa mentioned in the traditional lists of the Pâṇḍya kings.[42] Consequently, the information that we now possess for Pâṇḍya history, offers no obstacles to the identification of the Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya of the Bâṇa inscription with the Varaguṇa of the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍalpurâṇam*. This *purâṇa* has a chapter[43] which describes how the 'god at Madura' sent the great musician Bâṇa-Bhadra with a letter to **Sêramâṉ Perumâḷ**, the Chêra king, who was a contemporary of the 'Saiva devotee **Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr.** The letter directed the Chêra king to give presents to the musician, which was duly done. The same event is referred to in that chapter of the *Periyapurâṇam* which gives an account of the life of 'Sêramâṉ Perumâḷ.[44] In this narrative we have perhaps to take 'the god at Madura' to mean the Pâṇḍya king. If this suggestion is correct, it would imply that the Chêra king was a vassal of the Pâṇḍya. From the *Tiruviḷaiyâḍalpurâṇam* we also learn that the old college (*śaṅgam*) of Madura was established during the reign of a certain Vaṁśaśêkhara-Pâṇḍya, and was provided with a miraculous seat (*palagai*) by the god Sundarêśvara.[45]

The second of the works enumerated as throwing some light on the Pâṇḍya history, is the *Periyapurâṇam*. The accounts contained in this work may be considered less open to question, as some of the statements made in it have been strongly confirmed by recent discoveries. As the author of the work does not profess to write a history, but only the lives of the sixty-three devotees of 'Siva, the historical information contained in it is only incidental. One of these sixty-three devotees was **Neḍumâṟaṉ**, a Pâṇḍya king. He is described as having been victorious in the battle of **Nelvêli.**[46] This is probably Tinnevelly (Tirunelvêli). As the battle was fought in the Pâṇḍya country itself, it implies that the king only succeeded in repelling an invader from the North or from Ceylon. We are told that he married a daughter of the Chôḷa king, whose name is not mentioned, that he was originally a Jaina by religion, and that his queen, who was a 'Saiva at heart, sent for the great **Tiruñâṉasambandar,** who succeeded in converting the king to the 'Saiva religion through a miraculous cure of his malady, which the Jaina priests could not make any impression upon. The date of this Pâṇḍya king and, with it, that of Tiruñâṉasambandar are still wrapt in mystery. That Dr. Caldwell's identification[47] of this king, who was also called Sundara-Pâṇḍya, with Marco Polo's "Sonder Bandi" is incorrect, and that the three great 'Saiva devotees Tiruñâṉasambandar, Tirunâvukkaraiyar and Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr must have flourished prior to the eleventh century A. D., is, however,

[42] Sir Walter Elliot, in his *Coins of Southern India*, p. 128 f. has published six lists of Pâṇḍya kings. In the first, two kings are mentioned with the name Varaguṇa, while each of the other five mentions only one king of that name.

[43] *Tirumugan=godutta padalam*, p. 227 of the Madras edition of 1888.

[44] Chapter 37 of the Madras edition of 1884.

[45] *Saṅga-ppalagai tanda padalam*, chapter 51 of the Madras edition of 1888.

[46] *Nelvêli veṉṟa niṉṟa-śîr-Neḍumâṟaṉ*, 'Neḍumâṟaṉ, whose fortune was constant (and) who gained (the battle of) Nelvêli,' occurs in verse 8 of the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*, which contains a list of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, and which was composed by Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr.

[47] *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introduction, pp. 139 ff.

clearly established by inscriptions found in the great temple at Tanjore.[48] The *Periyapurâṇam* informs us that one of the Chôḷa kings ruled also over the Pâṇḍya kingdom. This was the Śaiva devotee Kô-Chcheṅgaṭ-Chôḷa-Nâyaṉâr, who was also called **Seṅgaṇâr.**[49] The same king is, as stated above, mentioned in the large Leyden grant as one of the ancestors of the Chôḷa king Vijayâlaya. His conquest of one of the Chêra kings is described in a small work called *Kaḷavaḻi-nâṟpadu*, the text and translation of which have been published in this *Journal* (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 258-265). The *Periyapurâṇam* tells us that he built several temples of Śiva in different places. Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr refers in his *Têvâram* to one at **Naṉṉilam** in the Tanjore district,[50] and Sundaramûrti's predecessor, Tiruñâṉasambandar, to another at **Tiru-Ambar.**[51] This last reference furnishes us with one of the limits for the period of the latter poet, the other limit being the time of Sêramâṉ Perumâḷ, who was a contemporary of the former poet.

Another of the Tamiḻ works which may be of use to the student of Pâṇḍya history, is the *Pattuppâṭṭu* (*i. e.* "the ten poems"). As the name implies, it consists of ten poems, or rather idyls, composed by different members of the college of Madura, to which reference has already been made. Of these, two are dedicated to **Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ**, a Pâṇḍya king. The first of these two, called *Madurai-kkâñji*, was composed by Marudaṉâr of Mâṅguḍi, and the second, called *Neḍunalvâḍai*, by **Nakkîraṉâr**, the president of the college. The first refers to a battle fought at **Talai-Âlaṅgâṉam** by the Pâṇḍya king against the Chêra and the Chôḷa kings and some minor chiefs.[52] Some of the ancestors of Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ are also incidentally mentioned. The name of one of them was Vaḍimbalambaniṉṟa-Pâṇḍiyaṉ according to the commentary.[53] This, however, could not have been the actual name of the king, but only a *biruda*. Another of the ancestors of Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ was Pal-yâga-śâlai-mudu-kuḍumi-**Peruvaḻudi,** whose piety is very highly spoken of.[54] As I shall have occasion to speak of this king in an article on another Pâṇḍya grant which I am going to publish, I shall now be content with a mere mention of his name.

The last of the Tamiḻ works above enumerated, as being of some use to students of Pâṇḍya history, is the *Puṟappâṭṭu.* This work is unpublished, and consequently, the historical value of its contents cannot now be stated precisely. The *Puṟappâṭṭu* is said to describe in detail the battle of **Talai-Âlaṅgâṉam,**[55] which is referred to in the *Madurai-kkâñji.* Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., of the Maharaja's College at Trivandram, refers, in an article published in the August number of Vol. IX of the *Madras Christian College Magazine,* to another work called "*Eraiyanar Agapporul.*" This work, he adds, is generally ascribed to **Nakkîrar** and celebrates the prowess of a Pâṇḍya king who is called Arikêsari, Varôdaya, Parâṅkuśa and Vichâri, and mentions among his conquests "Vilinjam (near Trivandram), Kottar (near Nagercoil), Naraiyaṟu, Chêvoor, Kadaiyal, Aṇukudi and Tinnevelly." It is thus clear that Tamiḻ literature is not devoid of works that throw some light on Pâṇḍya history. Their contents, however, have not been appreciated, because we have not had the means to test their usefulness. It is important here to note that the **Sinhalese** Chronicles might, with advantage, be consulted to elucidate some of the points in Pâṇḍya history, which may be left obscure by Tamiḻ literature and the Pâṇḍya inscriptions.

As I have already remarked, the subjoined inscription opens with six Sanskṛit verses. Of these, the first invokes Brahman, the second Vishṇu and the third Śiva. This might be taken as an indication of the non-sectarian creed of the reigning king. As, however, he has the *biruda*

[48] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Nos. 38 and 41.

[49] *Teṉṉavaṉ-āy=ulag=âṇḍa Seṅgaṇâr*, 'Seṅgaṇâr who became a Pâṇḍya and ruled the world,' occurs in verse 11 of the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai.*

[50] Page 14 of the Madras edition of 1884.

[51] Page 169 of the same.

[52] The following are the names of the minor chiefs (*kuṟu-nila-maṉṉar*) mentioned on page 189 of Paṇḍit V. Śâminâdaiyar's edition: Tiḍiyaṉ, Eḻuni, Erumaiyûraṉ, Iruṅgô-Vaṇmâṉ and Porunaṉ.

[53] Page 185 of the same.

[54] Page 239 of the same; in the text of the poem (p. 130, line 759) Pal-śâlai-mudu-kuḍumi occurs.

[55] See note † on page 189 of the same.

parama-Vaishṇava, 'the most devoted follower of Vishṇu,' in line 51, and as, in l. 35 f., he is reported to have built a temple to Vishṇu, we have to understand that the king, though a worshipper of Vishṇu, was not intolerant towards other religions. The fourth verse describes the **Pâṇḍya** race as descended from the **Moon** as ancestor. The fifth refers to **Mâravarman** and some of his ancestors, and describes him as the 'destroyer of the **Pallavas**' (*Pallava-bhañjana*). The sixth verse describes his son **Jaṭilavarman**. The Tamiḻ portion is dated during the seventeenth year of the reign of **Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ**. Evidently, Jaṭilavarman and Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ denote the same individual and are synonymous. *Jaṭila* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamiḻ Śaḍaiyaṉ (one who has matted hair), a name which is also applied to Śiva.[56] The adjective *Neḍum* may qualify the word *śaḍai*, and the name would then mean 'one whose matted hair is long.' But it is more probable that *Neḍum* has to be understood as a sort of title prefixed to the names of some of the Pâṇḍya kings. In line 61 of the *Madurai-kkâñji*, a Tamiḻ poem already referred to, one of the Pâṇḍya kings is called **Neḍiyôṉ**. **Neḍumâṟaṉ** of the *Periyapurâṇam* and **Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ** of the *Pattuppâṭṭu* are names in which the prefix *Neḍum* is used as a title. If translated, these two names might mean 'the tall Pâṇḍya.' The names Neḍumâṟaṉ, Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ and Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ are quite similar, and one is almost tempted to think that they must have denoted the same individual. Beyond this similarity of the mere names we possess no materials for their identification. In the present inscription, the king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ is called **Teṉṉaṉ, Vâṉavaṉ** and **Śembiyaṉ**. Teṉṉavaṉ or Teṉṉaṉ, 'the king of the South,' is used as a title of **Pâṇḍya** kings in Tamiḻ inscriptions and literature. Vâṉavaṉ and Śembiyaṉ are titles applied to the **Chêra** and **Chôḻa** kings, respectively. The fact that this Pâṇḍya king assumed the Chêra and Chôḻa titles, shows that he conquered those kings, or was, at least, believed to have done so. A similar fact in connection with Chôḻa history is revealed by the title **Mummuḍi-Chôḻa**, which was assumed by one at least of the Chôḻa kings. Mummuḍi-Chôḻa means 'the Chôḻa king who wore three crowns, *viz.* the Chêra, the Chôḻa and the Pâṇḍya crowns.'[57] After giving the above-mentioned titles of the king, the Tamiḻ portion of the inscription enters into an account of his military achievements which occupies nearly two plates. The battles of **Veḻḻûr**,[58] **Viṉṉam** and **Śeḻiyakkuḍi** against an unknown enemy are first mentioned. The king next attacks a certain **Adiyaṉ** and puts him to flight in the battles of **Âyiravêli, Ayirûr**[59] and **Pugaḻiyûr**. The **Pallavas** and **Kêraḻas**, who are his allies, are also attacked and defeated. The king of Western **Koṅgu** is subsequently attacked, and his elephants and banner taken as spoils. The whole of Koṅgu is then subdued, and "the noisy drum sounds his (*i. e.* the king's) name throughout **Kaṅkabhûmi**." The king enters **Kâñjivâyapperûr**, and builds a temple "resembling a hill" to Vishṇu. The ruler of **Vêṇ** is then conquered and put to death; his town of **Viḻiñam**, "whose fortifications are as strong as those of the fort in Laṅkâ," is destroyed, and "his elephants, horses, family treasure and good country" captured. The Pâṇḍya king afterwards builds a wall with a stone ditch round the town of **Karavandapuram**.

56 A facsimile of the seal of the Tiruppûvanam copper-plate grant, a transcript and translation of which are published in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 21-38, is given on page 123 of Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*. It contains a Sanskrit inscription which ends with the name Jaṭilavarman. In line 13 of the first plate of the inscription occurs the Tamil form of this name, *viz.* Śaḍaivarman, and in line 14, the actual name of the king, Kulaśêkharadêva.

57 See note 14, above.

58 In the Tiruppûvanam copper-plate grant the name Veḻḻûr-kuṟuchchi occurs twice (*Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 28, Plate xi a, lines 3 and 5) in the description of the boundaries of the granted village. As the word *kuṟuchchi* is not found in Tamiḻ dictionaries, it is probable that *kuruchchi* is a mistake, if not a misreading, for *kurichchi*, which has almost the same meaning as the word *puṟavu*, which precedes the name Veḻḻûr in the text of the present inscription. Veḻḻûr-kurichchi means 'Veḻḻûr, (which is) a village belonging to a hilly or forest tract,' and puṟavil Veḻḻûr which occurs in the text, would mean 'Veḻḻûr, (which is situated) in a forest or hilly tract.' Consequently, it is not impossible that the two villages are the same. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 243, mentions a village called Veḻḻûr in the Malabar district, which is 23 miles north-north-west of Cannanore. Another village of the same name is mentioned in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 77, text line 60.

59 It is not certain if Âyiravêli and Ayirûr have to be taken as denoting two distinct villages. It is not impossible that Ayirûr is the name of the village and Âyira-vêli means 'one thousand *vêlis* (of land).' Perhaps the village of Ayirûr had only one thousand *vêlis* of cultivated land.

The battle of 'Seḷiyakkuḍi was one of the first fought by the king. The name which means 'the Pâṇḍya village,'[60] might indicate that it was situated in the Pâṇḍya country. If it was, the battle must have been fought either against a foreign invader or a rebellious feudatory. It is not apparent who **Adiyan̤** was, against whom the king next turned his arms. Âyiravêli, where one of the battles against Adiyan̤ was fought, was probably included in the Chôḷa dominions, as it is said to have been situated on the northern bank of the Kâvêrî. The fact that the Pallava and Kêraḷa kings were his allies, might indicate that he was not a minor chief. These considerations lead to the inference that he was probably a Chôḷa. Neḍuñjaḍaiyan̤ calls himself 'Sembiyan̤ (*i. e.* the Chôḷa), but the conquest of the Chôḷas is not explicitly stated in the historical introduction, and no Chôḷa king of the name Adiyan̤ is known. The kings of that dynasty had, each of them, several names and many *birudas*.[61] There are, however, only two cases known from inscriptions, of wars between the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya kings, in which the names of the contending kings are given. Of these, the first is the war between Râjasiṁha-Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa king Parântaka I. which is mentioned in the inscription of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla, and the second is that between the Chôḷa king Âditya-Karikâla and Vîra-Pâṇḍya, which is referred to in the large Leyden grant. It is more probable that Adiyan̤ was identical with the king of Western **Koṅgu,** who was captured by Neḍuñjaḍaiyan̤. **Adigaimân̤,** also called Adigan̤, is mentioned in the *Periya-purâṇam* as an enemy of the 'Saiva devotee **Pugaḷ-Sôḷa,** a Chôḷa king whose capital was Karuvûr (*i. e.* Karur in the Coimbatore district). Adigaimân̤ and **Eḷini** are mentioned in the unpublished Tamiḷ work *Puṟanâṇûṟu,* as kings, in whose praise the well-known Tamiḷ poetess **Auvaiyâr** composed several verses. In his *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I. p. 106, Dr. Hultzsch has published an inscription which refers to certain images set up by **Adigaimân̤ Eḷini,** and to their repair by a successor of his, who was called **Vyâmuktaśravaṇôjjvala** (in Tamiḷ, Viḍukâdaḷagiya), the lord of **Takaṭâ,** and who was the son of a certain **Râjarâja.** This Takaṭâ has probably to be identified with **Tagaḍûr,** which is referred to in the *Puṟanâṇûṟu* as having been captured by a Chêra king. The syllables which are transcribed as Kâñjivâya-ppêrûr, may also be written Kâñjivây-ppêrûr. In Sundaramûrti-Nâyan̤âr's *Têvâram* (Foster Press edition, 1883, p. 114; Aruṇâchala Mudaliyâr's 3rd edition of the *Periyapurâṇam,* 1884, pp. 7 and 22) Kâñjivâyppêrûr is mentioned. But there is no clue given as to the situation or the village. Consequently, we cannot decide whether the village mentioned in the present inscription has to be identified with that referred to in the *Têvâram* or not. Besides, Kâñjivâ or Kâñjivây is reported to be the name of a village in the Tanjore district. The name Kâñjivâyppêrûr may also be explained as ' the large village in or near Kâñji, *i. e.* Kâñchîpura. The building of a temple to Vishṇu at this village might then refer to the construction of the Varadarâjasvâmin temple at Little Conjeeveram, which is not far from the Pallava capital Kâñchî. Kaṅkabhûmi, 'the land of kites,' might then be taken for Tirukkalukkun̤ṟam,[62] which is a few miles distant from Chingleput. But the conquests which are recorded in this part of the inscription, relate mostly to the western half of Southern India. Besides, if Kaṅkabhûmi is pronounced as it is written, it does not rhyme with Koṅgabhûmi which it ought to do. Consequently, though the name is written Kaṅkabhûmi, the second of the *k's* being Grantha, the composer evidently pronounced it Kaṅgabhûmi, which is the Tamiḷ form of **Gaṅgabhûmi,** the

[60] A name quite similar to Śeliyakkuḍi is Vêmbaṅguḍi, which occurs three times in the Tiruppûvaṇam grant (Plate xi a, line 9; Plate xi b, lines 4 and 8). The second and third Sentences of note 60 read as follows :—Vêmban̤ means 'one who wears (a garland of flowers of) the *vêmbu* (the margosa or *nîm* tree, Azadirachta Indica).' The Pâṇḍya king is often represented in Tamil literature as wearing a garland of margosa flowers. Consequently, Vêmban̤ denotes the Pâṇḍya king, and the village is evidently called after him.

[61] For example, Kô-Râjakêsarivarman *alias* Râjarâjadêva had the following *birudas* : — Sôḷa Arumoḷi, Mummuḍi-Chôḷa, Râjâśraya, Nityavinôda and Śivapâdaśêkhara (*Christian College Magazine,* Vol. VIII. p. 271). And his son Kô-Parakêsarivarman *alias* Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva was also called Madhurântaka, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa and Uttama-Chôḷa.

[62] Tirukkaḷukkun̤ṟam, 'the sacred hill of the kites,' is the name given to the hill as well as the village close to it. The village is sometimes also called Pakshitîrtha, 'the bathing-place of the birds (*i. e.* kites);' see *ante,* Vol. X. p. 198 f.

well-known Gaṅga country. That such incorrect spellings were not uncommon in ancient days, is shown by an inscription of the great temple at Tanjore (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 35, line 156), in which the word *chaturvêdimaṅgalam* is written *chaturvêdimaṁkalam*. Its connection with the town of Kâñchî being thus rendered improbable, Kâñjivâya-ppêrur may have to be understood as 'the large village of Kâñjivâyal or **Kâñchivâyal**,' the ṟ which ought to have been the result of *saṁdhi* between *l* and *p*, having been assimilated and its place taken by a second *p*.[63] In Tamiḻ dictionaries, **Vêṇ** is mentioned as one of the twelve districts, where *Koḍun-Tamiḻ* (*i.e.* vulgar Tamiḻ) used to be spoken. **Viḻiñam**, which is mentioned in the inscription immediately before Vêṇ, is probably 'Vilinjam' which, as has been already stated, was a place in Travancore captured by one of the Pâṇḍya kings. From the manner in which Viḻiñam and Vêṇ are mentioned in the inscription, it may be concluded that the former was one of the towns, if not the capital of the latter.[64] According to Mr. W. Logan's *Malabar* (Vol. I. p. 240, note 2), Vêṇâḍu was, in ancient times, identical with the modern state of Travancore. **Karavandapuram** is the last place mentioned in the historical introduction. Karavantapura is mentioned in a small Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription, which, with the permission of Dr. Hultzsch, I publish below from a photograph received from by Dr. Burgess.

### TEXT.

1 Śrî [।*] **Kô=Mâṟaṅ=Jaḍaiyaṟku**
2 **râjya-va[r]sham âṟâvadu** śellâ-
3 nirpa maṟṟ=avaṟku mahâ-
4 sâmantaṉ=âgiya **Karavantapur-âdhi-**
5 vâsî **Vaijyan**[65] **Pâṇḍi-Ami-**
6 **rdamaṅgalav-**araiyaṉ= â[y*]i-
7 ṉa **Śâttaṅ=Gaṇavadi** ti-
8 ruttuvittadu tiru-kk[ô][y*]i-
9 lum śrî-taḍâgamum idaṉ=uḷ=a-
10 ṟam=uḷḷadum [।*] m[a]ṟṟ=ava-
11 ṟku dharmma-[pâ]nnî[66] âgiya **Na-**
12 **kkaṅgoṟṟiyâṟ=** cheya-
13 ppaṭṭadu Durggâ-dêvî-kô-
14 [y*]iluñ= Jêshṭai-kô[y*]ilum [॥*]

63 Examples of similar assimilation are *nâppadu* for *nârpadu* (forty), *kâppanam* for *kâṟpanam* or *kâl-panam* (a quarter fanam) and *kâkkâśu* for *kâṟkâśu* or *kâl-kâśu* (a quarter cash). The village of Kâñchivâyil is mentioned in Mr. Foulkes' inscription of the Pallava king Nandivarman and its Tamil endorsement, and in the grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and its Tamiḻ endorsement. About its position Mr. Foulkes remarks as follows in the *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 354: — "It is clear that Kâñchivâyil lay, either wholly or in principal part, on the right bank of the Pâlâr in the upper, or upper-middle, part of its course, somewhere above Vellore." The large Leyden grant (lines 96 ff.) and some of the Tanjore inscriptions (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Nos. 9 and 10) mention an officer of Râjarâjadêva who was a native of Kâñchivâyil. From an unpublished inscription of the ruined temple at Kûḻambandal in the Arcot taluk, North Arcot district, it appears that this village belonged to Pêr-Âvûr-nâḍu in Uyyakkoṇḍâr-vaḷanâḍu, which last was, according to a Tanjore inscription (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 4, p. 47), situated between the rivers Ariśil and Kâvîri. Kâñchivâyal is mentioned in a Tamiḻ inscription dated Śaka 1457, which is published in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 154-156. It is not improbable that the village of Kâñchivâyil which is mentioned in the inscriptions published by the Rev. T. Foulkes, was situated in the Koṅgu country. If it was, it may be the same as the Kâñchivâyal of the present inscription, granted that there was not more than one village of that name in the Koṅgu country.

64 Among the conquests of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻa, the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (canto xi. verse 71) mentions Viḻiñam, which was very probably identical with the Viḻiñam of the present inscription and with the "Vilinjam" mentioned in the "*Eraiyanar Agapporul*" (*ante*, p. 64).

65 Vaijyan is a corruption of the Sanskṛit Vaidya, which actually occurs as the name of a family in line 78 of the copper-plate inscription which is the subject of this paper.

66 Read *dharma-patnî*. The apparent length of the vowel in *pa* on the photograph may be due to the bad pasting of the impressions before photographing. If this is the case, *pannî* for *patnî* would be a mistake similar to that of *ranna* for *ratna* which occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Râjarâjêsvara temple at Tanjore (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 46, lines 8, 16 and 20).

## TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! While **the sixth year** of **the reign** of **Kô=Mâṟañ=Jaḍaiyaṉ** was current, **Sâttaṉ Gaṇapati,** who was his (*i. e.* the king's) great feudatory (*mahâ-sâmanta*), who resided in (*the village of*) **Karavantapura,** (*who belonged to*) the **Vaidya** (*race*), (*and*) who was the chief of **Pâṇḍi-Amirdamaṅgalam,** repaired the sacred temple, the sacred tank (*śrî-taḍâga*) and (*all*) that is charitable (*in connection with*) this (*tank*). Besides, **Nakkaṅgoṟṟi,** who was his lawful wife, built a temple of the goddess Durgâ and a temple of Jyêshṭhâ.[67]

As is seen from the above translation, this inscription is dated during the sixth year of the reign of Kô=Mâṟañ=Jaḍaiyaṉ, and mentions a certain Sâttaṉ Gaṇapati, who was the chief of Pâṇḍi-Amirdamaṅgalam, and was living in the village of Karavantapura, which is very probably identical with the Karavandapuram mentioned in the subjoined inscription. The characters in which the above short inscription is engraved, are the same as those of the present one. It is therefore not impossible that both of them belong to the reign of the same king.

In the long historical introduction of the subjoined inscription, there is no clue as to the date of the grant. As palæography is a very unsafe guide in determining even the approximate dates of South-Indian inscriptions, we must wait for further researches to enable us to ascertain the date of the Pâṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ. This inscription records the grant of the village of **Vêlaṅguḍi** in Teṉ-Kaḷavaḷi-nâḍu,[68] whose name was subsequently changed into Śrîvara-maṅgalam. The donee was **Sujjaṭa-Bhaṭṭa,** the son of Sîhu-Miśra, who lived in the village of Śabdâḷi which had been granted to the Brâhmaṇas of the country of Magadha. Sujjaṭa-Bhaṭṭa may be a vulgar form of the name Sujaṭa-Bhaṭṭa. The name **Sîhu-Miśra** shews that the donee's father must have been an immigrant from Northern India. *Sîha* is the Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit *siṁha,* and *Miśra* is a title borne by some of the Brâhmaṇas of Northern India. It is extremely interesting to learn that there was a colony of **Magadha** Brâhmaṇas settled in the Pâṇḍya country. The circumstances under which, and the time when, this settlement took place, are not known. The *âjñapti* of the grant was Dhîrataraṉ Mûrti-Eyiṉaṉ, the great feudatory of the king and the chief of Vîramaṅgalam, who was born in the village of Vaṅgaḷandai. Special reference is made to the excellence which his family had attained in music.

Some of the graphical peculiarities of the Tamiḻ portion of the subjoined inscription require to be noted here. As in all other Tamiḻ and Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, the long *e* and the long *o* are not marked, though I have, for practical reasons, made these marks in the transcript. The distinction between long and short *i* is not strictly observed. The *i* in *karudi* (line 54) and *vali* (line 80) seem to be distinctly long. In line 48, the *i* of *vîṟṟ* appears to be short. In line 52 *nî* in *nîṉ* and *ni* in *nila* are exactly alike. In the Sanskṛit portion (line 8) *śriyam* may also be read *śrîyam. Mêṟku* is written *mêkku* in line 65. The most important, however, of these peculiarities is, that the rules of Tamiḻ *saṁdhi* are not observed in many cases. Of these the following may be noted: —

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Line 20. | âṇai oruṅguḍaṉ | *instead of* | âṇai-y oruṅguḍaṉ. |
| | aḍâ-oli | „ | aḍâv-oli. |
| „ 24. | mâ-irum | „ | mâv-irum. |
| „ 24f. | â-ira | „ | âyira. |

[67] Jyêshṭhâ or, in Tamiḻ, Śêṭṭai or Mûdêvi, 'the elder sister,' is the goddess of misfortune, who is believed to be the elder sister of Lakshmî, the goddess of wealth; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 60, note 7.

[68] The Tiruppûvaṇam copper-plate grant, which has been referred to more than once, mentions a village called Vêlaṅgudi (Plate xi a, line 13) and a river called Kaḷavaḷi-naḍaṉ-âṟu (Plate xi a, lines 8 and 10). Perhaps the village of Vêlaṅguḍi granted by the present inscription belonged to a district which was situated to the south of the above-mentioned river, and which was, consequently, called Teṉ-Kaḷavali-nâḍu. Compare the name Vaḍakarai-Râjêndrasiṁha-vaḷanâḍu, which occurs repeatedly in the Tanjore inscriptions (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 4, paragraph 18, and *passim*), and in which Vaḍakarai, 'the northern bank,' is used with reference to the river Kâvêrî.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Line 26. | nai ôḍu | *instead of* | ṉaiy=ôḍu. |
| | oli-uḍai | „ | oliy-uḍai. |
| „ | 26f. vemmâ-avai-uḍaṉ | „ | vemmâv=avaiyuḍaṉ. |
| „ | 28. paḍai-ôḍu | „ | paḍaiyôḍu. |
| „ 30. | paḍai-ôḍu | „ | paḍaiyôḍu. |
| | varai-um | „ | varaiyum. |
| „ | 32. koḍi aṇi | „ | koḍiy=aṇi. |
| „ | 35. lai-aṇi | „ | laiy-aṇi. |
| „ 36. | kô-il | „ | kôyil *or* kôvil. |
| | âkki-um | „ | âkkiyum. |
| „ | 41. nidi-ôḍu | „ | nidiyôḍu. |
| „ | 57. vidyai-ôḍu | „ | vidyaiyôḍu. |
| „ | 70. ellai agattu | „ | ellaiy=agattu. |
| „ | 73. Pâṇḍi-iḷaṅgô | „ | Pâṇḍiy-iḷaṅgô. |
| „ | 82. aḍi eṉ | „ | aḍiy=eṉ. |
| „ | 82f. mêlaṉa eṉṟu | „ | mêlaṉav=eṉṟu. |

Of these I have corrected only *kô-il* and *â-ira* in the text, because the former is likely to be misunderstood, and the latter is distinctly wrong. In some of the other cases, the *saṁdhi*, though optional in usage, would be necessary according to the rules of grammar. Among the rest, there is a considerable number of cases in which the *saṁdhi* is not optional. Such violations of the rules of grammar are not uncommon in other inscriptions; but there is an unusually large number of them in this grant. Many of these anomalous cases occur in the historical introduction (ll. 19 to 46) which is in High Tamiḻ, where they are not expected. The fact that the small Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription published above, also contains some of these peculiarities, shows that they were not merely local. The style of the whole of the Tamiḻ portion of the subjoined inscription is almost free from mistakes, and shows that the composer could not have been ignorant of the rules of *saṁdhi* if they had been commonly in use. These rules could not have been absolutely unknown as they are observed in a few cases in this grant. Consequently, we are led to the conclusion that the rules of *saṁdhi*, which are given in Tamiḻ grammars, were not universally recognized and followed in the Tamiḻ country, at the time when these inscriptions were composed. But this inference cannot be established without comparing a large number of other inscriptions belonging to the same period.

## TEXT.

*First Plate.*

[*On the left margin*] Svasti [॥*]

1 Brahma vyañjita-viśva-tantram=anaghaṁ vaktraiś=chaturbhir=gṛiṇan=bibhrad=bâla-pataṁga-piṁga-

2 latara-chchhâyañ=jaṭâ-maṇḍalaṁ [।*] âdyan=nâbhi-saraḥ-prasûti-kamalaṁ Vishṇôr=adhishṭhâyu-

3 kaḥ[69] pushṇâtu pramadañ=chirâya bhavatâm puṇyaḥ purâṇô muniḥ ೧ [1*] yasmâd=âvirbhavati para-

4 mâścharyyabhûtâd=yugâdau yasminn=êva praviśati punar=vviśvam=êtad=yugâ-

5 ntê [।*] tad=vaś=chhandômaya-tanu vayô-vâhanan=daitya-ghâti jyôtiḥ pâtu dyu-

6 ti-jita-nav-âmbhôdam=ambhôja-nêtram ೧ [2*] aṁhas-saṁghati[70]-hâriṇôr=ati-dṛiḍhâ-

7 m=bhaktiṁ yayôḥ kurvvatâm=atr=âmutra cha sambhavanty=avikalâs=sampa-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

8 ttayô dêhinâm [।*] utta[ṁ]s-âmburuha-śriyam kalayatô yâshu[71]ttamâ[ṁ*]-

9 gê lasan-maulau nâkasadâm Pinâki-charaṇau tau vaś=chiraṁ raksha-

[69] Read *adhishṭhâyakaḥ*. [70] Read °*saṁhati*°. [71] Read *yâv-u*°.

10 tâm ɷ [3*] Âhur=mmûla-prakṛitim=amṛita-jyôtishaṁ yasya dêvaṁ yasy=Â-
11 gastyô vijita-Nahush-âmbhôdhi-Vindhyaḥ purôdhâḥ [।*] śaśvad=bhôgyâ
12 jaladhi-raśanâ yêna viśvambhar=êyaṁ sô=yan=dîrgghañ=jayati yaśa-
13 sâ pâṇḍaraḥ **Pâṇḍya**-vaṁśaḥ ɷ [4*] asmin Vâsava-hâra-h[â]rishu mahâ-ka-
14 lp-âpad-uttârishu Svarggâdhîśa-Jalêśa-Bhârata-jaya-khyâtêshu yâtêshv=a-
15 taḥ [1*] jâtaḥ **Pallava**-bhañjanô=pi samarê sarvva-kshamâbhṛid-bal-ônmardd-ânîta-mad-êbha-bhîma-ka-

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

16 ṭakaḥ 'Srî-**Mâravarmmâ** nṛipaḥ ɷ [5*] tasmât=Târâdhinâthâd=Budha iva vibudhaḥ Pa[t]ma[72]nâbhâd=iv=âdyâ-
17 t=Pradyumnô dyumna-dhâmnas=Tripurabhida iv=ôdyukta-śaktiḥ Kumâraḥ [।*] jâtô Jambhâri-kalpô
18 jagati **Jaṭilavarmm**=êti vikhyâta-kîrttiḥ sarvv-ôrvv-îś-ôru-garvva-graha-dahana-vidhân-âpra-
19 tîpa-pratâpaḥ ɷ [6*] Aṉṉaṉ=âgiya alar-kadir-neḍu-vêṟ-**Reṉṉaṉ Vâṉavaṉ Se-**
20 **mbiyaṉ Vaḍa-varaiy**-iruṅgayal=âṇai oruṅguḍaṉ=aḍâ-oli-keḻu-munnîr-ulagu mu-
21 ḻud=aḻikkum vali-keḻu-tiṇi-dôṉ-maṉṉavar perumâṉ=ṟeṉṉ-alar=âḍi tem=bu-
22 ṉaṟ-kuṟaṭṭi-ppoṉ-malar-puṟavil **Veḻḻûr Viṉṉaṅ=Je-**
23 **ḻiyakkuḍi** eṉṟ=ivaṟṟuṭ=ṭevvar=aḻiya=kkoḍiñ-jilai[73] aṉ-
24 ṟukâl valaittum [।*] mâ-irum perum-buṉaṟ=**Kâviri** vaḍa-karai Â-
25 [y*]i**ravêli Ayirûr** taṉṉilum **Pugaḻiyûrun**=tigaḻ-vêl=**Adiya-**

*Third Plate; First Side.*

26 **ṉai** ôḍu puṟaṅgaṇḍ=avaṉ=oli-uḍai-maṇi-ttêr=âḍal-vem-m[â]-avai-
27 uḍaṉ kavarndum [।*] **Pallavaṉuṅ=Kêraḻaṉum**=âṅg=avaṟku=ppâṅ-
28 g=âgi=ppal-paḍai-ôḍu pâr ñeḻiya=ppavvamm=eṉa=pparand=eḻu-
29 ndu kuḍa-pâluṅ=guṇa-pâlumm=aṇuga vandu viṭṭ=iruppa vêl-
30 paḍai-ôḍu mêṟ=cheṉṟ=aṅg=iruvarai-um=iru-pâlumm=iḍar=eyda=
31 ppaḍai viḍuttu=Kkuḍa-**Koṅgatt**=aḍaṉ=maṉṉaṉai=kkol-kaḻi-
32 ṟṟôḍuṅ=koṇḍu pôndu koḍi aṇi-maṇi-neḍu-mâḍa-**Kkûḍaṉ**=madil aga-
33 ttu vaittu=**Kkaṅkabhûmi**-aḍaṉ=aḻavuṅ=gaḍi-muraiśu taṉ piyar=aṟaiya=**K-**
34 **koṅgabhûmi** aḍi-ppaḍuttu=kkoḍuñ-jilai pûṭṭ=iḻivittu=ppûñjô-
35 lai-aṇi-puṟaviṟ=**Kâñjivâyappêrûr** pukku=Ttirumâlukk=amaru-

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

36 d=uṟaiya=kkuṉṟam-aṉṉad=ôr-kô[y*]il=âkki-um [।*] âḻi-munnîr=agaḻ=[â[-
37 ga agal-vâṉatt=agaḍ=uruñjum[74] pâḻi-nîṉ-madil parand=ôṅgi=p-
38 pagalavaṉum=agalav=ôḍum aṇiy-**Ilaṅgaiyil**=araṇ-id=âgi maṇi-
39 y-ilaṅgun=neḍu-mâḍa-madil **Viḻiñam**-aduv=aḻiya=kkoṟṟa-
40 vêlai uṟai nîkki veṟṟa-ttâṉai **Vêṇ-maṉṉaṉai** veṉṟ=aḻit-
41 t=avaṉ viḻu-nidi-ôḍu kuṉṟam-aṉṉa kulai-kkaḻiṟuṅ=gûnda-
42 ṉ-mâvuṅ=kula-dhanamun=naṉ-ṉâḍum-avai koṇḍum [।*] aravinda-mukhat-
43 t=iḻaiyavar=ari-neḍuṅ-gaṇṇ-ambugaḻâr=pôr-maindar pulamb=ey-
44 dum poṉ-mâḍa-neḍu-vîdi=**Kkaravandapuram** poliv=eyda=kkaṇṇ-agaṉ-
45 ṟad=ôr-kall-agaḻôḍu viśumbu tôyndu mugi=ṟuñjalil=a-

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

46 śumb=aṟâdav=agaṉ-śeṉṉi-nneḍu-madilai vaḍiv=amaittum [।*] êva-
47 mâdi-vikramaṅgaḻ=ettuṇaiyô-pala śeydu maṇi-mâḍa-**Kkûḍa-**
48 l pukku Malar-magaḻôḍu vîṟṟ-irundu Manu-darśśita-mârggattiṉâl

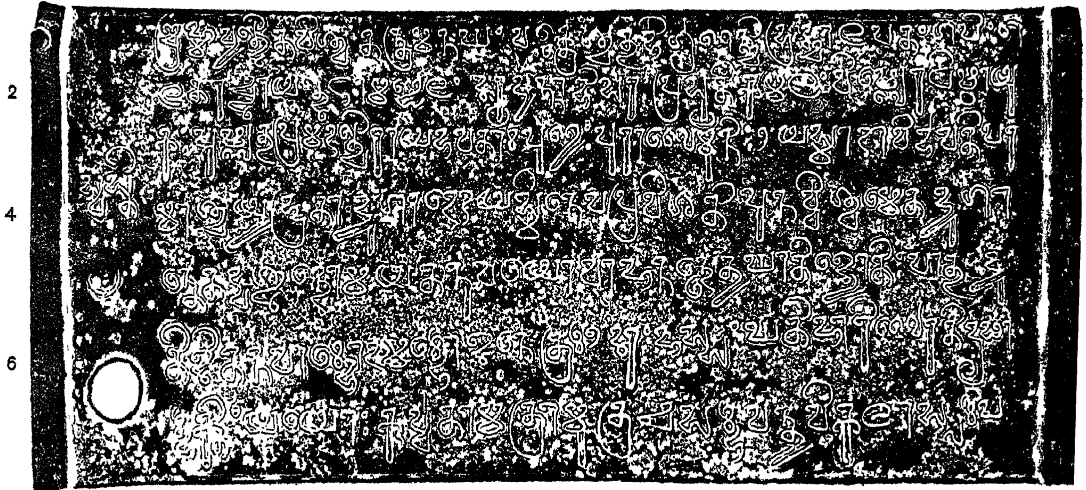
[72] Read *Padma*°.

[73] Read *koḍuñ-jilai.*

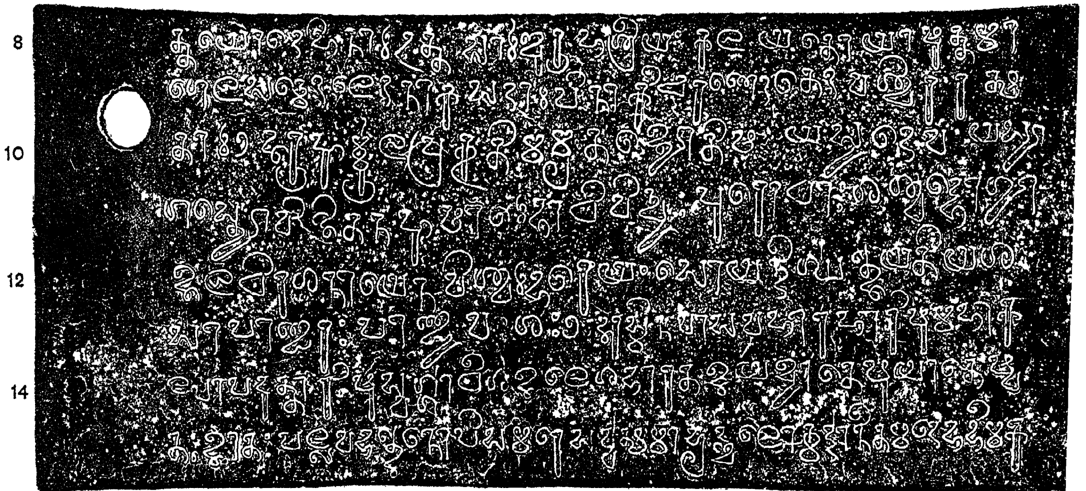
[74] Read *uriñjum.*

# Madras Museum Plates of Jatilavarman.

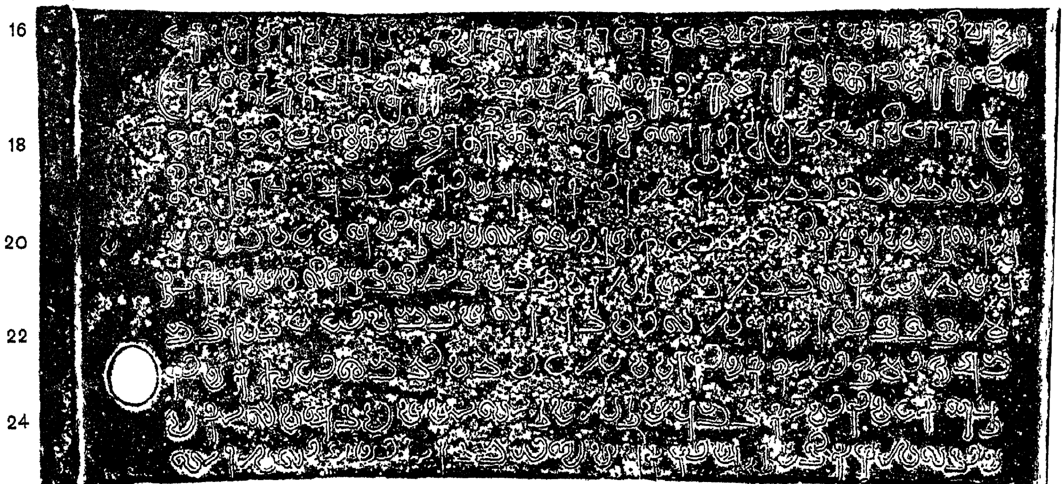
*i.*



*iia.*



*iib.*



E HULTZSCH. SCALE ·65. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LI

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS BY J. F. FLEET.

*iiia.*

*iiib.*

*iva.*

*ivb.*

*va.*

*vb.*

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE ·65.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS BY J. F. FLEET.

*via.*

*vib.*

*vii.*

49 guru-charitaṁ koṇḍâḍi=kkaṇḍaka-śôdhanai tâṉ śeydu kaḍaṉ-ñâ-
50 lam muḻud=aḻikkum **Pâṇḍya**-nâthan paṇḍita-vatsalan vîra-purôgan vi-
51 krama-pâragan parântakan paramavaishṇavan=râṉ=âgi=nniṉṟ-ilaṅgu-
52 m maṇi-nîṇ-muḍi nila-maṉṉava=**Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṟku** **râjya-varsham** pa-
53 diṉêḻâvadupâṟ=paṭṭu=chchelâ-niṟka=ppiṉṉaiyuṉ=dharmmamêy taṉakk=e-
54 ṉṟuṅ=karmmam=âga=ttâṉ karudi **Magadham**=eṉṉuṉ=naṉ-ṉâṭṭuṉ=mahîdêva-
55 ṟkku vagukkappaṭṭa **Śabdâḷi** eṉṉuṅ=grâmattuḷ Vidyâ-dêvataiyâ-

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

56 l virumbappaḍum Bhârggava-gôtra-sambhûtan Âśvalâyana-sûtra-
57 ttu Bahvṛijan **Sîhu-Miśraṟku** magaṉ=âgi yajña-vidyai-ôḍ=eñ-
58 jâda-śâstraṅgaḷai=kkarai-kaṇḍa **Sujjaṭa-Bhaṭṭaṟku=Tteṉ-Kaḷa-**
59 **vaḻi-nâṭṭu** **Vêlaṅguḍiyai**=ppaṇḍai=ttaṉ paḻam=bê
60 r nîkki **Śrîvara-maṁgalam**=eṉa=ppiyar=iṭṭu brahma-dêyam=â-
61 ga=kkârâṇmaiyum mîyâṭchiyum uḷ=aḍaṅga sarvva-
62 parihâram=âga=nnîrôḍ=aṭṭi=kkuḍukkappaṭṭadu [||*] maṟ-
63 ṟ=idaṉ peru-nâṉg=ellai [|*] kîḻ-ellai **Nilaikâṇima-**

*Fifth Plate; First Side.*

64 **ṅgalatt**=ellaikkum **Miḷandîyaṉkuḍi** ellaikkum
65 mêkkun-teṉṉ-ellai **Perumagaṟṟûr**=ellaikkuṅ=**Kaḷḷi-**
66 **kkuḍi** ellaikkum vaḍakku=maṉṉiya-śîr=mmê-
67 l-ellai **Kaḍambaṅguḍi** ellaikkum **Kuraṅguḍi**
68 ellaikkuṅ=kiḻakkum vaḍav-ellai **Kârâḷa-**
69 **vayal**=ellaikku=tteṟkumm=ivv-iśaitta pe-
70 ru-nâṉg=ellai agattu=kkalluṅ=gaḷḷiyu=nâ-

*Fifth Plate; Second Side.*

71 ṭṭi maṉṉavaṉadu paṇiyiṉâl vaḍiv=amai-
72 ya piḍi śûḻndâṉ **Pâṇḍyaṟku** matamgajâddhyaksha-
73 n **Pâṇḍi-iḷaṅgô-maṅgala**=ppêr-araiśaṉ=â-
74 giya **Koḻuvûr-kkûṟṟattu=Kkoḻuvûr**=chcha-
75 ṅgañ=Śirîdaraṉ [|*] îṅg=idaṉukk=âṇattiy=â-
76 y=ttâmra-śâsanañ=jeyvittâṉ vâdya-gê-
77 ya-saṁgîtaṅgaḷâṉ=maliv=eydiya **Vaṉga-**

*Sixth Plate; First Side.*

78 **ḷandai** **Vaidya-kulam** viḷaṅga=ttôṉṟi ma-
79 ṉṉavaṟku mahâ-sâmantaṉ=ây mâṟṟ-araiśarai
80 vaḷi-tulaikkum **Vîramaṅgala**=ppêr-araiśa-
81 ṉ=âgiya **Dhîrataran** **Mûrtti-Eyiṉaṉ** [|*] maṟṟ=idaṉai=
82 kkâttâraṉ malar-aḍi eṉ muḍi mêlaṉa e-
83 ṉṟu koṟṟavaṉêy paṇitt-aruḷi=tteṟṟ=eṉa

*Sixth Plate; Second Side.*

84 tâmra-śâsanañ=jeyvittâṉ || Brahmadêya-paripâ-
85 lanâd=ṛitê n=ânyad=asti bhuvi dharmma-sâdhanam [|*] tasya ch=âpaha-
86 raṇâd=ṛitê tathâ n=ânyad=asti bhuvi pâpa-sâdhanam [||] Bahubhi-
87 r=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhih [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhû-
88 mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || na vishaṁ visham=ity=âhur=brahmasvaṁ vi-
89 sham=uchyatê [|*] visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti brahmasvam putra-pautri-

*Seventh Plate.*

90 kam [75]॥ Brahmasva-rakshaṇâd=anyat=puṇya-mûlan=na vidyatê [।*] tasy=âtilaṁgha-
91 nâd=anyat=pâpa-mûlan=na vidyatê ஒ **Pâṇḍi**=pperum-baṇai-kâraṉ ma-
92 gaṉ **Pâṇḍi**=pperum-baṇai-kâraṉ=âgiya **Arikêsa-**
93 **ri** eḻuttu ॥

## TRANSLATION.

### Sanskṛit portion.

### Hail!

(Verse 1.) May that pure ancient sage (**Brahmâ**),—who resides in the primeval lotus, which has sprung out of the tank of Vishṇu's navel, who invokes with his four mouths the sinless Brahman (*i.e.* the Vêda), which has revealed all sciences, and who bears a mass of matted hair, the colour of which is redder than the morning sun,—maintain for a long time your joy!

(2.) May that extremely wonderful lustre (of **Vishṇu**), — whose body consists of the Vêda, who rides on a bird, who destroys the Daityas, whose splendour surpasses that of a new cloud (*in blackness*), who has lotus eyes, from whom this universe springs at the beginning of the Yuga, and into whom it again enters at the end of the Yuga, — protect you!

(3.) May that pair of feet of Pinâkin (**Siva**), which remove all sins, by practising strict devotion to which, perfect success is produced to men in this world and in the next, and which appear to be lotuses (*placed*) as ornaments on the heads,—(*which bear*) glittering diadems, — of the gods, — protect you for a long time!

(4.) May that **Pâṇḍya** race, — which is white with fame, by which this earth, that has the ocean for its girdle, has been perpetually enjoyed,[76] the first ancestor of which is said to be the nectar-rayed god (*i.e.* the **Moon**),[77] and the family priest of which was Agastya, who vanquished Nahusha, the ocean and the Vindhya (*mountain*), — be victorious for a long time!

(5.) In this (*race*), after those who had deprived Vâsava (**Indra**) of his garland,[78] who had survived the disaster of the great *Kalpa*, and who were famous by victories over the lord of heaven (Indra), the lord of the waters (Varuṇa) and Bhârata (Agni), had passed away, was born the illustrious king **Mâravarman** who, though he destroyed the **Pallava**[79] in battle, captured terrible armies (*kaṭaka*) of rutting elephants by crushing the armies of all rulers of the earth.

(6.) Just as the wise Budha (*sprang*) from the lord of stars (the Moon), Pradyumna from the first Padmanâbha (Kṛishṇa), (*and*) Kumâra (Subrahmaṇya) (*who wears*) an active lance, from the destroyer of Tripura ('Siva), (*who is*) an abode of lustre, so, from him (*i.e.* Mâravarman) was born (*a son*), who was renowned in the world by the name **Jaṭilavarman,** who was equal to Jambhâri (Indra), (*and*) whose irresistible valour burnt the planet (*consisting of*) the great arrogance of all the rulers of the earth.

### Tamiḻ portion.

(Line 19.) The lord of kings (*who possesses*) stout shoulders resplendent with (*i. e.* expressive of) strength, who is such (*as is described above*), who has fought against the southern

[75] Read °*pautrakam.*

[76] The word *śaśvat*, which is here translated 'perpetually,' also means 'repeatedly,' which would imply that there were intervals when the Pâṇḍya dynasty was not supreme.

[77] The tradition preserved in Tamiḻ literature that the Pâṇḍyas belonged to the lunar race, is here confirmed; see pp. 4, 6, 8 and 17 of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV.

[78] From other Pâṇḍya inscriptions which have been published, it appears as if Indra had presented his garland to the Pâṇḍya family; see pp. 6, 17, and 43 f. of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. It was this garland which Râjêndra-Chôḻa took away from the Pâṇḍya king along with the 'crown of Sundara;' see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 98, line 3, and p. 100, line 7.

[79] The word 'though' (*api*) in the translation has to be explained by the double meaning of *pallava* and *kaṭaka*, each of which signifies also 'a bracelet.'

ocean (*ten-alar*),[80] (*who is not only*) Tennaṉ **(the Pâṇḍya king)** (*who bears*) a long lance with spreading lustre, (*but also*) Vâṇavaṉ **(the Chêra king)** and Śembiyaṉ **(the Chôḷa king)** who governs in harmony the whole world, — (*surrounded by*) the ocean (*which is*) full of incongruous noise, — by orders (*âṇai*), (*which bear on the seal*) the great fish (*kayal*) (*banner which flutters on*) the northern mountain (*i. e.* **Mêru**),[81] — bent, on that day,[82] the cruel bow, so that the enemies might be destroyed at these places: — **Viṉṉam, Śeḷiyakkuḍi** and **Veḷḷûr,** (*situated*) in a forest (*full of*) the golden flowers of the beautiful *puṉal-kuṟatti* (? plant).[83]

(Line 24.) Having seen **Adiyaṉ** (*who wore*) a resplendent lance, turn to flight at **Ayirûr,** (*at*) **Pugaḷiyûr** and at **Âyiravêli,** (*situated*) on the northern bank of the Kâviri,[84] (*which has*) abundant waters (*and which is*) rich (*in*) fields, — (*he*) seized his (*the enemy's*) chariot (*adorned with*) sounding bells, along with a troop of horses (*which were*) fierce in battle; when the **Pallava** and the **Kêraḷa** (*kings*), having become his (*the enemy's*) allies, swelled and rose like the sea with numerous armies, so that the earth trembled, and when the western and eastern wings (*of the army*) joined, and were encamped (*together*), (*the king*) advanced against (*the enemy*) with a troop of spearmen and despatched a detachment, so that disaster befell both of them on both wings; captured the powerful king of Western **Koṅgu,** along with (*his*) murderous elephants; placed (*his*) banner within the walls of **Kûḍal** (*i. e.* Madura), which has spacious halls decorated with precious stones;[85] subdued **Koṅgabhûmi,** so that the noisy drum was sounding his fame throughout **Kaṅkabhûmi**; unfastened the string of the cruel bow; entered the large village of **Kâñchivâyal** (?) (*situated*) in a woody region (*that was*) beautified by flower gardens; and built a temple resembling a hill to **Tirumâl** (*i. e.* Vishṇu) (*in which he*) might joyfully abide.

(L. 36.) (*He*) unsheathed the victorious weapon, in order to destroy (*the town of*) **Viḻiñam,** which has the three waters[86] of the sea for (*its*) ditch, whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is (*as strong as*) the fort in the beautiful (*island of*) Ilaṅgai **(Laṅkâ),** and

80 While his ancestors claim to have conquered Varuna himself, the present king modestly says that he only fought against the southern ocean. This tradition of the victory gained by the Pâṇḍyas over the sea, is also preserved in the large Tiruppûvanam copper-plate grant of Kulaśêkhara-Pâṇḍya, where a village, or part of a village, is called after a certain Veḷḷattai-veṉṟân, 'one who has conquered the floods or the ocean.' In the same inscription, villages and private individuals are called after the following names and *birudas* of Pâṇḍya kings: — Taḍaiyil-tyâgi, 'one who makes gifts without hesitation,' Vîra-Gaṅga-Pôyan, Vîra-Pâṇḍya-Pôyan, Indra-śamânan, 'one who is equal to Indra,' Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya, Varaguṇa, Śrîvallabha and Sundara-Pâṇḍya. Of these, Śrîvallabha has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 60) as a Pâṇḍya king, whose son was a contemporary of the Chôla king Kô-Râjakesarivarman *alias* Vîra-Râjêndradêva I. Kulaśêkhara-Pâṇḍya himself, in whose reign the grant was issued, might have borne some of these names and *birudas*. The rest, however, belonged to his predecessors.

81 The great fish evidently refers to the two fish which we find on Pâṇḍya coins and seals. Vaḍa-varai, 'the northern mountain,' might refer to the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district, which is sometimes represented as the northernmost boundary of the Tamil country. But, in other Pâṇḍya inscriptions which have been published, it is distinctly stated that the fish banner was fluttering on Mount Mêru (Âdaga-pporuppa, Kanakâsana and Kanaka-Mêru), see the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol IV. pp. 6, 10, 13, 15, 22 and 43.

82 The day was evidently well known to the composer of the inscription and to his contemporaries.

83 Neither *kuṟatti* nor *puṉal-kuṟatti* is found in Tamil dictionaries; *kuṟattai* is, according to Winslow, 'a gourd Trichosanthes Palmata.' With *puṉal-kuṟatti* compare *puṉal-muruṅgai* and *puṉarpaṉṉai* which are the names of two plants.

84 In a Tamil inscription of the Tanjore temple (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 47) this river is called Kâvîri, and in two Sanskrit inscriptions found in the Trichinopoly cave (Vol. I. pp. 29 and 30), the word is spelled Kâvîrî. The epithet which is given to it in the first of the two Sanskrit inscriptions, *viz.* *ârâma-mâlâ-dharâ*, 'wearing a garland of gardens,' might suggest a possible derivation of the name. Kâviri, the name found in Tamil inscriptions, perhaps means 'cutting through or intersecting (*ir*) gardens (*kâ*).'

85 Another possible translation of the same passage is: — "captured the powerful king of Western Koṅgu along with his murderous elephants; imprisoned (him) within the walls of Kûḍal (*i. e.* Madura), which has jewel-like and spacious halls decorated with banners."

86 The sea is supposed to contain three kinds of water, *viz.* rain water, river water, and spring water. Another translation of the passage which describes Viḻiñam would be the following: — "Viḻiñam, whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, (and which) — (with its) temple which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, and which rubs against the interior of the vast sky, — is like the fort in the beautiful island of Ilaṅgai (Laṅkâ), whose long walls rise so high that even the sun has to retire (in his course)."

whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent with jewels, conquered and destroyed the king of **Vêṇ**, who had a victorious army, and took possession of murderous elephants resembling hills, horses with manes, the family treasures and the fertile country, along with his magnificent treasures.

(Line 42.) (*He*) built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture[87] (*caused by*) the sky coming in contact (*with it*), and the clouds resting (*on it*), so that (*the town of*) **Karavandapuram** might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets, (*where even*) warriors are afraid of the arrow (*-like*) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces.

(L. 46.) Having achieved these and many other similar conquests, having entered (*the city of*) **Kûḍal** (*which has*) a hall of jewels, being seated (*on the throne*) along with the goddess of the flower (*i. e.* **Lakshmî**), having followed, (*like his*) father, the path pointed out by **Manu** (?) and having himself performed the uprooting of thorns (*i. e.* rebels), (*he*) is protecting the whole world (*surrounded by*) the ocean.

(L. 50.) While **the seventeenth year of the reign of** (*this*) **Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ**, — the king of the earth (*who bears*) a high crown (*on which are set*) jewels of permanent lustre, who is the lord of the **Pâṇḍyas**, is fond of learned men, is the foremost of heroes, is very brave, is the destroyer of enemies and the most devoted follower of **Vishṇu**, — was current :

(L. 53.) Having considered[88] that charity was always his duty, (*he*) gave, with libations of water, (*the village of*) **Vêlaṅguḍi** in **Teṉ-Kaḷavaḻi-nâḍu**, — having cancelled its former name from old times, and having bestowed (*on it*) the (*new*) name of **Śrîvara-maṅgalam**, as a *brahmadêya* and with all exemptions (*parihâra*), including *kârâṇmai* and *miyâṭchi*,[89] — to **Sujjaṭa-Bhaṭṭa**, who was the son of **Sihu-Miśra**, who had thoroughly mastered all the *Śâstras* along with the knowledge of sacrifices, who was born in the Bhârgavagôtra, followed the *Âśvalâyana-sûtra*, and was a Bahvṛicha,[90] who was beloved by the goddess of learning (Sarasvatî), (*and who resided*) in the village called **Sabdâḻi**, which had been apportioned to the Brâhmaṇas (*mahî-dêva*) from the good country called **Magadha**.[91]

(L. 62.) The four great boundaries of this (*village are*) : — The eastern boundary (*is*) to the west of the boundary of **Nilaikâṇimaṅgalam** and of the boundary of **Miḻandi-yaṉkuḍi**; the southern boundary (*is*) to the north of the boundary of **Perumagaṟṟûr** and of the boundary of **Kaḻḻikkuḍi**;[92] the western boundary (*possessing*) permanent beauty, (*is*) to the east of the boundary of **Kaḍambaṅguḍi**[93] and of the boundary of **Kuraṅguḍi**;[94] the northern boundary (*is*) to the south of the boundary of **Kâraḷavayal.**

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[87] The word *aśumbu* literally means 'moist land, slippery ground.' The literal translation of the passage which describes Karavandapuram is as follows : —"whose top is a place in which the moisture, (caused) by the clouds retiring on it (immediately) after the sky has plunged into water, never ceases."

[88] The word *piṉṉaiyum* seems to be used here as an expletive, like *maṟṟu* in lines 62 and 81, and *iṅgu* in line 75.

[89] The technical meaning of these two terms is not clear. According to Winslow, the word *kârâlar* means 'husbandmen' or 'agriculturists.' According to Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, *kârâyma*, which must be the same as the Tamil *kârâṇmai*, means 'freehold,' 'verbal agreement between Janmi and Cudiyân about their respective rights to inhabit mortgaged grounds.' *Miyâṭchi* literally means 'overlordship'

[90] *i. e.* a Ṛigvêdin.

[91] This is evidently the country of the same name in Northern India. The fact that there was a colony of Magadha Brâhmaṇas settled in the Pâṇḍya country, shows that communication between Northern and Southern India was not so infrequent in ancient days as might be imagined. This inference is confirmed by some of the inscriptions of the Chôla king Râjêndra-Chôḷa, in which he is reported to have extended his military operations as far as the river Gaṅgâ, and to have conquered Bengal (Vaṅgâla-dêśa) and the Kôsala country (Kôsalai-nâḍu) ; see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 98 and 100, and Vol. II. p. 108.

[92] There is a village of this name mentioned in the large Tiruppûvaṇam copper-plate grant (Plate viii a, line 2).

[93] A village of the same name is mentioned twice in the grant above referred to (Plate v b, line 5, and Plate ix a, line 1).

[94] According to the *Manual of the Tinnevelly District*, "Trickuranguddy" is a village in the Nâṅgunêri taluk, close to the Travancore frontier. See *ante*, Vol. II. p. 360, where the village is mentioned with its proper spelling, Tirukkuraṅguḍi.

(Line 69.) Having set up stones and planted milkbush (*kaḷḷi*) on the four great boundaries thus described, Śirîdaraṉ (*i. e.* **Śrîdhara**), (*who was a member of*) the assembly (*saṅga*) of **Koḷuvûr** in **Koḷuvûr-kûṟṟam**, the great chief of **Pâṇḍi-iḷaṅgô-maṅgalam**[95] and the overseer of the elephants of the **Pâṇḍya** (*king*), followed, by order of the king, a female elephant, (*which was let loose*) to determine the boundaries (*of the granted village*).[96]

(L. 75.) **Dhîrataran Mûrti-Eyiṉaṉ**, — who was the great chief of **Vîramaṅgalam**, who deprived inimical kings of their strength, who was the great feudatory (*mahâ-sâmanta*) of the king, and whose birth had conferred splendour on the **Vaidya** race of **Vaṅgaḷandai** which was famous for (*skill in playing*) musical instruments, singing and music, — caused, as the *âjñapti* (âṇatti) of this (*grant*), a copper edict to be drawn up. The king himself declared: — "The lotus feet of those who protect this (*gift*), shall rest on my crown,"[97] and caused (*this*) clear copper edict to be drawn up.

(L. 84.) "There is no means on earth of acquiring merit, except the protection of gifts to Brâhmaṇas; and likewise, there is no means on earth of incurring sin, except their confiscation.

"Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; as long as (*a king*) possesses the earth, so long the reward (*of gifts*) belongs to him.

"They declare that poison (*itself*) is not (*the worst*) poison; (*but*) the property of Brâhmaṇas is declared to be (*the real*) poison. (*For*), poison (*if taken*) kills (*only*) one person; (*but*) the property of Brâhmaṇas (*if confiscated, kills the confiscator*) together with his sons and grandsons.

"No other source of religious merit is known than the protection of the property of Brâhmaṇas, (*and*) no other source of sin is known than transgressing on it."

(L. 91.) The signature of **Arikêsari**, who was the chief drummer of the **Pâṇḍya** (*king*) and the son of the (*late*) chief drummer of the **Pâṇḍya** (*king*).

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## FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTAN.

BY W. CROOKE, C.S.

### *No. 4.—The Lucky Herdsman.*[1]

Once upon a time a herdsman was watching some sheep near the jungle, when a tiger came out and asked him for a sheep. The herdsman said: "They don't belong to me. How can I give you one?" "All right," said the tiger, "I will eat you some night soon." When the herdsman came home, he told his wife, and she said: "We had better get some of the neighbours to sleep in the house as a guard." So some of the neighbours brought their beds and slept in the herdsman's house. The herdsman's bed was in the middle. In the middle of the night the tiger came in quietly, and raising up the herdsman's bed, carried it off on his shoulders. When he had gone a little distance the herdsman fortunately woke, and, as he happened to be passing under a banyan tree, he caught hold of one of the shoots and climbed up. The tiger, knowing nothing of this, went off with the bed.

The herdsman was so afraid of the tiger, that he stayed up in the tree all day. In the evening a herd of cows came from the jungle and lay down under the banyan tree. They remained there all night and next morning went off, as usual, to graze. When they had gone away, the herdsman came down, removed all the manure, and cleaned the place.

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95 In this name, *iḷaṅgô* is synonymous with the Sanskrit *yuvarâja*. The village was evidently called after the heir-apparent to the Pâṇḍya throne.

96 The custom of determining the boundaries of a donative village with the help of a female elephant, seems to have been quite common in ancient times; see the large Tiruppûvaṇam copper-plate grant, Plate i a, lines 3 to 5, and the large Leyden grant, Plate ix a, line 175.

97 This is addressed to the reigning king's successors.

1 A folktale told by Pârsôttam Mâñjhî, one of the aborigines of South Mirzâpur.

Next night the cows came again, and were delighted to find the place clean, and wondered who had done them this service. Next morning they went again to graze, and on returning found that the place had again been cleaned. This happened a third time; and then the cows called out, "Show yourself, our unknown friend! We are very grateful to you, and wish to make your acquaintance." The herdsman thought this might be some device of the enemy; so he kept quiet and did not show himself.

Then the cows made a plan. There was one of them, who was a poor, old, weak creature; so they said to her: "You lie here and pretend to be very sick; our friend is sure to come down to help you after we are gone. When he comes catch hold of his *dhôtî*, and detain him until we return." The old cow did as she was told, and caught hold of the herdsman's *dhôtî*, and though he tried to drag himself away, she would not let him go until her companions came back.

When the cows returned, they told the herdsman how much they were obliged to him, and said, "You may have as much of our milk as you want." So the herdsman continued to live in the banyan tree and used to milk the cows every day.

One day, as he was strolling about near the banyan tree, he saw a hole, out of which came some young snakes, who looked very thin and miserable. The herdsman took pity on them and gave them some milk every day. When they got strong, they began to move about in the jungle, and one day their mother met them. "Why! how is this?" said she; "I left you starving, and you are now well and strong." Then they told her how the herdsman had taken pity on them. Hearing this she went to the herdsman and said: "Ask any boon you will." "I wish," said he, "that my hair and skin should turn the colour of gold." This happened at once and the old snake went away.

One day the herdsman went to bathe in the river. As he was bathing a hair came out of his head, and he put it into a leaf platter (*daunâ*) and let it float down the stream. A long way down a Râjâ's daughter was bathing. She took up the hair. "My father must marry me to the man who has hair like this." When she came home she would eat no dinner. Her father was distressed and asked the cause. She showed him the hair, and said, "Marry me to the man who has hair like this." So her father sent his soldiers to find the man. At last they traced the herdsman and said, "Come along with us." "I will not," said he. Then they tried to drag him away, but he played on his flute (*bânsulî*) and all the cows rushed up, charged the soldiers and drove them away. They returned and told the king. He sent some crows to get the flute. They came and perched on the banyan tree, where the herdsman was staying, and let their droppings fall on him. He threw stones at them, but could not drive them away. At last he was so angry he threw his flute at them, and one crow took it in his bill and flew off with it.

When the Râjâ got possession of the flute, he sent another party of soldiers to seize the herdsman. He blew another flute, but this had no power over the cows, and he was captured and carried off.

Then he was brought to the Râjâ's palace, married to the princess and given a splendid house and lots of money. But he was unhappy and preferred his life as a cowherd. One day he asked his wife to give him the flute, which the crow had carried off. She took it out of her box and gave it to him. When he blew it the sound reached the cows, and they all rushed to the Râjâ's palace and began to knock down the walls. The Râjâ was terrified and asked what they wanted. "We want our cowherd," they answered. So the Râjâ had to give in, and built a palace for his son-in-law near the banyan tree, and gave him half his kingdom. There the herdsman and the princess lived happily for many a long year.

### Notes.

This, a tale told by a genuine non-Aryan aboriginal, a resident in the wild country south of the Sôn, is interesting as a variant of the Santâl "Story of Jhore," which is given by Dr.

A. Campbell in his *Santâl Folk-tales*, (Pokhuria, 1891) pp. 111, *et seq*. There are, however, some important differences:—

(1) Jhore quarrels with the tiger, because, when he is called in to judge between him and the lizard, he judges it in favour of the latter.

(2) Jhore is shut up in a bag by his mother, which the tiger carries off.

(3) The animals in Jhore's story are buffaloes, and he wins their affection by looking after their calves.

(4) In Jhore's story the old buffalo cow lies in wait and gets the calves to tell her who befriended them. The *dhôtî* incident is absent in the Santâl story.

(5) Similarly, the snake incident is wanting, and in the Santâl story the Princess simply finds in the river some of Jhore's hair, which is twelve cubits long.

(6) In the Santâl story the Râjâ sends a *jôgî* and a crow to seek for Jhore. Finally a paroquet is sent, who makes friends with Jhore and gets the flute.

(7) After losing his first flute Jhore calls the cows with another, and finally the paroquet has to steal the bundle of flutes, which Jhore has.

(8) The buffaloes in the Santâl story come to the king's palace, because Jhore's wife would not believe the story about the love of the buffaloes for him, which he was always telling her. So he has a pen made thirty-two miles long and thirty-two miles broad and the buffaloes come at the sound of his flute and fill it. These are the domesticated buffaloes of the Santâls nowadays.

The story is also of interest from its obvious analogies to European folklore. **The cowherd's flute is the oriental equivalent of the lyre of Orpheus, or the lute of Arion**: and we have the incident of the hero being saved by his lute in No. 126 of Grimm's *Tales*, "*Ferdinand the faithful and Ferdinand the unfaithful.*" The feeding of snakes is also common property of folklore. In the *Gesta Romanorum*, chap. 68, we have the snake who says to the knight: "Give me some milk every day, and set it ready for me yourself, and I will make you rich." There are further instances given in Mr. Andrew Lang's edition of Grimm, (Vol. II. pp. 405, *et seq.*) So with the golden hair, which, however, is usually that of the heroine: see Grimm's *Goosegirl*, with his notes (Vol. II. p. 382.) I know there is some European equivalent of the hero (or heroine) being recognised by the golden hair floating down the river, but I cannot lay my hands on the reference just now, as I am away from my library. However, we have the same incident in the "*Boy and His Stepmother*" in Dr. Campbell's Santâl Collection. Altogether, this story is interesting, and probably other readers of the *Indian Antiquary* can suggest additional parallels.

### Note by the Editor.

This tale is, like some of Mr. Crooke's other tales, simply an agglomerate of incidents to be commonly found in Indian folktales generally.[1] Instances innumerable of each incident in some form or other could be culled from my notes to *Wide-awake Stories* and from this *Journal*. To take these incidents *seriatim*:—

That of **the bed and banyan tree** is mixed up with very many Indian tales, but for 'tiger' read usually 'thieves.' A good specimen is to be found in *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 77-78.

**Grateful animals** and their doings are also exceedingly common everywhere in Indian nurseries. A collection of instances from *Indian Fairy Tales*, *Folktales of Bengal*, *Legends of the Pañjâb* and the earlier volumes of this *Journal* will be found at p. 412 of *Wide-awake Stories*.

**Golden hair** belongs, in every other instance I have seen, to the heroine, and instances of the incident of a golden hair floating down a stream and leading both to good fortune and to calamity are to be found collected at p. 413 of *Wide-awake Stories*.

[1] I do not wish by this statement to detract from the value and interest of Mr. Crooke's tales. They, in fact, strongly support the theory I propounded in *Wide-awake* Stories, and which has since been accepted by the Folklore Society.

In this tale the golden hair leads up to a very simple and boldly stated variant of the **impossible task as a preliminary to marriage,** which is often really nothing but a folktale reminiscence of the ancient custom of the **swayaṁvara.** Many instances will be found collected at p. 430 of *Wide-awake Stories.*

**Flute stories** are as common in India as in Europe. Perhaps the best of all in the East is the exquisite Pañjâbî tale of "*Little Anklebone,*" which is comparable to Grimm's "*Singing Bone.*" This tale is known in the Pañjâb as "*Giṭêṭâ Râm*" and is to be found in *Wide-awake Stories,* pp. 127 ff.

I have quoted above from *Wide-awake Stories,* as that is the latest publication, so far as I know, giving a collection of incidents in Indian folktales, but, from the many folktales from all parts of India published in this *Journal* in the eight years that have elapsed since that book was issued, many further instances could be easily adduced in support of the above notes.

## A FOLKTALE OF THE LUSHAIS[1].

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

### *The Story of Kûngôri.*

Her father, who was unmarried, was splitting bamboos to make a winnowing basket, when he ran a splinter into his hand. The splinter grew into a little child (After a time) the child was brought forth motherless and they called her Kûngôri. Even as a grain of rice swells in the cooking, so little by little she grew big. Two or three years passed by and she became a maiden. She was very pretty, and all the young men of the village were rivals for her favour; but her father kept her close and permitted no one to approach her. There was a young man named Kêimî. He took up the impression of her (foot from the ground) and placed it on the bamboo grating over the house-fire (there to dry and shrivel up), and so it fell out that Kûngôri became ill.

Kûngôri's father said, "If there be any one that can cure her, he shall have my daughter." All the villagers tried, but not one of them could do any good. However (at last) Kêimî came. "I will cure her, and I will marry her afterwards," said he. Her father said, "Cure the girl first and you may then have her."

So she was cured. The foot-print, which he had placed to dry on the fire-shelf, he opened out and scattered (to the wind). Kûngôri became well and Kêimî married her. "Come, Kûngôri," said he, "will you go to my house?" So they went. On the road Kêimî turned himself into a tiger. Kûngôri caught hold of his tail, and they ran like the wind. (It so happened) that some women of the village were gathering wood, and they saw all this; so they went back home to Kûngôri's father and said, "Your daughter has got a tiger for a husband." Kûngôri's father said, "Whoever can go and take Kûngôri may have her;" but no one had the courage to take her. However, Phôthîr and Hrangchâl, two friends, said, "We will go and try our fortune." Kûngôri's father said, "If you are able to take her you may have her;" so Phôthîr and Hrangchâl set off. Going on, they came to Kêimî's village. The young man Kêimî had gone out hunting. Before going into the house Phôthîr and Hrangchâl went to Kûngôri. "Kûngôri," said they, "where is your husband?" "He is gone out hunting," she said, "but will be home directly." On this they became afraid, and Phôthîr and Hrangchâl climbed upon to the top of the high fire-shelf. Kûngôri's husband arrived. "I smell the smell of a man," said he. "It must be me, whom you smell," said Kûngôri. Night fell, everyone ate their dinners and lay down to rest. In the morning Kûngôri's husband again went out to hunt. A widow came and said (to the two friends), "If you are going to run away with Kûngôri take fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed with you)." So they took fire-seed, thorn-seed, and water-seed; and they took Kûngôri also and carried her off.

Kûngôri's husband returned home. He looked and found Kûngôri was gone; so he followed after them in hot haste. A little bird called to Hrangchâl: "Run! run! Kûngôri's husband will catch you," said the bird. So (the friends) scattered the fire-seed, and (the fire sprung up and) the jungle and under-growth burnt furiously, so that Kûngôri's husband could not come any farther. When the fire subsided, he again resumed the pursuit.

[1] From Major T. H. Lewin's *Progressive Exercises in the Lushai Dialect,* Calcutta, 1891. The story was taken down by the author as told by a Lushai.)

The little bird cried to Hrangchâl: " He is catching you up," so they scattered the water-seed, and a great river widened (between them and their pursuer).

However, Kúngóri's husband waited for the water to go down, and when the water went down he followed after them as before. The bird said to Hrangchâl, "He is after you again, he is fast gaining on you, sprinkle the thorn-seed," said the bird. So they sprinkled the thorn-seed and thorns sprouted in thickets so that Kûngôri's husband could not get on. By biting and tearing the thorns he at length made a way, and again he followed after them. Hrangchâl became dazed, as one in a dream, (at this persistence of pursuit), and crouching down among the roots of some reeds, watched. Phôthîr cut the tiger down dead with a blow of his dâo. "I am Phôthira," said he. So the tiger died.

Hrangchâl and the others went on again, until they came to the three cross roads of Kuavang,[2] and there they stopped. Phôthîr and Hrangchâl were to keep guard turn about. Hrangchala went to sleep first, while Phôthîr stayed awake (watching). At night Kuavang came. "Who is staying at my cross-roads?" he said. Phôthira (spoke out boldly): "Phôthira and Hrangchala (are here)," said he; "crouching under the reeds, we cut off the tiger's head without much ado." On this Kuavang understood (with whom he had to deal), and, becoming afraid, he ran off. So Phôthira (woke up Hrangchâl saying), "Hrangchala, get up; you stay awake now; I am very sleepy; I will lie down. If Kuavang comes you must not be afraid." Having said this, he lay down (and went to sleep). Hrangchala stayed awake. Presently Kuavang returned. " Who is this staying at my cross-roads?" he said. Hrangchala was frightened. (However), he replied: " Phôthira and Hrangchala (are here) they killed the tiger that followed them among the reed-roots." But Knavang was not to be frightened by this; so he took Kûngôri (and carried her off). Kûngôri marked the road, trailing behind her a line of cotton thread. They entered into a hole in the earth, and so arrived at Kuavang's village. The hole in the earth, by which they entered, was stopped up by a great stone. In the morning Phôthira and Hrangchala began to abuse each other. Spake Phôhtira to Hrangchala, " Fool of a man, " said he, " where has Kûngôri gone? On account of your faint-heartedness Kuavang has carried her off. Away! you will have to go to Kuavang's village." So they followed Kûngôri's line of white thread, and found that the thread, entered (the earth) under a big rock. They moved away the rock, and there lay Kuavang's village before them! Phôhtira called out! " Ahoy! give me back my Kûngôri." Kuavang replied, " We know nothing about your Kûngôri. They have taken her away." " If you do not (immediately) give me Kûngôri I will use my *dáo*," said Phôhtîr. " Hit away," answered Kuavang. With one cut of the *dáo* a whole village died right off! Again Phôhtîr cried, " Give me my Kûngôri." Kuavang said. " Your Kûngôri is not here." On this Phôthîr and Hrangchâl said, "We will come in." " Come along," said Kuavang. So they went in and came to Kuavang's house. Kuavang's daughter, who was a very pretty girl, was pointed out as Kûngôri. "Here is Kûngôri," said they. " This is not she," said Phôthîr, "really now, give me Kûngôri." So (at last) they gave her to him.

They took her away. Kûngôri said, " I have forgotten my comb." " Go, Hrangchâl and fetch it," said Phôthîr, but Hrangchala dared not venture. "I am afraid," said he. So Phôthîr went (himself) to fetch (the comb). While he was gone, Hrangchâl took Kûngôri out, and closed the hole with the great stone. After this, they arrived at the house of Kûngôri's father. "You have been able to release my daughter." said he, " so take her." Kûngôri however, did not wish to be taken. Said Kûngôri's father. " Hrangchâl is here, but where is Phôthira?" " We do not know Phôthira's dwelling-place," was the reply.

So Hrangchala and Kûngôri were united. Kûngôri was altogether averse to the marriage. but she was coupled with Hrangchâl whether she would or no.

Phôthîra was married to Kuavang's daughter. Beside the house he sowed a koy-seed. It sprouted and a creeper sprang (upwards like a ladder). Phôthîra, when he was at Kuavang's, had a child (born to him); and he cooked some small stones (in place of rice), and, when his wife was absent, he gave the stones, which he had cooked, to the child, saying, "Eat." While it was eating Phôthîr climbed up the stalks of the creeper (that had sprang up near the house), and got out (into the upper world). He went on and arrived at the house of the Kûngôri's father. They had killed a *gayál*, and were dancing and making merry. With one blow Phôthira cut off the head of Hrangchâl! Kûngôri's father cried, " Why, Phôthira, do you cut off Hrangchala's head?" "I was obliged to cut it off," said Phôthîr. "It was I who released Kûngôri from Kêimî's village;

[2] The good spirit of the Lushais He does not however cut a very fine figure in this tale.

Hrangchala dared not do it. When Kuavang carried off Kûngôri also, Hrangchala dared not say him nay. He was afraid. Afterwards we followed Kûngôri's line of cotton thread, which lead us to Kuavang's village. Kûngôri (after we had released her from there) forgot her comb. We told Hrangchâl to go and fetch it, but he dared not. 'I am afraid,' said he. so I went to get it. He then took Kûngôri and left me behind, shutting the hole in the earth with a great stone. They went away. I married Kuavang's daughter, and, while she was absent, I climbed up the stalks of the creeper, and came here." On (hearing) this; "Is it so," said they, "then you shall be united." So Hrangchala died and Phôthira and Kûngôri were married. They were very comfortable together, and killed many *gayál*. They possessed many villages, and lived happy ever after. Thus the story is concluded.

## MISCELLANEA.

### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SIX UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

#### 1.—Arthûnâ Stone Inscription of the Paramâra Châmuṇḍarâja, of the (Vikrama) year 1136.

Dr. Hörnle has sent me, some time ago, a very imperfect pencil-rubbing of an inscription discovered at Arthûnâ [1] in Râjputânâ, together with a rough transcript of the text and an English translation of it, received from Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Kavirâj Śyâmal Dâs, member of the State Council of Mêwâḍ. This inscription contains 53 lines of writing which cover a space of 2′ 6¼″ broad by 2′ 2″ high. The writing appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is about ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Samskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 87.

The inscription is a *praśasti* or laudatory account of a line of princes or chiefs who belonged to the **Paramâra** family, and its object is, to state (in line 44) that the prince **Châmuṇḍarâja**, in honour of his father **Maṇḍanadêva**, founded a temple of Śiva, under the name of Maṇḍanêśa, and to record (in lines 45-50) the endowments made in favour of that temple. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Chandra, a younger brother of Vijayasâdhâra and son of Sumatisâdhâra, of the Sâdhâra family.[2] And it is dated in line 53:— **saṁvat 1136 Phâlguna-sudi 7 Śukrê**, corresponding, for Vikrama 1136 expired, to Friday, the 31st January A. D. 1080, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Beginning with two verses which invoke the blessings of Dêvî and Śiva (Śaśiśêkhara), the poet tells the well-known fable how on Mount Arbuda (or Âbû) the sage Vaśishṭha, when his cow Nandinî was carried off by Viśvâmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero **Paramâra**, who defeated Viśvâmitra. In the family of Paramâra there was born in the course of time **Vairisiṁha** (line 8), who had a younger brother, named **Ḍambarasiṁha** (line 10). And in the family of Ḍambarasiṁha was born **Kaṁkadêva** (line 11), who near the **Narmadâ** defeated the forces of the ruler of **Karṇâṭa** and thus destroyed the enemy of the Mâlava king **Śrîharsha**, but who apparently lost his own life on that occasion. Kaṁkadêva's son was **Chaṇḍapa** (line 13); his son was **Satyarâja** (line 14); from him sprang **Maṇḍanadêva** (line 16); and his son again was **Châmuṇḍarâja**[3] (line 30), who is said to have defeated **Sindhurâja**. Beyond what has been stated here, the inscription contains nothing of importance. The princes Vairisiṁha and Śrîharsha, mentioned above, are of course the well-known Vairisiṁha II. and Śrîharshadêva-Sîyaka of Mâlava.

#### 2.—Chitôr Stone Inscription of the Guhila Family, of the (Vikrama) year 1331.

Sir A. Cunningham has supplied to me a pencil-rubbing,[4] taken by Mr. Garrick, of the inscription at Chitôr of which a photo-lithograph has been published in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXIII. Plate xxv. This inscription contains 54 lines of writing which cover a space of 2′ 6″ broad by 2′ 7¾″ high. Line 39 appears to have been almost completely scratched out; otherwise the writing is on the whole well preserved. The

[1] I cannot find Arthûnâ on the maps at my disposal. In the papers sent to me it is stated that "a sight of the ruins of Arthûnâ confirms the view that a large city existed there in ancient times, where only a small village stands at present, surrounded by several temples in ruins." The rubbing of the inscription was procured through the assistance of the Political Agent of Bânswârâ.

[2] The names of the writer and of the engraver are illegible in the rubbing.

[3] In *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXIII. p. 124, Mr. Garrick reports that at a small hamlet called Nimtor, in Râjputânâ, he found an inscription of seven lines, dated in Saṁvat 1027. From a very faint photograph of this inscription, shewn to me by Dr. Burgess, I am able to state that the inscription was put up during the reign of a *Mahârôjâdhirâja* who also bore the name *Châmuṇḍarâja*, and that it is dated in the (Vikrama) year 1028.

[4] A very incorrect copy, made by a Paṇḍit, of this inscription I had previously received from Dr. Fleet, to whom it had been given by Dr. Burgess, together with a copy of another long inscription from Chitôr which is perhaps the second *praśasti*, referred to below.

size of the letters is about ⅜″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 61.

This is a *praśasti* of the **Guhila** family of **Mêdapâṭa**, similar to the Mount Âbû stone inscription of Samarasiṁha of the Vikrama year 1342 (*ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 345), and composed by the same poet Vêdaśarman (line 54) who, indeed, in line 46 of the Mount Âbû inscription refers to this and similar *praśastis*, composed by himself. It was engraved by the artizan Sajjana (line 51), and is dated in line 54:—**saṁ° 1331 varshê Âshâḍha-sudi 3 Śukrê Pushyê,** corresponding, for northern Vikrama 1331 expired, to Friday, the 8th June A. D. 1274, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half ended about 20 h., and when the moon was in Pushya for about 17 h. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with verses invoking the blessings of Śiva (Śrî-Samâdhîśvara,[5] Trinayana, Chandrachûḍa) and Gaṇêśa. The poet then states that he is about to eulogize the **Guhila** *vaṁśa*. He glorifies the country of **Mêdapâṭa,** and its town **Nâgahrada**; and relates how through the favour of the sage Hâritarâśi[6] **Bappa** became lord of Mêdapâṭa. Afterwards he gives the names of the descendants of Bappa, from Guhila to Naravarman, and praises each of them in three or four verses, in general terms which are of no historical value. After verse 60 he adds in prose:—*anantara-vaṁśa-varṇṇanaṁ dvitîya-praśastau vêditavyam.*

The princes glorified are:—

1. **Bappa.**
2. **Guhila** (v. 13).
3. **Bhôja** (v. 15).
4. **Sîla** (v. 18).
5. **Kâlabhôja** (v. 21).
6. **Mallaṭa** (v. 24; omitted in the **Mount Âbû** inscription).
7. **Bhartṛibhata** (v. 27).
8. **Siṁha** (v. 30).
9. **Mahâyaka** (v. 33; in the Mount Âbû inscription called Mahâyika)
10. **Shummâṇa** (v. 36).
11. **Allaṭa** (v. 39).
12. **Naravâhana** (v. 42).
13. **Śaktikumâra** (v. 46).
14. **Âmraprasâda**[7] (?, v. 49; omitted in the Mount Âbû inscription).
15. **Śuchivarman** (v. 52).
16. **Naravarman** (v. 56).

### 3.—Narwar Stone Inscription of Gaṇapati of Nalapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1355.

From Dr. Burgess I have received a pencil-rubbing of the inscription in the Narwar Fort which is mentioned in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. II. p. 315. This inscription contains 21 lines of writing which cover a space of 1′ 10¼″ broad by 1′ 3½″ high. The writing appears to be well preserved throughout, but about half a dozen *aksharas* cannot be made out with certainty in the rubbing. The size of the letters is about ½″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 28.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, the proper object of which is, to record (in verses 22-25) that the Kâyastha Palhadêva (or Palhaja), in memory and for the spiritual benefit of his deceased younger brother Haṁsarâja, built a tank and a temple (*chaitya*) of Śambhu (or Śiva), and also laid out a garden. The *praśasti* was composed by Śiva, a son of the treasurer Lôha[ḍa] and grandson of Dâmôdara who belonged to a family of writers at **Gôpâdri** (or Gwâlior), written by Arasiṁha (!), the son of Abhinanda; and engraved by **Dhanauka** (?). And it is dated in line 21:—**saṁvat 1355 Kârttika-[va]di 5,** on a day of the week which, so far as I can see from the rubbing, is either *Gurau* or *Śukrê*. Supposing the day to be *Śukrê*, the corresponding date, for Vikrama 1355 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika, would be Friday, the 26th September A. D. 1298.

The inscription was composed during the reign of **Gaṇapati of Nalapura**; and the poet therefore, after invoking the blessings of Śiva (Manmathasûdana) and the Sun, begins with praises of the town **Nalapura**, and then gives the following genealogy of the prince Ganapati:—

1. In Nalapura (*i. e.*, Narwar) was born the prince **Châhaḍa** (v. 4).
2. His son was **Nṛivarman**[8] (v. 5).
3. From him sprang **Âsalladêva** (v. 6).
4. From him **Gôpâla** (v. 7);
5. And from him **Gaṇapati**, who acquired fame by conquering **Kîrtidurga**[9] (vv. 8 and 9).

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[5] This shews that *Śrî-Samâdhîśa* in line 46 of the Mount Âbû inscription is a name of Śiva.

[6] This finally settles the meaning of the same word in verse 8 of the Mount Âbû inscription.

[7] This name is doubtful, because the rubbing is here very faint.

[8] The name of this prince is omitted in the list, given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. II. p. 316.

[9] This, in all probability, is the *Kîrttigiri-durga* (*i. e.*, Dêôgaḍh), mentioned in line 7 of the Dêôgaḍh rock inscription of Kîrtivarman; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 238.

Verses 10-20 give the genealogy of the two brothers Palhadêva (or Palhaja) and Haṁsarâja. This part of the inscription commences with a verse in praise of the fort of **Gôpâchala** (or Gwâlior). At Gôpâchala lived a family of Kâyasthas, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra,* who had come from Mathurâ. In that family there was a certain Alhaṇa, whose son was Kânhaḍa, whose son again was the minister (*mantrin*) Vijahaḍa. Vijahaḍa married Mênagâ, who bore to him two sons, Gângadêva and Yâmunadêva. Gângadêva married Lónâ, and she bore to him four sons, Palha[ja], Harirâja,[10] Śivarâja, and Haṁsarâja.

### 4. — Sarwaya Stone Inscription of Gaṇapati of Nalapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1348.

Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription, found in a tank at Sarwaya, eight miles to the east of Sipri, which is mentioned in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. II. p. 316. This inscription contains 33 lines of writing which cover a space of 1′ 10″ broad by 1′ 11¾″ high. The writing is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about $\frac{9}{16}$″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 33.

The inscription is a *praśasti,* the proper object of which is to record (in verses 23-28) that, during the reign of **Gaṇapati,** the son of the prince **Gôpâla,** the *thakkura* Vâmana (evidently a high official) built a public tank (*vâpikâ*), clearly the tank at which the inscription has been found. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Sômamiśra, a son of [Sô]madhara; written by Mahârâja, the son of Sômarâja; and engraved by Dêvasiṁha, the son of Mâdhava. And it is dated in line 33: — **saṁvat 1348 Chaitra-sudi 8 Gurudinê Pushya-nakshatrê,** corresponding, for southern Vikrama 1348 expired, to Thursday, the 27th March A. D. 1292, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 17 m., and when the moon entered the *nakshatra* Pushya 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

The inscription opens with three verses invoking the blessings of the goddess of eloquence Śâradâ, and of the gods Kṛishṇa (Râdhâ-dhava) and Hara. It then has a verse in praise of the town Mathurâ on the Yamunâ, from which, as we are told further on, proceeded a family of Kâyasthas, known as the Mâthuras. In that family there was one Chandra, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra;* his son was Dêlhaṇa; his son Kêśava; his son Padmanâbha; and his son Dêhula. Dêhula had three sons, Udaya, Nâmû and Âlhu. Of these, Nâmû married Padmâ, the daughter of Mahâratha; and she bore to him three sons, Dhânû, Vijayadeva, and Vâmana who built the tank, mentioned above. Vâmana married first Ajayadê (?), a daughter of Lôhaḍa,[11] and afterwards Hômâ, a daughter of Âsadêva.

### 5. — Khârôd Stone Inscription of Ratnadêva III. of Ratnapura, of the Chêdi year 933.

Dr. Burgess has also supplied to me a pencil-rubbing of the inscription at Khârôd in the Central Provinces which is mentioned in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 201, and Vol. XVII. p. 43. This inscription contains 28 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3′ broad by 1′ 6″ high. To judge from the rubbing, the writing has suffered a good deal all the way down on the proper left side; but with a good impression all that is important might nevertheless be made out with certainty. The size of the letters is about ½″. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered, and their total number is 44.

The inscription is dated in line 28: — **Chêdi-samvat 933,** corresponding to A. D. 1181-82; and it is valuable, because (in lines 4-15) it gives a complete list of the **Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapura** down to **Ratnadêva III.,** and proves thus beyond doubt that there really were three chiefs of Ratnapura, called Ratnarâja or Ratnadêva.[12] Besides we find in this introductory part of the inscription some names of persons and places which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty. In the family of the **Haihayas** there was a prince (evidently Kôkalla[13]) who had eighteen sons (line 5), one of whom was **Kaliṅga.** His son was **Kamala,** the lord of **Tummâṇa;** from him sprang **Ratnarâja I.;** and then came **Pṛithvîdêva I.** His son was **Jâjalladêva I.,** who defeated **Bhujabala,** the lord of **Suvarṇapura (Jâjalladêva- nṛipatis=tat-sûnur=abhût=Suvarṇṇapura-nâtham | Bhujava-(ba)lam=ava(ba)lam chakrê nija-bhuja-va(ba)-latah samîkê yaḥ ||).** Jâjalladêva's son was **Ratnadêva II.** (line 6), who defeated the prince **Chôḍagaṅga,** the lord of the country of Kaliṅga. His son was **Pṛithvîdêva II.** (line 8); and his son

[10] I am pretty sure that this Harirâja is mentioned as donee in the Dâhi copper-plate of the Chandêlla Vîravarman, of the Vikrama year 1337, of which I possess Sir A. Cunningham's transcript (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 75). The same copper-plate undoubtedly mentions 'Gopâla, the lord of Nalapura.'—The name Harirâja also occurs in a fragmentary inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior; *ante*, Vol. XX p. 84.

[11] This is perhaps the Lôhada mentioned in the preceding inscription.

[12] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 43.

[13] See *ib.* 33.

again was **Jâjalladêva II.** (line 10), who married **Sômalladêvî**[14] (line 12), and whose son was the prince **Ratnadêva III.** (line 13), during whose reign the inscription was put up.

**6. — Nâgpur Museum Stone Inscription of Brahmadêva of Râyapura, of the (Vikrama) year 1458.**

To Dr. Fleet I owe a good impression of the Nâgpur Museum inscription, brought from Râypur in the Central Provinces, which is mentioned by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 77. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of 1′ 10″ broad by 1′ $4\frac{1}{4}$″ high. With the exception of a few *aksharas* which are broken away in the bottom lines, the writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Saṁskṛit. By far the greater part of the inscription is in verse. The whole is written very carelessly.

The inscription opens with eight verses in honour of Gaṇêśa, Bhâratî, the author's preceptors, and the god Śiva. It then records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakêśvara[15] (Śiva) by the Nâyaka Hâjirâjadêva, apparently a minister or other official of the chief **Brahmadêva of Râyapura,** in the following prose passage (in lines 9-12), which I give as I find it: —

**Svasti srî sa[ṁ]vatu 1458 varshê sâkê 1322 samayê Sarvajita-nâma-saṁvatsarê Phâgluna-sudha-ashṭami Sukrê ady=êha śrî-Râyapurê** mahârâjadhirâja-śrîmad-**Râya[vra]h m a d ê v a-**râjyê pradhâna-ṭhâkura-Tripurâridêva paṁdita-Mahâdêva tasmiṁ samayê nâyaka-śrî-Hâjirâja-dêva Haṭakêśvarasya praśâdaṁ kritaṁh.

This passage is followed by a verse in praise of the town Râyapura, and by other verses (in lines 13-17) which give the genealogy of Brahmadêva. At **Râyapura** there was the great prince **Lashmidêva** (Lakshmîdêva ?); his son was **Siṁgha**; his son **Râmachandra**; and his son again **Harirâyabrahman** (in the sequel called simply Brahmadêva) The concluding lines of the inscription (18-25) have reference to the founder of the temple, Hâjirâja, and are void of interest.

The date of this inscription I have *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 26, shewn to correspond to Friday, the 10th February A. D. 1402. Of the four princes, the Khalâri stone inscription of Brahmadêva of the Vikrama year 1470 (for 1471) mentions three, under the names of Siṁhaṇa, Râmadêva, and Haribrahmadêva, referring them to the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya family. And a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek[16] in the Central Provinces, of which I owe a pencil-rubbing to Dr. Fleet, mentions Siṁhaṇa and Râmachandra.

F. KIELHORN.

*Göttingen.*

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PAUSHA SAMVATSARA
IN THE KASIKA-VRITTI ON P. IV, 2, 21.

A copper-plate inscription of the Kâdamba king Mṛigêśa, of about the 6th century A.D., published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VI. page 24, is dated in line 10:—svavaijayikê ashṭamê **Vaisâkhê saṁvatsarê** Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâm, 'on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, in the Vaiśâkha year, the eighth of his victory.' And another copper-plate inscription of the same king, published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VII. page 35, is dated in line 7:—âtmanaḥ râjyasya tritîyê varshê **Paushê saṁvatsarê** Karttika-mâsa-bahula-pakshê daśamyâṁ tithau Uttarâbhadrapadê nakshatrê, 'in the third year of his reign, in the Pausha year, on the tenth lunar day in the dark fortnight of the month Kârttika, under the Uttarabhadrapadâ constellation.' The terms *Vaiśâkha saṁvatsara* and *Pausha saṁvatsara* of these dates induce me to draw attention here to what I cannot but regard as a curious mistake, made by the grammarian Jayâditya, when explaining Pâṇini's rule IV, 2, 21; and to give at the same time the proper explanation of those terms, as furnished by Śâkaṭâyana and other grammarians.

In the rule IV, 2, 21, the original wording of which is *sâsmin paurnamâsîti,* Pâṇini teaches that certain suffixes are added to nominal bases denoting full-moon *tithis*, to form other nominal bases denoting periods of time which contain those full-moon *tithis*; and the word *iti* of the rule shows, what is more distinctly brought out by Kâtyâyana's addition of the word *saṁjñâyâm*, that Pâṇini's rule should take effect only when the words that would be formed by it are used by people as *names*. Patañjali, commenting on Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas, tells us that the names here referred to are the names of the (twelve) months or (the twelve) half-months (which end with the full-moon *tithi*); and the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* and the *Siddhânta kaumudî* give the example *Paushô mâsaḥ* 'the month Pausha,' *i.e.*, of the twelve

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[14] This name (and perhaps the whole verse in which it is contained) also occurs in line 9 of a much mutilated inscription at Amarkantak (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 253) of which I owe a faint pencil-rubbing to Dr. Burgess.

[15] The usual form of the name is *Hâṭakêśvara.*

[16] See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 112.

months of the year that month which contains the *Paushî paurṇamâsî*, or, in other words, that month of the calendar during which the moon is full in the *nakshatra* Pushya. Differing from Patañjali, the author of the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti* on P. IV, 2, 21, would permit us to form by that rule not only names of months and half-months, but also names of years, and accordingly, in addition to the instances *Paushô mâsah* and *Paushô 'rdha-mâsah*, he also gives the example *Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*. When first I read the remarks of the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti* on Pâṇini's rule, I could not but think that there might be some error in the printed text; but I soon found out that the published edition really gives the text which is furnished by the MSS., and from a note of Hêmachandra's on his own rule VI, 2, 98, I became convinced that he too was acquainted with, although he apparently did not approve of, Jayâditya's strange interpretation.

That Jayâditya is wrong in forming the word *Pausha* of *Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* by P. IV, 2, 21, seems certain. Explained by that rule, *Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* would mean 'the year which contains the *Paushî paurṇamâsî*,' or that particular year during which the moon is full in the *nakshatra* Pushya; but, as almost all years have such a full-moon, nearly every year would have to be named *Pausha*, and since such a year would ordinarily contain eleven other full-moon *tithis*, it would, according to Jayâditya, have to receive eleven similar names. To revert to our dates, the year of the first of them undoubtedly contained the *Kârttikî paurṇamâsî*, but the year is named *Vaiśâkha*, not *Kârttika saṁvatsara*.

The fact is, that neither the three great grammarians Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, nor the grammarian Chandra, whose work was known to Jayâditya, have given any rule by which we could account for the words *Pausha* or *Vaiśâkha* in phrases like *Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* or *Vaiśâkhaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*; but we do find the requisite rule in the later grammars of Śâkaṭâyana and Hêmachandra, and in the *Jainêndra-vyâkaraṇa*.

Hêmachandra's rule[1] VI, 2, 5, is—

**udita-gurôr bhâd yuktê 'bde ;**

and his own commentary on this rule is:—

uditô gurur bṛihaspatir yasmin bhê nakshatrê tadvâchinas tṛitîyântâd yuktê 'rthê yathâvihitam pratyayô bhavati sa chêd yuktô 'rthô 'bdaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ syât I pushyêṇôditaguruṇâ yuktaṁ varshaṁ Pausham varsham I phalgunîbhir udita-gurubhir yuktaḥ Phâlgunaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ I udita-guror iti kim I udita-śanaischarêna pushyêna yuktam varsham ity atra na bhavati I bhâd iti kim I uditaguruṇâ pûrvarâtrêna yuktam varsham I abda iti kim I mâsê divasê vâ na bhavati II

Here we are on ground with which, thanks to Mr. S. B. Dîkshit,[2] we are now familiar. To form the name of a year, we are directed to add a certain suffix to the name of that particular *nakshatra*, belonging to that year, in which Jupiter has risen. A year joined with (or containing) the *nakshatra* Pushya in which Jupiter happens to have risen is named *Paushaṁ varsham*. *Vaiśâkhaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ* is that year in which Jupiter rises in Viśâkhâ. Hêmachandra does not distinctly tell us what kind of year he is speaking of, whether of the Jovian year or of the solar or luni-solar year; but seeing how he opposes the word *abda* to *mâsa* and *divasa*, I would say that (rightly or wrongly) the *Pausha* year, in his opinion, would be the ordinary luni-solar year during which Jupiter happens to rise in Pushya. To take the word *abda* to denote (*pratyâsatti-nyâyêna*) the Jovian year, would seem to me a somewhat forced interpretation.

Of course, Hêmachandra has not invented his rule, but has here, as elsewhere, borrowed from Śâkaṭâyana whose wording of the rule is—

**gurûdayâd bhâd yuktê 'bdê,**

while the *Jainêndra-vyâkaraṇa* has, similarly, *gurûdayâd bhâd yuktô 'bdaḥ*. Not possessing a complete copy of a commentary on Śâkaṭâyana's grammar, I do not know how native scholars would explain the word *gurûdaya* grammatically, but we may, I think, be sure that Hêmachandra has correctly given its meaning by substituting for it *uditaguru*.

On a previous occasion I have shown that the authors of the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti* frequently quote from the grammar, or allude to the teaching, of Chandra where that grammarian differs from Pâṇini or has additional rules. The fact that Jayâditya in no wise refers to the rule of Śâkaṭâyana's which I have given above, and which is absolutely necessary for the proper explanation of words like *Pausha* in *Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ*, is one more argument to prove that the *Śâkaṭâyana-vyâkaraṇa* is more modern than the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti*.

F. KIELHORN.

*Göttingen.*

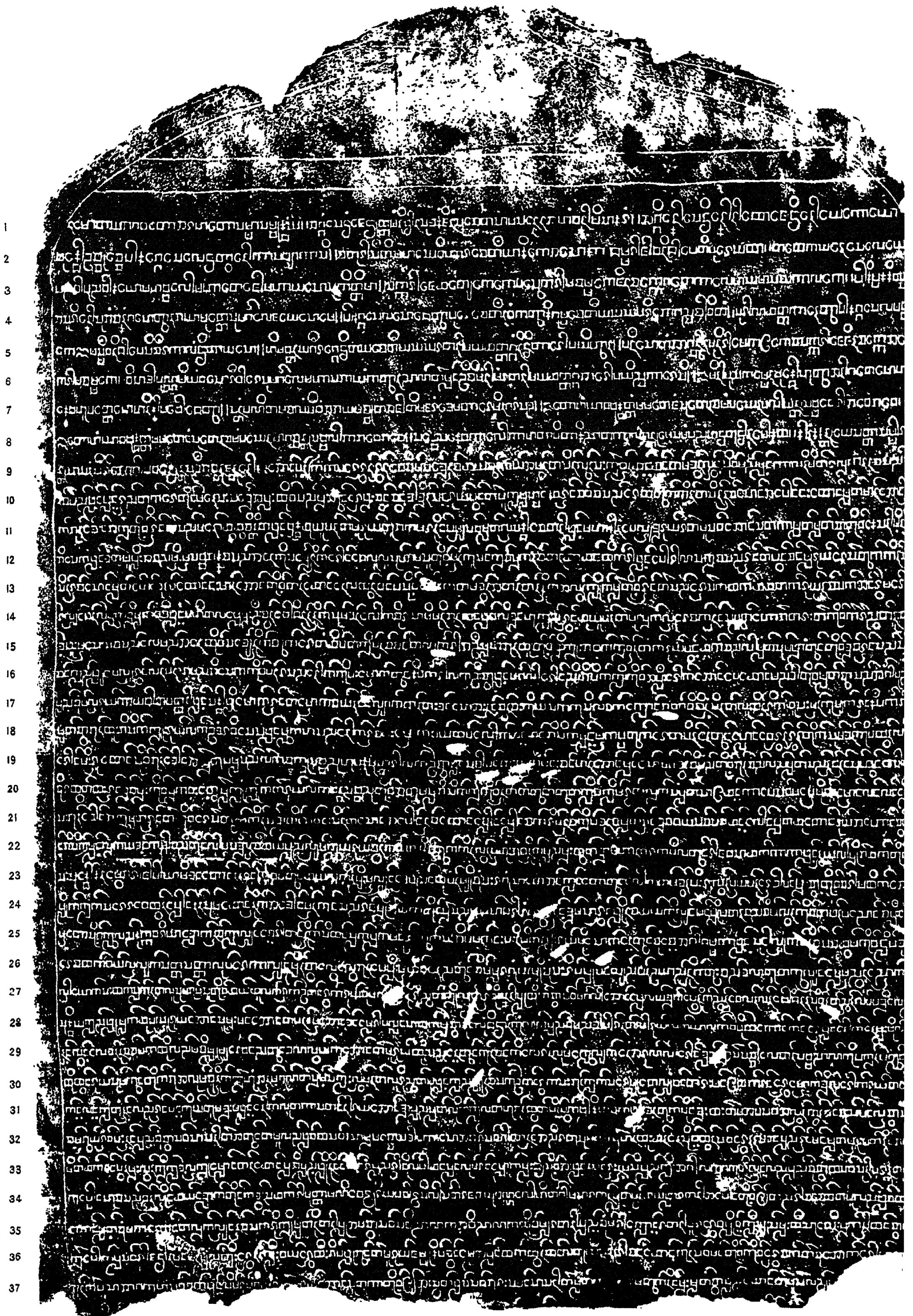
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[1] Hêmachandra and Śâkaṭâyana place this rule immediately before the rule or rules which correspond to P. IV 2, 3 and 4.

[2] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 16.

THE PÔ: Û: DAUNG INSCRIPTION OF SINBYÛYIN, 1774, A.D.

OBVERSE FACE OF THE STONE.



TAW SEIN KO. SCALE ABOUT ·31. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-L

REVERSE FACE OF THE STONE.

# A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(*Continued from page* 53.)

THE number of leading priests, who received the upasampadâ ordination during the five days, namely, from the 9th to the 13th, was 245. On Saturday, the 14th day, the King sent the following invitation to the 245 leading *thêras*, who had received their *upasampadâ* ordination: "To-morrow, which is a Sunday, and the full-moon *upôsatha* day of the month Migasîra, may the Venerable Ones be pleased to perform *upôsatha* in the Kalyâṇîsimâ in the company of the fifteen *thêras*, who conducted the *upasampadâ* ordination ceremony? It is our desire to serve the Venerable Ones with food, and to present them with other 'requisites' at the conclusion of the *upôsatha*, and to derive feelings of piety from such an act." On the morning of the *upôsatha* day, the King, surrounded by a large concourse of people, went to the Kalyâṇîsimâ, and, having ordered the provision of seats and of water for washing the feet, awaited the arrival of the newly-ordained *thêras* and the fifteen conductors of the *upasampadâ* ordination ceremony. All the thêras assembled together, and performed upôsatha in the Kalyâṇîsimâ. At the conclusion of the *upôsatha* ceremony, the King served all of them with a bounteous supply of various kinds of hard and soft food, and with different kinds of betel-leaf, &c., and *bhêsajja*. The following articles were then presented to each of the *thêras* :— two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making *tichîvara* robes; a betel-box with cover, areca-nuts, nut-crackers, &c.; a palmyra fan; an umbrella made of the leaf of the wild date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*); and an alms-bowl with cover and stand.

In compliance with the wish of all the priests, the King conferred the title of Kalyâṇîtissamahâthêra on Suvaṇṇasôbhaṇathêra.

Thenceforward, the King permanently stationed, in the neighbourhood of the Kalyâṇîsimâ, nobles and learned men for the purpose of serving food and furnishing the 'requisites to the ten *thêras*, headed by Kalyâṇîtissamahâthêra, who, together with the five young priests, conducted the *upasampadâ* ordination ceremony, as well as to the leading priests, who had received their *upasampadâ* ordination in the Kalyâṇîsimâ, and to the numerous priests who presented themselves for ordination. There were likewise stationed numerous scribes charged with the duty of recording the number of priests ordained; and musicians to sound the drum, conch-shell, and other instruments for the purpose of eliciting the acclamation of *sâdhu* at the conclusion of each reading of the *kammavâchâ* relating to the *upasampadâ* ordination.

The ten thêras who conducted the ordination ceremony, the 245 leading priests who had received such ordination, and the numerous priests who were their disciples, conferred, day after day, without interruption, the Sîhaḷa form of the upasampadâ ordination on other leading priests, who came and expressed a desire to receive it.

Râmâdhipatirâja of his own accord, and with the approbation of the whole Order, despatched the following message to all the priests residing in Râmaññadêsa :—

"Venerable Ones, there may be men, who, though wishing to receive the *pabbajjâ* ordination, are branded criminals, or notorious robber-chiefs, or escaped prisoners, or offenders against the Government, or old and decrepit, or stricken with severe illness, or deficient in the members of the body in that they have cut or rudimentary hands, &c., or are hump-backed, or dwarfish, or lame, or have crooked limbs, or are, in short, persons, whose presence vitiates the *parisâ*. If people of such description are admitted into the Order, all those, who may see them, will imitate, or laugh at, their deformity, or revile them; and the sight of such men will not be capable of inspiring one with feelings of piety or reverence. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, not to admit, with effect from to-day, such men into the Order.

"There may be men, living under your instruction, who desire to receive the *upasampadâ* ordination. Vouchsafe, Venerable Ones, not to confer on them such ordination, in your own locality, without the previous sanction of Râmâdhipatirâja or of the leading thêras of Hamsavatîpura. Should, Venerable Ones, you disregard this our command, and conduct the upasampadâ ordination ceremony in your own locality, we shall inflict punishment on the parents of the candidates for such ordination, their relatives, or their lay supporters.

"There are sinful priests, who practise medicine; and others, who devote their time to the art of numbers, carpentry, or the manufacture of ivory articles, or who declare the happy or unhappy lot of governors, nobles, and the common people, by examining their horoscopes or by reading the omens and dreams, that may have appeared to them.

"There are some priests, who not only make such declarations, but also procure their livelihood, like laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth, by means of painting, carpentry, the manufacture of ivory articles, turnery, the making of idols, and such other vocations. In short, they follow such unbecoming professions, and obtain their means of livelihood.

"There are priests, who visit cotton-fields and preach the *Dhamma* with long intonation, and trade in the cotton which they happen to receive as offerings.

"There are priests, who visit fields of hill-rice, rice, barley, &c., and preach the *Dhamma* and trade in the grain which they happen to receive as offerings.

"There are priests, who visit fields of capsicum and preach the *Dhamma*, and trade in the capsicum which they happen to receive as offerings.

"There are priests, who trade in many other ways.

"There are priests, who, contrary to the rules of the Order, associate with such laymen as gamesters, *roués*, drunkards, men who obtain their means of living by robbery, or who are in the service of the King, or with other men and women.

"All these are sinful priests. Do not, Venerable Ones, permit these sinful priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

"But there are also other priests, who are replete with faith, who observe the rules prescribed for the Order, whose conduct is good, and who are devoted to the study of the *Tipiṭaka*, together with its commentaries, &c. Venerable Ones, permit such priests to take up their permanent residence under your protection.

"If, Venerable Ones, laymen, who are replete with faith and are of good family, desire to receive the *pabbajjâ* ordination at your hands, they should be taught calligraphy, and after they have acquired a knowledge of the proper intonation of the letters, they should be instructed in the confession of faith in the 'Three Refuges,' and taught the precepts; and eventually, Venerable Ones, confer the *pabbajjâ* ordination on them.

"If there are *sâmaṇêras*, who have completed their twentieth year, and are desirous of receiving the *upasampadâ* ordination, they should be taught a brief summary of the *chatupâri-suddhisîla*, that are observed by priests, who have received the *upasampadâ* ordination, namely, *pâtimôkkhasaṁvarasîla*, *indriyasaṁvarasîla*, *âjîvapârisuddhisîla*, and *pachchayasannissitasîla*. They should further be instructed both in the letter and spirit of the *Bhikkhupâtimôkkha* and the *Khuddasikkhâ*, from beginning to end, and be directed to learn by heart the ritual of confession and the *chatupachchayapachchavêkkhana*. Do you ultimately report your action to Râmâdhipatirâja as well as to the leading priests residing in Hamsavatîpura. Then Râmâdhipatirâja will furnish these candidates with the priestly 'requisites,' and have the upasampadâ ordination conferred on them.

"Venerable Ones, let all of them conform themselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One in the *Vinaya*.

"It was owing to the division of the priests of Râmaññadêsa into different sects in former times, that such impurity, heresy, and corruption arose in the Religion. But now, through all the Venerable Ones being imbued with faith, they have received the Sîhaḷa form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, that has been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect. Whatever may be the mode of tonsure and of dress followed by the *mahâthêras* of Sîhaḷadîpa, let such practice be conformed to, and let there be a single sect."

Having sent the above message to the priests throughout the whole of Râmaññadêsa, Râmâdhipatirâja communicated the following intimation to the priests, who were possessed of gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves :—

"Sirs, if you are really imbued with faith, you will endeavour to give up your gold, silver, and such other treasure, corn, elephants, horses, oxen, buffaloes, male and female slaves. Having done so, conform yourselves to such conduct as is in accordance with the precepts prescribed by the Blessed One. If you do not endeavour to follow this course, leave the Order according to your inclination."

Some of the priests, owing to their being imbued with faith, gave up all such possessions. and conformed themselves to such conduct as was in accordance with the precepts ; while other *thêras* did not endeavour to give up all their possessions, and they left the Order.

There were priests who had flagrantly committed *pârajika* offences : these were requested to become laymen. There were others, whose commission of *pârajika* offences had not been proved, but whose reproachable and censurable conduct was difficult to be justified : these were asked to become laymen. There were sinful priests, who practised medicine, or the art of numbers, &c., as mentioned above ; or who lived misdirected lives by following such vocations as painting, &c., as if they were laymen addicted to the acquisition of material wealth ; or who traded in the gifts obtained by preaching the *Dhamma ;* or who traded in many other ways : all these were commanded to become laymen.

It was in this manner that Râmâdhipatirâja purged the Religion of its impurities throughout the whole of Râmaññadêsa, and created a single sect of the whole body of the Priesthood.

**From the year 838, Sakkarâj, to the year 841, Sakkarâj, the priests throughout Râmaññamaṇḍala,** who resided in towns and villages, as well as those who lived in the forest, **continuously received the extremely pure form of the Sîhaḷa upasampadâ ordination, that had been handed down by the spiritual successors of the Mahâvihâra sect.**

**The leading priests were 800 in number; and the young priests numbered 14,265 ; and the total of the numbers of both classes of priests was 15,065.** At the conclusion of the *upasampadâ* ordination ceremony of these 800 leading priests, the King presented each of them with the following articles : — two couples of cotton cloths of delicate texture for making *tichîvara* robes ; a betel-box, with a cover, containing betel leaves, areca-nuts, and a nut-cracker, together with a towel, &c. ; an umbrella made of the leaves of the wild date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*) ; an alms-bowl, with a stand and cover, and a palmyra fan. Moreover, suitable ecclesiastical titles were conferred on all the leading priests.

Subsequently, in accordance with his previous promise, the King furnished **601 sâmaṇêras,** who had mastered the *chatupârisuddhisîla*, studied the *Pâtimôkkha* and the *Khuddasikkhâ*, learnt by heart the ritual of confession and the *pachchavêkkhana*, and completed their twentieth year, with alms-bowls, robes, and all other priestly 'requisites,' and commanded them to **receive the upasampadâ ordination in the Kalyâṇîsimâ. Adding these newly-ordained priests, there were, at the time, in Râmaññadêsa, 15,666 priests.**

Râmâdhipatirâja, after he had purified the Religion of Buddha, expressed a hope—"Now that this Religion of Buddha has been purged of the impure form of the *upasampadâ* ordination, of sinful priests, and of priests who are not free from censure and reproach, and that it has become cleansed, resplendent, and pure, may it last till the end of the period of 5,000 years!"

1. In former times, **Asôkadhammarâja,** to whom incomparable majesty and might had accrued, out of love for the Religion, became agitated in mind at the sight of the impurities that had arisen in it.

2. He solicited the assistance of **Môggaliputtatissathêra,** and effected the purification of the Religion by expelling 60,000 sinful priests from the Order.

3. In Laṅkâdîpa, **Parakkamabâhurâja,** whose name began with **Sirisaṅghabôchi,** was friend of the Religion of Buddha.

4. Seeing the impurities of the Religion, agitation arose in his mind, and he expelled numerous sinful priests, who held heretical doctrines.

5. He effected purification by sparing the single orthodox sect, whose members were the spiritual successors of the residents of the **Mahâvihâra.**

6. Subsequently, the purification of the Religion was again, in like manner, effected by other kings as **Vijayabâhu** and **Parakkama.**

7. In times past, our Bôdhisattva, while fulfilling the *pâramîs,* ruled over the celestial kingdom of Tidasâlayasagga.

8. At that time, the Religion of Kassapa Buddha was in existence, and Ânandathêra became Usinnara, and ruled over the kingdom of Bârâṇasîpura.

9. Although he perceived the impurities, he remained indifferent, and did not effect the purification of the Religion. Then 'Sakra, the Lord of the *dêvas,* set aside his celestial bliss and,

10. Accompanied by Mâtali, who had assumed the form of a black dog, went to the King, called Usinnara, and inspired him with fear.

11. Having received a pledge for the purification of the Religion, and after admonishing him, 'Sakra returned to Tidasâlaya.

12. Therefore, King Râmâdhipati, the Lord of Râmaññadêsa, following respectfully in the footsteps of the virtuous,

13. Purified the Religion with a view that it might last till the end of 5,000 years.

14. For having purified the Religion in the manner described above, I, Râmâdhipati, have acquired merit, which is as inexhaustible as *nirvâṇa*, the state of purity and quiescence.

15. May the excellent Kings, who are imbued with intense faith, and who will reign after me in Haṁsavatîpura, always strive to purify the Religion, whenever they perceive that impurities have arisen in it!

16. Although the *thêras,* headed by Majjhantikathêra, in whom all passions were extinct, and who had performed their last deeds, took a delight in solitude, they set aside their bliss of *nirvâṇa,*

17. And, in former times, exerted themselves in the interest of the Religion. Therefore respectfully following in their footsteps.

18. May the priests of Haṁsavatîpura, who delight in their condition of purity, and are enthusiastic (in the cause of the Religion) purify, in after times, the Religion whenever they perceive any impurities in it!

19. If this is done, the beings, who are immersed in the whirlpool of the three forms of existence, will be enabled to cross (to the other shore), or to free themselves from the conditions of sin and suffering, or to attain the pure and excellent and supreme Buddhahood, which is embellished with the attributes of the wise and is the fruition of supreme exertion.

*Here end the lithic inscriptions called Kalyâṇî.*

*(To be continued.)*

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# NOTES ON TUL'SÎ DÂS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I. C. S.

It is a source of gratification to me, that my attempt to describe the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân[1] has elicited criticism at the same time kindly and lively, at the hands of native scholars.

In the present article I propose to bring forward some interesting facts about the greatest of Indian authors of modern times, Tul'sî Dâs, which that criticism has elicited.

## (1) DATE OF THE POET.

The date of this poet has never been a matter of doubt to native scholars, and it was not until after I had completed my work already alluded to, that it ever struck me that it was necessary to verify it. When the publication of Prof. Jacobi's Tables for computing Hindu Dates in the *Indian Antiquary* (*ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 145 and ff.) and in *Epigraphia Indica* (I. pp. 463 and ff.) placed it in my power to do this, I tested by them the date given by Tul'sî Dâs himself for the composition of his *Râmâyan*, but altogether failed to make the week-day come right. After numerous failures I referred the matter to Prof. H. Jacobi himself, who went into it on more than one occasion with inexhaustible kindness. It was some satisfaction to me to find that, while there was no error in my own calculations, there was a way of reconciling the discrepancy between the poet's statements and actual facts. This has since led me to test every other date relating to Tul'si Dâs, which native friends, or the poet's own verses have put in my possession. It will be convenient to give a list of them here.

(*a*) Date of the composition of the *Râm-charit-mânas* (commonly called the *Râmâyan.*) (*Râm. Bâ.* XXXIV. 4,5). *Sambat* 1631 ; *Chaitra* 9 *sudi*, Tuesday.

(*b*) Date of the composition of the *Râm Sat'saî* (*Râma-sapta-śatikâ*) (*Sat.* I., 21). *Sambat* 1642, *Vaiśâkha Sudi*, 9, Thursday.

(*c*) Date of the composition of the *Pârbatî Mangal* (*Pâr.* I, 5). *Jaya sambat, Phâlguna Sudi*, 5, Thursday.

(*d*) Date of composition of the *Râmâgyâ* (*Râmâjñâ*). A tradition, recorded by the editor, Chhakkan Lâl, fixes it at *Sambat* 1655, *Jyaishṭha Sudi*, 10, Sunday.

(*e*) Date of the composition of the *Kabitta Râmâyan*. *Sambat* 1669-71.

(*f*) Date of drawing up a deed of arbitration (*vide post*). *Sambat* 1669, *Âśvina Sudi*, 13.

(*g*) Date of Tul'sî Dâs's death. An old tradition fixes it on *Sambat* 1680, *Śrâvaṇa sudi* 7.

It remains now to test these seven dates, so far as possible.

(*a*) Date of the Râmâyan. The authorities are :—

1, *Râm. Bâ.* XXXIV. 4, 5 and ff.[2]

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[1] *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân*, by George A. Grierson. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] I quote from the very correct text of the poem printed by Bâbû Râm Dîn Singh, of the Khaḍg Bilâs Press, Patna. This is by far the best edition of the poem which has yet appeared. In transliterating I represent *anunâsika*, for want of a more convenient type, by *ṅ*. The guttural *n* (ङ), I leave without any diacritical mark. This will cause no confusion.

*Sambata sôraha sai ikatîsá* ।
*Karauṅ kathá Hari-pada dhari sîsá* ॥
*Naumî Bhauma-bára Madhu-mâsá* ।
*Awadha-purîṅ yaha charita prakâsá* ॥
*Jehi dina Ráma-janma śruti gáwahiṅ* ।
*Tîratha sakala taháṅ chali áwahiṅ* ॥

"Laying my head at Hari's feet, I tell my tale in *Sambat* 1631. On the ninth *tithi*, Tuesday, in the month of *Chaitra*, was this history made manifest in the city of Ayôdhyâ. On the day which the scriptures sing of as that of Râma's birth, when (the spirits of) all holy places there assemble."

*Note.*—Râma's birthday is on the 9th of the *bright* half of Chaitra.

2. The date in the poem is borne out by a passage in the *Rám Rasikávalí* of Raghu Râj Siṅgh (B. 1824).

*Kachhu dina kari Kásí mahaṅ básá* ।
*Gayê Awadha-pura Tulasî Dásá* ॥
*Tahaṅ anêka kînhau sata-sangá* ।
*Nisi dina range Ráma-rati-ranga* ॥
*Sukhada Ráma-naumî jaba âî* ।
*Chaita-mása ati ánaṅda páî* ॥
*Sambata sôraha sai eka-tîsá* ।
*Sádara sumari Bhánu-kula-îsá* ॥
*Básara Bhauma suchita chita-cháyana* ।
*Kiya arambha Tulasî-Rámáyana* ॥

"After dwelling for a space in Banâras, Tul'sî Dâs went to Ayôdhyâ. There he associated with many holy men, and joying in the (pure) raptures of Râma passed his nights and days in bliss. When the happy *Ráma-navamî* came, and when he experienced the delights of the month of *Chaitra*, in *Sambat* 1631, reverently did he call to mind the Lord of the Solar Race, and, with care, on Tuesday, he commenced the soul-fulfilling Tulasî-Râmâyaṇa."

**The problem, therefore, is to test the date Sambat 1631, Chaitra sudi, 9, Tuesday.**

Prof. Jacobi's calculations give the following results:—

A.—*Sambat* 1631, expired.

(*a*) *Chaitrádi* year.—The date is equivalent to **Wednesday**, 31st March 1574 A. D.

(*b*) *Kárttikádi* year.—The date is equivalent to **Sunday**, 20th March 1575 A. D.

B.—*Sambat* 1631, current.

(*a*) *Chaitrádi* year.—The date is equivalent to **Thursday**, 26th March 1573 A. D.

(*b*) *Kárttikádi* year.—The date is equivalent to **Wednesday**, 31st March 1574 A. D.,—the same as A (*a*).

It will be seen that none of these possible dates give the day of the week as Tuesday. Prof. H. Jacobi, therefore, calculated the date according to various *Siddhântas*. With his permission, I here give his calculations in full, in order to place the matter beyond doubt.[3]

*Sam.* 1631 *expired* = K.Y. 4675. (Special Tables I. note).

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *KY.* 4600 | (0) | 17 · 60 | 15 | [12] | *Ind.* ● = 22 · 95 | |
| 75 years | (3) | 19 · 45 | 173 | [ 1] | *Ind. sudi* 9 = 1 · 95 | *Ind. badi* 9 = 16-95. |
| | (3) | 7 · 05 | 188 | [13] | | |

[3] The calculations given here, and also those subsequently given by me, are based on the tables in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The month *Madhu*, or *Chaitra*, of the *Chaitrâdi* year is to be taken in the first column of the Table III. New moon about 26th sol. *Chaitrâ*. *Sudi* 9 about 4th sol. *Vaisakha*. Add equation to above value.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4675 *KY.* | (3) | 7 · 05 | 188 | [13] |
| 4th *Vaiś.* | (1) | 1 · 02 | 36 | |
| | (4) | 8 · 07 | 224 | 13 |
| | | 0 · 83 | | 14 March. |
| | | | | 4 |
| | | 8 · 90 | | |
| | | | | 31 March 1574 A. D. |

(1) The ninth *tithi* ended about 6 *ghaṭ.* after mean sunrise of **Wednesday, 31st March, 1574 A. D.**—This date will be calculated hereafter according to several *Siddhântas* for Oudh.

If we take column 12 of Table III. we get the date for the *Kârttikâdi* Sam. year 1631 *viz.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4675 *KY.* | (3) | 7 · 05 | 188 | [13] |
| 24th *Chaitr.* | (6) | 1 · 66 | 920 | |
| | (9 = 2) | 8 · 71 | 108 | |
| | | 67 | | |
| | (2) | 9 · 38 | | |

(2) The ninth *tithi* ended on **Sunday.**

Sam. 1631 *current* = *K.Y.* 4674. We calculate both kinds of years.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *KY.* 4600 | (0) | 17 · 60 | 15 | [12] | *Ind.* ● = 3·75 |
| 74 years | (2) | 8 · 65 | 927 | 1 | *Ind. sudi* 9 = 12·75 |
| 4674 *Ky.* | (2) | 26 · 25 | 942 | [13] | |
| 16 *Chaitr.* | (4) | 12 · 73 | 383 | | |
| | (6) | 8 · 98 | 325 | | |
| | | 78 | | | |
| | | 9 · 76 | | | |

(3) The 9th ended on **Thursday.**

The *Kârttikâdi* year

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *KY.* 4674 = | (2) | 26 · 25 | 942 | [13] |
| 4th *Vaiś.* | (2) | 11 · 82 | 283 | |
| | (4) | 8 · 07 | 225 | |
| | | 0 · 83 | | |
| | | 8 · 90 | | |

(4) *Sudi* 9 = **Wednesday.** This date is the same as (1), as of course it ought to be.

We now calculate according to the Special Tables the date 4th solar *Vaiśâkha KY.* 4675.

(1) *Sûrya Siddhânta* with *bîja.*

| | ☾ — ☉ | | | ☾ an. | | | ☉ an. | | | cor. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ky.* 4600 | 218° | 48′ | 0″ | 185° | 58′ | 0″ | 282° | 43′ | 18″ | − 1 | 47 |
| 75 years | 238 | 21 | 0 | 67 | 6 | 13 | — | — | — | − 24 | 24 |
| 4 *Vaiś.* | 12 | 11 | 27 | 13 | 3 | 54 | | 59 | 8 | − 26 *gh.* | 11 *p.* |
| | 469° | 20′ | 27″ | 266° | 3′ | 17″ | 283 | 41 | 26 | | (1) |
| | = 109 | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corr. Table XXII. 26 *gh.* | 5° | 16′ | 58″ | 5° | 39′ | 41″ | 0 | 25′ | 38″ | |
| 11 *p.* | | 2 | 14 | | 2 | 24 | | | 11 | |
| — 26 *gh.* 11 *p.* | 5° | 19′ | 12″ | 5° | 42′ | 5″ | 0 | 25′ | 49″ | (2) |

Subtract (2) from (1)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 109 | 20 | 27 | 266 | 3 | 17 | 283 | 41 | 26 | |
| 5 | 19 | 12 | 5 | 42 | 5 | | 25 | 49 | |
| 104° | 1′ | 15″ | 260° | 21′ | 12″ | 283° | 15′ | 37″ | (3) |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Equation for Moon's Anomaly | 260° | 21 | 12 | = | +′ | 4° | 58′ | 22″ | |
| „ „ Sun's „ | 283 | 15 | 37 | = | — | 2 | 7 | 8 | |
| | | | | | + | 2° | 51 | 14 | (4) |
| Add this to (3) ☾ — ☉ | | | | = | | 104° | 1′ | 15″ | |
| | | | | | | 106° | 52′ | 29″ | (5) |

Result No. (5) is the true Distance of Sun and Moon at mean sunrise at Lankâ. We calculate, now, the same for true sunrise at Benares.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Lat. 25° 20′, Long. + 1 *gh.* 13 p. | | | | | | (§ 58) |
| 1 *gh.* | 12′ | 11″ | 13′ | 4″ | 59″ | |
| 13 *p.* | 2 | 38 | 2 | 50 | 13 | |
| | 14′ | 49″ | 15′ | 54″ | 1′ 12″ | |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Subtract the Result from (3) | 104 | 1′ | 15″ | 260° | 21′ | 12″ | 283° | 15′ | 37″ | |
| | | 14 | 49 | | 15 | 54 | | 1 | 12 | |
| | 103° | 46′ | 26″ | 260° | 5′ | 18″ | 283° | 14′ | 25″ | (6) |

(§ 59) Find the *ayanâṁśa* for 4675 KY $= 3 \times \frac{4675-3600}{200} = \frac{3 \cdot 1075}{200} = 16° \ 15'$

The sidereal Long. ☉ =283° 14′ 25″ — 282° 43′ 18″=31′ 7″

„ tropical „ ☉ =sid. Long.+*ayanâmśa* =16° 46′ 7″=1006′

(§ 60) On 25° 20′ North Lat. the 1800 minutes of the 1st Sign rise in 1332 *Asus*, therefore 1006′ of trop. Long. ☉ in 744. Subtract. 1006 – 744=262 *asus*. 262 *asus*=44 *vinâḍîs* (*palas*). Subtract the amount for 44 *palas* from

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 103° | 46′ | 26″ | 260° | 5′ | 18″ | 283° | 14′ | 25″ | |
| | 8 | 56 | | 9 | 35 | | | 43 | |
| 103 | 37 | 30 | 259 | 55 | 43 | 283 | 13 | 42 | (7) |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (§ 61) Equation for Moon's Anomaly | 259 | 55 | 43 | = | + 4 | 57 | 57 | |
| Sun's „ | 283 | 13 | 42 | = | – 2 | 7 | 10 | |
| Sum of Equations | | | | = | 2 | 50 | 47 | |
| Add ☾ – ☉ (6) | | | | | 103 | 46 | 26 | |
| | | | | | 106° | 37′ | 13″ | |
| Add correction for Sun's Equation + 16 p. | | | | | | 3 | 15 | |
| Result Distance ☾ – ☉ for true Sunrise at Benares | | | | | 106° | 40′ | 28″ | (8) |

∴ The end of the 9th *tithi* 108° 0′ 0″ occurred when ☾ – ☉ had increased by 1° 19′ 32″ or 6 *gh.* 31 *p.* after true sunrise.

(2) *Ârya Siddhânta*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | KY. 4600 | 217° 8′ 0″ | 184° 7′ 0″ | 282° 0′ 0″ | + 4 gh. 10 p. |
| | | | 75 years | 238 13 30 | 67 25 34 | — — — | −24 4 |
| | | | 4 *Vaiś.* | 12 11 27 | 13 3 54 | 0 59 8 | −19 54 |
| | | | | 467 32 57 | 264 36 28 | 282 59 8 | |
| 19 *gh.* | 3° 51′ 37″ | 4° 8′ 14″ | 18′ 44″ | − 4 2 35 | 4 20 0 | 19 37 | |
| 54 *p.* | 10 58 | 11 46 | 53 | 103 30 22 | 260 16 28 | 282 39 31 | |
| | 4° 2 35 | 4° 20 0 | 37″ 19′ | | | | |

Mean distance 103° 30′ 22″ being smaller than found above (3), the final result also will be smaller; we need therefore not go on with our calculation.

(3) *Brahma Siddh.* (4) *Siddh. Śir.*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4600 | 205° 0′ 0″ | 172° 15′ 30″ | 282° 3′ 22″ | + 11·14 | 204° 14′ 0″ | 171° 6′ 30″ | 280° 54′ 22″ |
| | 238 7 30 | 67 27 48 | — — — | − 22 58 | 238 6 45 | 67 26 40 | — — — |
| 5th Vaiś. | 24 22 53 | 26 7 48 | 1 58 16 | − 11·44 | 24 22 53 | 26 7 48 | 1 58 16 |
| | 467 30 23 | 265 51 6 | 284 1 38 | | 466 43 38 | 264 20 58 | 282 52 38 |
| − | 2 23 2 | 2 33 18 | 11 33 | | 2 23 2 | 2 33 18 | 11 33 |
| | 105 7 21 | 263 27 48 | 283 50 5 | | 104 20 36 | 261 47 40 | 282 41 5 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 71 *gh.* | 2° 14′ 6″ | 2° 23′ 43″ | 10′ 50″ |
| 44 *p.* | 8 56 | 9 35 | 43 |
| | 2 23 2 | 2 33 18 | 11 33 |

| B. S. | | | | S. Ś. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sum of | 105 | 7 | 21 | Sum of | 104 | 20 | 36 |
| Eq. + | 2 | 53 | 25 | Eq. + | 2 | 51 | 41 |
| | 108 | 0 | 46 | | 107 | 12 | 17 |

By comparing above (5) and (8) we see that ☾ — ☉ at true sunrise in Benares was about 12′ 1″ less than at mean sunrise at Lankâ. Accordingly for *Brahma Siddhânta* the value of ☾ — ☉ is 107° 48′ 45″ and the end of 9th *tithi* about 54 *palas* after true sunrise at Benares. If we had taken Oudh the moment would have occurred 7 *palas* earlier. For *Siddhânta Sirômani* the result is still farther off sunrise.

*Conclusion.*—As the ninth *tithi* ended according to all *Siddhântas* some time after true sunrise at Benares (or Oudh) of Wednesday, 31st March 1574 A. D., that day was *sudi* 9. But as religious ceremonies etc. frequently are referred to the *running tithi*, not to the civil day on which that *tithi* ended, it may be assumed that **Tul'sî Dâs commenced his work on Tuesday while the auspicious 9th tithi was running.** Probably most ceremonies of the *Râma navamî* were celebrated on that day because the greatest part of the ninth *tithi* belonged to it. This is also the purport of the precepts in *Kâlanirṇaya* on the *navamî*, Calcutta Edition, p. 229, so far as I understand them.

Taking everything into consideration, I believe the date of Tul'sî Dâs to be correct, and I think it impossible to impugn the genuineness of the poem or the verse quoted on the ground that the date is not in the common *civil* reckoning.

With reference to Prof. Jacobi's final remarks, I may note that some native scholars *have* impugned the genuineness of *Râm. Bâ.* ch. xxxiv. on this very ground of date. The difficulty is certainly a serious one. Prof. Jacobi has proposed one solution, and others have been offered by native scholars. I quote here some remarks on the point, kindly communicated to me by Mahâmahôpadhyâya Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî, which are valuable not only for the special purpose which elicited them, but also for the general argument on which they are based. He says, 'I once considered that the recitation of the *Ramâyaṇa* being in the vernacular,

it first became popular amongst *Baniyâs* and *Kâyasthas*, who began to write the poem in their own alphabet, the *Kaithî*. It was hence not improbable that the original reading was not *Bhauma-vâra*, but *Saumya-vâra*, *i. e.* Wednesday, and that *saumya* subsequently became corrupted to *bhauma*,—an easy transition in the *Kaithî* character. Later, however, I discovered that, while Tul'sî Dâs was in Ayôdhyâ, he was not a Vairâgî Vaishṇava, but a Smârta one. These Smârta Vaishṇavas are also great worshippers of Mahâdêva; thus, the poet himself writes in the *Bâlakâṇḍa* of the poem "*Śambhu prasâda sumati hiya hulasî*," and from this we gather that he counted the Râma *navamî* as falling on the Tuesday, according to the Śaiva calculation. According to the Śaivas the Râma *navamî* is calculated as the day whose midday falls on the ninth *tithi*, because Râma was born at midday, and not as the day on which the ninth *tithi* ends. Accordingly on the former day the festival of the *Râma navamî* was held.[4] Tul'sî Dâs was unable to agree with the Vairâgî Vaishṇavas, as regards eating. They eat together, seated in a row, but he always cooked his food himself and ate separately, and it was owing to this disagreement that after composing the *Bâla*, *Ayôdhyâ*, and *Âraṇya Kâṇḍas* of his poem, he left Ayôdhyâ and went to Banâras where he completed it, as appears from *nandanâ* of the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*.'

(*b*) **Date of the composition of the Râm Sat'sâî.**

Authority, *Sat.* I. 21.

*Ahi-rasanâ thana-dhênu rasa*
*Ganapati-dwija Guru-bâra* ।
*Mâdhava sita Siya-janama-tithi*
*Sata-saiyâ abatâra* ॥

"The (two) tongues of a serpent, the (four) udders of a cow, the (six) flavours, the (one tusk of Gaṇêśa (*i. e.*, Sam. 1642), Thursday, the lunar day in the light half of *Vaiśâkha*, which is the birthday of Sîtâ (*i. e.*, the ninth), is the date of writing the Sat-saî."

Here again difficulties arise, so I take the liberty of giving the calculations in full for the three possible cases (the *Kârttikâdi* current date, being the same as the *Chaitrâdi* expired one).

**Problem. To find the equivalent of Sambat[5] 1642, Vaiśâkha sudi 9, Thursday.**
A. *Sambat* 1642 expired.

(*a*) *Chaitrâdi* year.

Sam. 1642 expired = K. Y. 4686.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KY. 4600 | = (0) | 17·60 | 15 | [12] | Ind. ● = 21·08 |
| 86 years | = (3) | 21·32 | 993 | [ 1] | Ind. su. 9 = ·08 |
| KY. 4686 | = (3) | 8·92 | 8 | [13] | |
| 1 sol. *Jyaishṭha* | = (1) | 29·50 | 52 | | |
| | (4) | 8·42 | 60 | [13] | |
| | | 0·57 | | 14th April | |
| | | | | 1 | |
| | (4) | 8·99 | | 28th April | |

Therefore the 9th *tithi* expired just after sunrise on **Wednesday**, the 28th April, 1585 A.D., and was running on the preceding Tuesday.

[4] Similarly *Kṛishṇa*, having been born at midnight on the eighth of the dark half of *Bhâdrapada*, *Śaivas* hold the festival on the civil day (sunrise to sunrise) whose midnight falls on the eighth.

[5] Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî points out that it is necessary, if the date is genuine, to assume it to be in the Vikrama Sambat though the word *Sambat* does not occur in the date. If we take it as a Śaka date, the year is 1720, a century after the death of our poet.

(*b*) *Kārttikādi* year.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KY. 4686 | = (3) | 8·92 | 8 | [13] | |
| 21 sol. *Vaiśākha* | = (5) | 29·11 | 900 | | |
| | (1) | 8·03 | 908 | 13 | |
| | | 19 | | 14th March | |
| | | | | 21 | |
| | | 8·22 | | 48th March = 17th April. | |

Therefore the 9th *tithi* expired on **Sunday** the 17th April 1586 A. D.

B. Sam. 1642 current = KY. 4685.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KY. 4600 | = (0) | 17·60 | 15 | [12] | ind. ● = 1·88 |
| 85 years | = (2) | 10·52 | 747 | [ 1] | ind. su. 9 = 10·88 |
| KY. 4685 | = (2) | 28·12 | 762 | [13] | |
| 13th sol. *Vaiśākha* | = (3) | 10·17 | 363 | | |
| | (5) | 8·29 | 125 | 13 | |
| | | ·71 | | 14th March | |
| | | | | 13 | |
| | | 9·00 | | 40th March = 9th April 1584, A. D. | |

Add for longitude of Oudh 1 gh. 4 p.

Therefore the ninth *tithi* expired at 1 *ghaṭikā* 4 *palas* after sunrise at Oudh, on **Thursday**, April 9th, 1584 A. D.

**Accordingly, if the date is correct, Tul'sî Dâs, in dating the Sat'saî used the current, not the expired, Sambat year.** Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdi points out that this is against the custom of the poet, and throws the greatest suspicion on the genuineness of the verse in which it occurs. It may be added that, if we take the 'Saka era, the date comes out correctly, as Thursday May 5, 1720 A. D. It is unnecessary to give the calculations.

(*c*) **Date of composition of the Pârbatî Mâṅgal.**

Authority, *Pār*. I., 5.

*Jaya Sambata Phāguna sudi pāṅchai Guru-dinu* ।
*Asunî birachauṅ*[6] *mangala suni sukha chhinu chhinu* ॥

"I compose this (*Pārbatî*) *Mangal*, the hearing of which gives pleasure at every moment, in *Jaya Sambat, Phālguna sudi*. 5, **Thursday**, in *Aśvinî*."

*Jaya Sambat* is one of the years of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, and as Tul'sî Dâs died in *Sambat* 1680, we must search for the *Jaya* which fell about the middle of the 17th *Sambat* century.

A reference to Prof. Jacobi's tables will show that *Jaya Sambat* was current on the first day of *Saṁvat* 1643 (*K. Y.* 4687).[7] A reference to Table VIII. will at once show that *Phālguna Sudi* 5, *Sambat* 1643 must have fallen after the expiry of *Jaya*, or in the year *Manmatha*. Therefore the *Phālguna Sudi* 5 of *Jaya* must have fallen in *Sam*. 1642. But in *Sambat* 1642, *Phālguna Sudi* 5 fell on **Sunday, not Thursday.** It is not necessary to give the calculations.

6 The reading of the printed Editions is *birachahu*, but Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî informs me that the best MSS. have *birachauṅ*.

7 (K. Y. 4600 = 33·82 (Table VI.)
87 = 28·0179 (Table VII.)
4687 = 1·8379

Under these circumstances I appealed to Beneras, and have to thank Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî for solving the doubt. He says that the year referred to is *Sambat* 1643, not 1642, *Sambat* 1643 = *KY.* 4687, and the calculation (according to Jacobi's tables)[3] is as follows :—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4600 *KY.* | 0 | 17·60 | 15 | [12] | *Ind.* ● = 10·28 |
| 87 years. | 4 | 2·12 | 240 | [ 1] | *Ind. su.* 5 = 15·28 |
| 4687 KY. | 4 | 19·72 | 255 | [13] | |
| 8th *Phal.* (solar) | 2 | 14·97 | 250 | | |
| | 6 | 4·69 | 505 | 13 | |
| | | | | 7 | |
| ☾'s an 505 eq. | | 41 | | 13 Jan. | |
| | | 5·10 | | 33 Jan. = 2 Feb. | |

Accordingly, at the beginning of Friday, 8th Solar *Phâlguna*, the 6th *tithi* was running, and the 5th *tithi* ended on the preceding day ; or **Thursday, the 2nd February, 1586 A. D.**

We are enabled to check this date by the fact that Tul'sî Dâs mentions that he commenced his work in the *Nakshatra Aśvini.*

Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvidêdî writes that in Tul'sî Dâs's time, the *Makaranda*, a practical astronomy founded on the current *Sûrya Siddhânta*, was popular in Benares. Calculating the *Ahargaṇa* and the true longitudes and the true motions of the sun and moon respectively, we find that the 5th *tithi* ended at about 52 *ghaṭikâs* and 37 *vighaṭikâs,* and *Rêvatî Nakshatra* ended (and *Aśvinî* began) at about 20 *ghaṭikâs* and 10 *vighaṭikâs* after true sunrise at Benares. The same result follows from the §37 of Jacobi's tables. Tul'sî Dâs's *Nakshatra* was *Viśâkhâ*, and his *Râśi* or Zodiacal sign was *Tulâ* (the Scales). Hence, according to astrology, *Rêvatî* was not a propitious *nakshatra* for him. Accordingly, the date given by the poet means that he began to write the *Pârbatî Maṅgai* after *Rêvatî* had ended, and after *Aśvinî* had begun, *i. e.,* after 20 *ghaṭikâs* 10 *vighaṭikâs* after true sunrise at Benares, on **Thursday, February 2nd 1586, A. D.** I may add that on 5 *Phâlguna Sudi Sam.* 1642, the moon was in *Aśvinî* at the beginning of the day. This is a further reason for assuming that by *Jaya Sambat* Tul'sî Dâs meant *Sam.* 1643. For if it had been 1642, there would have been no reason for his mentioning the *nakshatra* then running : whereas, if it was in 1643, there was every reason for his doing so, part of the day being in *Rêvatî* and unlucky, and part being in *Aśvinî* and lucky. The poet evidently wished to point out that he commenced the work at an hour of the day which was propitious.

One other fact follows. *Phâlguna Sudi* 5 *Sam.* 1643, did not fall in *Jaya Sambat.* But the first day of *Sambat* 1643 did fall in *Jaya.* Therefore Tul'sî Dâs gave the name of the Jupiter sixty-year-cycle year to the *V. Sambat* year, which commenced within it. In other words, according to the accepted system of chronology, the *V. Sambat* took its name from the Jovian year which expired in it, just as the civil day took its name from the *tithi* which expired in *it.*

(*e*) **Date of composition of the Râmâgyâ.**

Chhakkan Lal says[9] that in 1827 A. D., he made a copy of this work, from the original

[3] The Paṇḍit calculated the year both according to the Indian system, and according to Jacobi. I gave the latter calculation, as being more intelligible to my readers.

[9] Chhakkan Lâl's language may be noted, '*Śrî saṁvat* 1655 *Jêṭh Sudi* 10 *Rabibâr kî likhî pustak Śrî Gosâiṅ jî kê hasta-kamaṭ kî, Prahlâd ghâṭ, Śrî Kâśî jî mêṅ rahî. Us pustak par sê Śrî paṇḍit Râmgulâm jî kê satsaṅgî Chhakkan Lâl Kâyasth Râmâyanî Mirjâpur-bâsî nê apnê hâth sê saṁvat* 1884 *meṅ likhâ thâ ;*' It will be observed that it is distinctly claimed that the MS. was written by *Tul'sî Dâs's* own hand, and that it certainly was written twenty five years before his death. It may be presumed that it was the poet's original copy. It will subsequently appear that if the poem was composed in *Sam.* 1655, the *Dohâbalî* could not, as current tradition says it was, have been composed at Ṭôḍar Mall's request. On this point, Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî informs me that the MS. which Chhakkan Lâl copied was in possession of a *purôhit* named Râmâkṛishṇâ. On one occasion Râmâkṛishṇâ took it

copy in the handwriting of the poet, which was dated by the poet himself, *Sambat* 1655 *Jyaishṭha Sudi*, 10, Sunday. It is unnecessary to give the calculation. Taking the *Chaitrâdi* expired year, it is equivalent to **Sunday, June 4th, 1598 A. D.**

(*e*) **Date of the composition of the Kabitta Râmâyan** This depends on an interpretation of K. R. clxxi. 1. The passage is as follows :—

*Êka tau karâla kali-kâla śûla mûla tâ meṅ* ।
*Kôḍha meṅ kî khâju sî śanicharî hai mîna kî* ॥

"In the first place, the *Kali Yuga*, the root of woe, is terrible. And further, in it, like the itch appearing in leprosy, Saturn has appeared in the sign of the Fish."

Here again I have to thank Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî for calculating the date and for the following information :—The periodical time of Saturn is about thirty years. He entered Pisces (a token of great calamity) in Tul'sî Dâs's time, on or about the 5th of *Chaitra Sudi Sambat* 1640, and remained in that sign till *Jyaishṭha* of 1642. He again entered it on about the 2nd of *Chaitra Sudi Sambat* 1669, and remained in it till *Jyaishṭha* of 1671. These results are those given by the *Makaranda* based on the *Sûrya-siddhânta.*

The sixty year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of twenty years each, of which the first belongs to Brahmâ, the second to Vishṇu, and the third and last to Mahâdêva or Rudra. In Tul'sî Dâs's time, the *Rudra-bîsî*, or twenty years belonging to Rudra commenced in *Sambat* 165[illegible], and from about that time the Musalmâns began more especially to profane Benares. The poet frequently refers to this fact,[10] and no doubt does so in the *Kabitta* above quoted. Accordingly it was to the second occasion on which Saturn was in Pisces, *i. e.*, between *Chaitra Sudi Sambat* 1669 and *Jyaishṭha Sambat* 1671, *i. e.*, between 1612 and and 1614 A. D. that the *Kabitta*[11] above quoted was written.

(*f*) **The deed of arbitration.**

This has been published in the *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân.* The following is the translation of the portion which immediately concerns us :—

"Whereas Ânand Râm, son of Ṭôḍar, son of Dêo Rây, and Kanhây, son of Râm Bhadra, son of Ṭôḍar aforesaid appeared before me, &c., &c." "In the *Sambat* year 1669, on the 13th of the bright half of *Kuṅwar*, on the auspicious (*śubha*) day of the week, was this deed written by Ânand Râm and Kanhây. . . . . . The division of the share of Ṭôḍar Mall, which has been made . . . . ."

Then follow a list of certain villages, which formed Ṭôḍar Mall's property, *viz.*, Bhadainî, Lahar'târâ, Naipûrâ, Chhitûpûrâ, Sivpur, and Nadêsar.

On this I remarked as follows:—In connexion with the above, it is interesting to speculate who this Ṭôḍar Mall, the father of Ânand Râm, and grandfather of Kanhây was. Can he have been Akbar's great Finance Minister? He died in 1589, and his son might well be alive in 1612. He was born at Lâhar'pur in Oudh, and one of the villages mentioned above, Lahar'târâ, has a somewhat similar name. In India, contiguous villages have often very similar names.

out it in his bundle, to recite it somewhere, and, as ill luck would have it, it was, bundle and all, stolen from him in the railway train. It may be mentioned that in Râmâkṛishṇâ's house there is a jealously guarded portrait of Tul'sî Dâs, said to have been painted for the Emperor Akbar. It is shown to the public once a year on the 7th of the bright half of *Srâvaṇa*, the anniversary of the poet's death. Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî maintains that the date 1655 refers to the year in which the copy was made, and not to that of the composition of the original poem. Whenever Tul'sî Dâs wished to show the date of his work, he wrote in the commencement, as he did in the *Râmâyaṇa* and in the *Pârbatî Mangala*. If Chhakkan Lâl is to be believed, at any rate the copy was in the poet's handwriting.

[10] *E.g., Dohâbalî* 240, *K. R., Ut.*, 170 and ff.

[11] But not necessarily the whole work, *vide post.* The commentator Baij'nath fixes the period as between sambat 1635 and 1637, but he has no authority on such a point, and no calculation will make im right.

First as to dates. That of the deed of arbitration (taking the *Chaitrâdi* expired year) is equivalent to **Sunday, September 27, 1612 A. D.**

There is now no doubt about the identity of the Ṭôḍar Mall referred to. The arbitration deed is now in possession of the Mâhârâja of Benares. Inquiry from him, and from the present possessor of the shrine originally owned by Tul'sî Dàs, shows that it was Pratipâl Singh, the eleventh in descent from Akbar's great minister, who gave it to the then Mahârâjâ.

(*g*) **Date of Tul'sî Dâs's death according to an old rhyme,—**

*Sambata sôraha sai asî*
*Asî Ganga kê tîra* ।
*Sâwana sukala saptamî*
*Tulasî tajeu sarîra* ॥

"On the 7th of the light half of *Srâvâṇa*, *Sambat* 1680, Tul'sî left his body, at Asî, on the bank of the Ganges."

Here we are given no week-day by which to control our calculations, but, assuming that the *Chaitrâdi* expired year is meant, it is equivalent to **Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A. D.**

To sum up. The following are the dates at which we have arrived :—

(*a*) Date of commencement of composition of the *Râm-charit-mânas*. Tuesday, March 30, 1574 A. D.

(*b*) Date of composition of the *Râm Sat'sai*. Thursday, April 9th, 1584 A. D. This is very doubtful.

(*c*) Date of composition of the *Pârbatî Mangal*. Thursday, 2nd February, 1586 A. D.

(*d*) Date of composition (or ? copying) of the *Râmâgyâ*. Sunday, June 4th, 1598 A. D.

(*e*) Date of composition of the *Kabitta Râmâyan* between the years 1612 and 1614 A. D.

(*f*) Date of the deed of arbitration. Sunday, September 27, 1612 A. D.

(*g*) Date of Tul'sî Dâs's death. Thursday, July 24th, 1623 A. D.

Of these (*a*) depends on the supposition that the poet dated from the running and not from the expired *tithi*. All the dates depend upon expired *Chaitrâdi Sambat* years, except (*b*) which depends on a current *Chaitrâdi Sambat* year, a most improbable assumption.

In concluding this portion of my notes on Tul'sî Dâs I must again acknowledge my obligations to the brilliant mathematician whose name has so often occurred in them, Mahâmahpadhyâya Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî. The fortunate circum stance of his profound knowledge, at the same time of Hindû astronomy and of old Hindî poetry, has greatly facilitated my researches, and the ungrudging way in which has placed his time at my disposal puts me in his debt to an amount which I can scarcely repay.

(*To be continued.*)

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## FOLKTALES OF ARAKAN.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

*No. 1.—The Snake Prince.*[1]

A certain fairy called **Sakkaru**[2], having lived a thousand lives in the Tâwatinsa fairy-land, it became his turn to be born again in the world of men. Accordingly King Sakrâ, who by

[1] Translated from a Burmese MS. furnished by Maung Tha Bwin, Myôôk of Sandoway.

[2] The Indian names and the allusion to Sakrâ (Indra) are, together with one or two allusions to Buddhist ideas, doubtless tacked on to the original story to bring it into line with the orthodox Buddhist *Zâts*.

virtue of his power perceived that Sakkaru, not being free from the evil effects of previous sin would have to remain for three months as a hamadryad in a wild fig tree on the banks of the Jamnâ in Bârânasi, employed a fairy, Vaskrun, to accomplish this. The latter took Sakkaru to a wild fig tree, on the banks of the Jamnâ, where he was born as a hamadryad, and having told him all the commands of King Sakrâ, returned to Tâwatinsa. As for Sakkaru, he remained as a hamadryad in the fig tree.

In that country there lived a washerman and his wife, who had two maiden daughters, called Shwê Kyên and Dwê Pyû. It happened one day that the washerwoman and her two daughters tied up some cloths and went to wash them at the landing place by the wild fig tree. After washing them the woman, desiring some of the figs, looked up into the tree, and besides the figs saw there the hamadryad. The washerwoman then, telling her daughters that she would jest with the snake, said to him, "My lord hamadryad, if you want my daughter Dwê Pyû I will give her,—only throw me down 4 or 5 figs." Thereupon the hamadryad shook its tail and knocked down 40 or 50 of the fruit. The washerwoman said to her daughters, "Indeed, the snake seems to understand. I only asked for 4 or 5 figs, and because he loves Miss Dwê he threw down 40 or 50. The sun is going down, let us pick up the figs and take the clothes home." They tied up the clothes, but as they were going to start the washerwoman, saying she would jest again with the snake, told him mockingly, "Mr. Snake, if you want Dwê Pyû follow us home." On the way back they came to a tree-stump at a place where two paths met and here Dwê Pyû said to her mother, "It will be terrible if the hamadryad *does* come after us." Her mother, also being anxious, told the stump :—"If a big hamadryad comes here and asks if we have gone this way, say that you have not seen us. Take this fig as a mouth-stopper." They went on, and, on coming to another cross-path, the washerwoman instructed an ant-hill there as she had the stump, and giving it also a fig, passed on. After they had gone home the Snake Prince, being in love with Dwê Pyû, followed after them. On reaching the stump, not being certain as to which way they had gone, he asked it, "Did you see which way Dwê Pyû and her mother and sister went?" The stump replied, "I stay here according to my nature. I neither know nor saw." But the hamadryad, perceiving the fig by the stump, became very angry and said, "Do you dare to dissimulate whilst the fig I gave is staring you in the face as a witness? I will this instant strike you with my teeth, so that you split into four." Whereupon the stump, being greatly frightened, pointed out the way that the washerwoman and her daughter had gone.

From the stump the hamadryad fared on to the cross-path by the ant-hill and, on questioning it, at first it dissimulated as the stump had done; but when the snake threatened, it pointed out truly the way. The latter reached at last the washerman's house, and it being night, he entered the pot where cleaned rice was kept, and curled himself up inside.

The next day at dawn the washerwoman said to herself, "Although my daughters are grown up and my work should be less, yet owing to one and another holding off, nothing is done, and we shall be long in getting our food. So I will go and cook it myself." Accordingly she took the *salê* measure and went to get some rice from the pot; but when she thrust her arm in, the hamadryad enfolded it several times with his tail. At first the washerwoman, not knowing what snake it was that had caught her, called out lustily, but the hamadryad did not for that loosen his grip. Afterwards she recovered her senses, and on consideration it struck her that this must be the big hamadryad to whom she had promised Dwê Pyû: so she said, "If his Highness the Snake Prince desires Dwê Pyû I will give her. Won't you unloosen a fold or two?" The hamadryad thereupon did as she asked, so she knew certainly who it was, and said, "I will give you Dwê Pyû; please let go." Thereupon he released her altogether. The washerwoman then said pitifully to her daughter Dwê Pyû, "Please live with this big snake. If you do not, he will bite and kill the whole household. It is frightful!" Dwê Pyû wept and refused repeatedly, saying, "I don't want to live with a brute beast;" but her mother,

who was in fear of her life, coaxed her over, so that at length, unable to resist her mother's command, she had to live with the hamadryad.

It happened one night that King Sakrâ, having need of the fairies in council, desired the presence of Sakkaru. The latter could not resist, and, leaving behind his snake's skin went off secretly to the fairies' council in Tâwatinsa. When it dawned he could not return, as the council was not ended. At that time Mi Dwê Pyû, who was ignorant of his absence, as she did not as usual hear any sound from him, looked at his sleeping place and perceived him to be seemingly motionless. On handling him she perceived that there was no flesh but only the skin left, and she called out in tears to her mother and sister, "Come, come, my husband is dead." Her mother, however, said, "Don't cry, if people hear it will be a pretty disgrace, keep quiet;" whilst her sister added that there were plenty of hamadryads like this one in the forest, and that she would go and get one. Dwê Pyû replied, "He was my husband, and I am greatly grieved;" but her mother talked her over saying that if there was a regular funeral and guests received with betel-nut and tea, so that everybody knew, there would be a scandal, and that it would be better to perform the funeral quietly by burning. Dwê Pyû agreed, and accordingly they burnt the skin, so that it was completely consumed. Thereupon the Snake Prince Sakkaru, being heated more than he could bear, appeared in person by the fire-place. Miss Dwê Pyû did not know him, and asked who he was. He repeated to them how he had suffered intense heat, whereupon Dwe Pyû and her parents knew who he was, and rejoiced greatly. But Shwê Kyên became jealous and said, "I have not got him because of Dwê Pyû. If it were not for her I should get him."

When it became dark they all went to bed. At midnight the fairy Samâ-dêva, who had been sent by King Sakrâ, came and said to Sakkaru :—"Here is a magic wand which our royal grandfather, King Sakrâ, has granted to you, and the virtue of it is that if you strike with it and wish for anything your desire will be accomplished. Your title also is to be Sakkaru-Kummâ. From the time your child is born let not a drop of snake's blood touch you; if it does you will become a snake as before. If you avoid this danger you will become in time a mighty king. However, on receiving this wand you can only come back here after wandering in other countries." After speaking these words Samâ-dêva vanished. At dawn, when Dwê Pyû awoke, Sakkaru repeated to her what the latter had said. Although she repeatedly tried to restrain him, he said, "It is King Sakrâ's order. I cannot disobey," and going down to the sea he struck it with the magic wand. Thereupon a ship, fully rigged and manned, rose into sight, and he went on board and left Dwê Pyû, who remained behind with child.

After his departure Shwê Kyên said to herself, "If Dwê Pyû dies, I will get her husband; so she coaxed Dwê Pyû, who could not withstand her, down to the river bank. There Shwê Kyên said, "When you die, I will get your husband, so I am going to push you into the river." Dwê Pyû cried and besought her, saying, "There are two lives in me. Do not kill me. When my husband returns do you live with him. I will have you married all right. But Shwe Kyên replied, "As long as you are alive I shall never get your husband, but only on your death," and throwing her into the river, she returned home.

As Dwê Pyû floated down the river a big eagle, taking her for a fish, swooped down on her and carried her off to his nest in a silk-cotton tree. There he discovered her to be a woman, and when Dwê Pyû had told him all about herself, he kept her in his nest, where she was delivered of a son.

When the child cried she soothed it by repeating Sakkaru's name, but as the eagle became angry and talked of pecking it to death in consequence, she soothed it by talking of "Papa Eagle." The latter then said, "Ha, you are laughing at me." This squabbling was overheard by the Snake Prince, who was just returning in the ship, and who remarked that one voice was like Dwê Pyû's. The sailors replied, "How could Dwê Pyû get to such an extraordinary place? It cannot be her." On coming near to the silk-cotton tree, the Prince asked, "Is that Dwê

Pyû ?" and, as she answered, "Yes," he caused the ship to come to land, and climbed up the tree. When he spoke of taking Dwê Pyû away, she said, "You should be grateful to the eagle. After making some return for his services, ask permission from him and take me away." The prince said, "The eagle and I are brothers. As I am very grateful to my elder brother, let him give me my wife and child, whom he has rescued. I will pile up for him a heap of fish, reaching from the roots of this tree to its highest branch." The eagle replied, "Very well, if the Prince can make a heap of fish, as he has said, he may take away his wife and child." The latter accordingly went to the sea, and striking it with his magic wand, said, "Let there be a heap of fish from the roots of the silk-cotton tree to its branches," and at once fish came and heaped themselves up as directed.

**Then the Prince, with the permission of the eagle, having taken his wife and child and put them on board the ship,** suggested that the fish which the eagle could not eat should be let back into the sea.[3] The eagle agreed to this, so the Prince wished and struck again with his magic wand, and the fish went back into the sea.

After letting go the fishes the Prince and Dwê Pyû sailed to their own country, and on the way Dwê Pyû related all that Shwê Kyên had done. On coming near the landing place the Prince said, "I will put her to shame. Do you and the child get into this box,"—to which Dwê Pyû agreed.

On hearing that the ship had arrived Shwê Kyên adorned herself and came up with the intention of saying that she was Dwê Pyû, and so living with the Prince. The latter on seeing her said, "You are not like the Dwê Pyû of yore. You have indeed become thin." Shwê Kyên replied, "I have yearned after you till I became so ill that there was a miscarriage." The Prince said, "Very well, take this box which contains rich and rare clothing, and we will go home together." Accordingly Shwê Kyên, who was pretending to be Dwê Pyû, took up the box and followed him to the house, where he gave her the key and told her to open the box in order to get out and wear the clothing. Shwê Kyên opened the box, but on seeing Dwê Pyû and her child she became terribly ashamed and ran away to the back of the house, whence she dared not show her face, nor would she even come when called. The Prince and Dwê Pyû, however, entered their room and lived there happily.

Afterwards Shwê Kyên, prompted by the fact of her sister Dwê Pyû having lived happily with a snake, and being withal much ashamed, went to her father and said to him, "Father dear, Dwê Pyû has lived happily with a snake. Please catch one also to become my husband."

The washerman replied, "My daughter, the snake with which Dwê Pyû lived was a human snake, being the embryo of a man. Now if I catch a snake, it will be a wild one which will bite and kill you. Don't ask me to catch one." However Shwê Kyên became very troublesome, and kept on saying repeatedly, "You *must* catch one for me." So her father remarked, "Be it as you will. We shall have peace when you are dead," and he went off into the jungle, where he caught a very long boa-constrictor, two spans in circumference. He brought this to Shwê Kyên, who took it to bed and slept along with it. Before daylight in the morning the snake considered to itself that formerly when in the jungle it sought its food and ate till satisfied, but that now having been caught, it had had nothing to eat for a day and night, and was very hungry in consequence; moreover it could not go elsewhere to seek its food. Accordingly it resolved to make a meal off the person near it, by swallowing her up, beginning at her feet and ending with her head, and proceeded to make a commencement by swallowing her feet. Shwê Kyên cried out, "Help, he has, apparently in sport, swallowed me up to my knees." Her father only said, "She wanted that snake *so* much. We shall have peace when she dies," whilst her mother remarked, "My son-in-law is having a game." Shwê Kyên cried out very loudly however, so Dwê Pyû said to her husband the Snake Prince, "It is not right that my sister should die—go and help her." But her husband replied, "If only one drop of snake's blood touches me I shall become a snake again. Your father can settle such an affair as this. Are you tired of my companionship, that you ask me to do this thing?" His wife Dwê

[3] Here again Buddhist ideas are introduced into the original story.

Pyû rejoined, "King Sakra's order was from the time that the child was born. That is now long past, and you cannot again become a snake. If your flesh and blood were indeed such as you formerly possessed, you could not remain so long a man; you can avoid also being touched by or smeared with a drop of snake's blood." She became much troubled, so not wishing to hurt her feelings, and thinking also that it is wicked not to rescue the life of a human being, the Snake Prince took up his double-edged sword, and smote the boa-constrictor, so that it was divided in two and died. **On cutting it, however, a drop of the boa-constrictor's blood touched the Prince, and he became a snake as before. A snake's mind also came into him,** so that he no longer wished to stop in the house, but went off into the forest.

Dwê Pyû carrying their little son, followed him slowly weeping and saying, "Come back home, I will get you food," but it was in vain. Sometimes he would regain his intellect and speak to his wife and child, and again a snake's mind would come to him and he would try to bite them. After doing thus he said to his wife Dwê Pyû, "I will have to live in the forest away from human beings. If I live near them I shall bite and kill them when I have the snake mind in me."

Dwê Pyû, however, left her child with her parents and followed the hamadryad into the forest, but there again he struck at her unsuccessfully. Again recovering consciousness, he said to her, "I am not as before, when there is a snake's mind in me I do not recognise anybody, but only strike at them. You should, therefore, return home, as the child must be wanting its milk. Suckle it and take care of it, and live happily with it. I cannot remain with you,—I must go into the darkest forests." Dwê Pyû replied, "Only come back home. I will get your food and take care of you. I cannot remain separated from you." She followed him again, and when they came near the ant-hill a snake's mind came into the Prince, and he was about to bite Dwê Pyû, but restrained himself in time. He decided in consequence that he would have to enter the top of the ant-hill, as if he remained outside he would certainly bite her; so he went inside the ant-hill. But Dwê Pyû remained outside weeping and calling sadly to her husband.

*(To be continued.)*

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## PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

*(Continued from Vol. XXI. page 116).*

Part III.

### TRANSLATION.

No. 8.

**Song sung when the Bridegroom leaves his house to go to the Bride's, where the Wedding ceremony takes place.**

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrâbjî, to mount your horse.[1]
Your mother holds you by the hem of your garment.[2]
Let go, mother, let go your hold,
And I shall give you your due.
How can I forget the claims of her,
Who reared me, and loved me as her own life?
I have got a beautiful *sâḍî* woven for my mother,
And a bodice of cloth of gold.
Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrâbjî, to mount your horse.
Your aunt holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go aunt, let go your hold:
Your claims shall have due recognition.
How can I forget what is due to her,
Who sang the lullaby at my cradle?
I have ordered a gold-embroidered *śâḍî* for my aunt,
And a bodice of green silk.

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[1] See note 17, Part I.

[2] By way of asserting her claims.

Put your foot in the stirrup, brother Sôrâbjî, and mount your horse.
Your aunt (father's sister) holds you by the hem of your garment.
Let go, aunt, let go your hold,
And I shall give you your due.
How can I forget the claims of her who took me in her lap,
When my name was given me?[3]
Let us send a *hundî* (on some firm) in Gujarât, and get a good *patôrî* (for my aunt).
The bridegroom looks as bright as the Sun,
And as pure as the Moon.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway) smelling the flowers,
And looks as beautiful as the flowers themselves.
The bridegroom stands under the festoons of flowers (that adorn the doorway) chewing *pân*,
And looks as delicate as a *pân*-leaf.

No. 9.

**Song sung at the close of the Wedding Ceremony.**

All hail this (blessed) day!
(On such a day) I would get my (other) sons married, if I had the means.
I would not make a moment's delay.
All hail this (blessed) day!
The Sun has risen auspiciously over my Mêhêrwânjî's[4] head.
We have celebrated the marriage of our Sôrâbjî.
All hail this (blessed) day!
Brothers, have your little sons married,
(As) I have married my Sôrâbjî and brought (the couple) home.
All hail this (blessed) day!
My Mêhêrwânjî dotes on his son and daughter-in-law.
My Ratanbâî's daughter and son-in-law are her petted children.
All hail this (blessed) day!
We hail with delight the rising of the Sun and the Moon.
We rejoice that my Sôrâbjî's mother gave birth to a son like him.
All hail this (blessed) day!
I[5] gave thee an order, goldsmith:
I told thee to make an armlet for my Sôrâbjî's arm,
And a nine-stringed necklace for my Sîrînbâî.
I gave thee an order, mercer:
I told thee to bring a plaid for my Sôrâbjî,
And a pair of *patôrîs* for my Sîrînbâî.
I gave thee an order, jeweller:
I told thee to bring rings for my Sôrâbjî,
And a pair of bracelets for my Sîrînbâî.
Father-in-law, make your court-yard (gates) a little higher (?),
That my Sôrâbjî may enter on horse-back.
All hail this (blessed) day!
My procession of wedding guests is too large to be accommodated (in your yard).
All hail this (blessed) day!
My Sôrâbjî has won his bride in person.
And he has brought the Rânî Laksmaṇî[6] for a wife.
All hail this (blessed) day!

[3] It is the privilege of the father's sister to hold the baby in her arms, while the astrologer finds out a name for it.
[4] See note 14, Part 1. [5] The bridegroom's mother is supposed to repeat these lines. [6] An allegory.

## No. 10.

## Song sung when the Bride is being sent to the house of her Parents-in-law after the Wedding.

The pipes (that are being played) are made of green bamboo.
Sisters, our Sîrînbâî is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sîrînbâî, the fortunate grand-child of her (maternal) grand-father,[7]
Is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
How they will rejoice to see our Sîrînbâî!
Sisters, our Sîrînbâî is married, and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Her father has performed the meritorious act of giving his daughter in marriage,
And has acquired the blessings of Heaven.
It was fortunate that her father thought of this matter,
And gave Sirinbai to good parents-in-law.
Her father has given her a chest full of treasure,
With which Sirinbai sits in her room.
Her father has given Sîrînbâî a milch cow,
So that she may have plenty of milk and curds (to eat).
Mother-in-law, (pray) do not use the cane[8] on Sîrînbâî,
Or she will smart under it and will weep,
And long for her paternal abode.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sîrînbâî with kindness,
And serve her with enough of food at her meals.[9]
Sîrînbâî is the (pet) daughter of her father.
Sîrînbâî is the eldest daughter-in-law in the family of her parents-in-law.
Mother-in-law, (pray) treat our Sîrînbâî with magnanimity,
And refrain from giving her stale food.
Mother-in-law, you must not think that our Sîrînbâî is as advanced in years as she appears:
(It is only because) she has been brought up on curds and milk:
(It is only because) we have brought her up on lumps of butter.
Sîrînbâî, why have you forgotten to take with you your marriage portion?[10]
Fifteen strings of pearls comprise her marriage portion,
With which my Sîrînbâî will adorn herself.
Fifteen strings of diamonds comprise her marriage portion,
Which have been purchased for her by her good brother.[11]
* * * *
Thy husband is come, Sîrînbâî the Ṭhakrâṇî.
* * * *
The husband has been attracted by the graceful carriage of Sîrînbâî.
Her father has presented her with a valuable *lâhê*,
(Dressed) in which she goes to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sîrînbâî, the beloved daughter of her father,
Is married and is going to the house of her parents-in-law.
Sîrînbâî, you wear a necklace round your neck,
And the hearts of your father-in-law and your husband will rejoice.

[7] The names of many other relatives besides the maternal grandfather are used in succession.

[8] It may be assumed that the bride is a child.

[9] This throws a sidelight on the treatment young wives generally receive at the hands of their mothers-in-law.

[10] पल्लु is the word used in the text which means money settled upon a daughter by her father, or upon his wife by her husband, on the occasion of the marriage.

[11] The father or brother may give any presents or settle any amount of money on the bride, but he is by no means bound to do so. It is the duty of the bride's parents, however, to give presents of wearing apparel to the bridegroom's relatives and rings and some other presents to the bridegroom, as tokens of their regard, whereas it is the duty of the bridegroom's father to settle a certain amount, generally in the shape of ornaments, on the bride, and give her many suits of clothing besides, to which she has an exclusive right.

### No. 11.

**Song sung when the Bridegroom brings home his Bride.**

Father, O father (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought (with me) a wife worth a *lakh* and a quarter.[12]
Brother, O brother (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a daughter from a magnificent house.
Kâkâ,[13] O Kâkâ (mine), I am come home married,
And have brought a wife from a noble family.
Mâmâ, O Mâmâ[14] (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought the daughter of a good father.
Mâsâ, O Mâsâ[15] (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought the sister of a powerful brother.
Phûvâ, O Phûvâ[16] (mine), I have come home married,
And have brought home a wife of noble birth.
Brother gate-keeper, open (wide) your gate;
For (Sôrâbjî) is waiting at the gate with his bride.
Sister Mêhêrbâî, decorate your house,
Because your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Sûnâbâî, sprinkle the doorway with milk;[17]
Your brother has come home with his bride.
Sister Mêhêrbâî, decorate the threshold with figures in pearls;[18]
Your son has come home with his bride.
Sister Sûnâbâî, fill your lamps with *ghî*;[19]
Your brother has come home with his bride.
It is Mêhêrbâî's son who is married.
He is come home with a bride worth *lakhs* (of rupees).

### गीत ८.

### वरणीनी वेळाए गावानुं गीत.

पावरे ते पग दई चडो सोराबजी भाई
माए ते पाळव साही रह्यां,
मेळो मेळो रे माए पाळव अमारा
कर तमारा आपशुं.
जेने जीव बराबर चाही उछेर्यों
तेना ते हक केम भुलशुं ?
मारी माएने सोभत साडी वळावी
कसबी अलेचानी कांचळी.
पावरे ते पग दई चडो सोराबजी भाई
मासी ते पाळव साही रह्यां.
मेलो मेलो रे मासी पालव अमारा
गुण तमारा गणशुं,
जेने पारणे पोढाडी हालरडां गायां
तेना ते हक केम भुळशुं ?
मारी मासीने कसबी साडी मंगावी
लीला ते घाटनी कांचळी.
पावरे ते पग दई चढो सोराबजी भाई
फूई ते पाळव साही रह्यां.
मेळो मेळो रे फूई पाळव अमारा
कर तमारा आपशुं.
जेने खोळे बेसाडी नाम पडाव्यां
तेना ते हक केम भुळशुं ?
गुजरात हुंडी मुलमांगे [20] भळी पतोरी मंगावीए
सुरज सरीखां तेज वरनां
चंद्रमा सरीखी नीरमलता.
तोरण [21] उभा वर फूल सुंघे
फुल सरीखा फुटडा.
तोरण उभा वर पान चावे
पान सरीखा पातला.

[12] A figurative expression of the bride's value.
[13] The father's brother.
[14] The mother's brother.
[15] The husband of the mother's sister.
[16] The husband of the father's sister.
[17] As a mark of rejoicing.
[18] An allegory.
[19] Also as a mark of rejoicing. It is the custom however, to light at least one lamp fed by *ghî* in the daytime, when the bride is being dressed in the suits of clothing, jewellery, etc., sent her by her parents-in-law on the occasion of the betrothal, and on all subsequent occasions when presents are given to her.
[20] This is somewhat unintelligible.
[21] Properly this should be तोरण हेठे उभा.

## गीत ९.

### वहुदीकराने परणावीने घेर लई जती वेळा गावानुं गीत.

धने धने दहाडो आजनो !
कंई होय ने परणाउं मारा दीकरा.
मने घडीओनी लागे नहीं वारो [22] रे.
धने धने दहाडो आजनो !
मारा मेहेरवानजी पर सवरा सुरज उगेआ.
मारा सोरावजीने परणावी घेर लाव्या रे.
धने धने दाहाडो आजनो.
वीरा नाधलीआ [23] परणावो मारा भाई रे.
मारा सोरावजीने परणावी घेर लाव्या.
धने धने दाहाडो रे आजनो !
मारा मेहरवानजीनुं वहुवर लाडकुं.
मारी रतनबाइनुं धीजमाई लाडकुं.
धने धने दाहाडो रे आजनो !
जीरे चांदो ने सूरज भले उगेआ.
मारा सोरावजीनी माए भले जायो रे.
धने धने दहाडोरे आजनो !
कहीं में तुंने बारीओ रे सोनीरा [24]
सोनी घडजे मारा सोरावजीनो बेरखो.
मारी सीरीनबाईने नवसेरो हार.
कहीं में तुने बारीओरे डोसीरा [25]
डोसी लावजे मारा सोरावजीनी पामरी.
मारी सीरीनबाईने पतोरीनी जोर.
कहीं में तुने वारीओरे झवेरी.
झवेरी लावजे मारा सोरावजीना वेलीआं.
मारी सीरीनबाईने चुरानी जोर
कंई उंचां करो रे ससरा आंगणां.
मारा सोरावजीनो घोडुलोजे [26] माए.
धने धने दहाडो आजनो !
मारुं साहाजन समाशुं नहीं जाए.
धने धने दहाडो रे आजनो.
मारो सोरावजी ते जाते जीती आवीओ,
एतो राणी लक्षमणीने परणी लावीओ
धने धने दहाडो रे आजनो !

## गीत १०.

### कन्याने सासरे वळावती वेळा गावानुं गीत.

लीला ते वांसनी वांसली
साएली रे सीरीनबाई सासरे जाए.
ममावानी भाएगवंती सीरीनबाई रे,
साएली रे परणीने सासरे जाए.
सीरीनबाईने जोई जोई तेओ हरखशे रे,
साएली रे सीरीनबाई परणीने सासरे जाए.
बावाजीए कन्यादाण दीधां रे,
सीरीनबाईने परणावीने पुन लीधां रे,
बावाजीने ए वात भले सुझी रे,
सीरीनबाइने सारे सासरे दीधी रे,
बावाजीए आपी धननी पेटी रे,
सीरीनबाई लईने ओवरे [27] बेठी रे.
बावाजीए आपी दुझण गाय रे,
सीरीनबाई बेठी बेठी दहीं दुध खाय रे.
सासुजी चोंटी ना देशो रे,
चोंटी चमचमशे ने रोशे रे.
शीरीनबाई पीयरनी वाट जोशे रे.
सासुजी हईडां करजो भोळां रे,
मारी शीरीनबाईने ना पीरस्तां थोडां रे.
सासुजी हईडां करजो घाडां रे,
मारी सीरीनबाईने ना पीरस्तां टांढां रे.
सीरीनबाई तो बावाजीनी बेटी रे,
सीरीनबाई शशरानी बहु जेठी रे.
सासुजी एम ना जाणतां वहु मोटी रे,
अमे एने दहींए ने दुधे पोखी रे,
अमे एने माखण उंडे पोखी रे,
शीरीनबाई पह्लुं कांय वीसर्‍यां रे,
पह्लेरे [28] पनदर सेर मोती रे,
पेंहेरे मारी सीरीनबाई पनोती रे,
पह्लेरे पनदर सेर हीरा रे,
लाव्या मारी शीरीनबाईना वीरा रे.
दार वाटां ने पीगाणीओ रे. [29]
वर आयो सीरीनबाई ठकराणी रे.
दार वाटां ने लचके रे, [30]
वर आयो सीरीनबाईनो लटके रे.
बावाजीए पेहेरावी चीर लाहे रे,
सीरीनबाई पेहेरीने सासरे जाय रे.
सीरीनबाई तो बावाजीनी व्हाली रे,
सीरीनबाइ तो परणीने सासरे चाली रे.
सीरीनबाइ तारे कोटे कंठी रे,
तारा वर ने ससरानां हरखे मन रे.

[22] वार *i. e.* time cannot be used in the plural. This however is poetical license.
[23] Poetical form of नाना.
[24] सोनीरो poetically for सोनी.
[25] डोसीरो poetically for डोसी.
[26] घोडुलो Is poetical for घोडो.
[27] A corruption of ओरडो a room.
[28] पह्लरे Is poetically used for पह्ले.
[29] This phrase is unintelligible, *lit.* दार means a wife वाटां copper bowls and पीगानी a little cup in which a paste of "*kankû*" is made with rosewater.
[30] This phrase is also unintelligible: लचके *lit.* means "in lumps."

## गीत ११.

### वर वहुने परणावी घेर लई जती वेळा गावानुं गीत.

बावा रे बावा हुं परणीने आव्यो,
सवा लाखनी धणिआणी लाव्यो.
वीरा रे वीरा हुं परणीने आव्यो,
मोटे अवासनी दीकरी लाव्यो.
काका रे काका हुं परणीने आव्यो,
मोटे घेरनी धणीआणी लाव्यो.
मामा रे मामा हुं परणीने आव्यो,
सारा ससरानी दीकरी लाव्यो,
मासा रे मासा हुं परणीने आव्यो,
शकता शाळानी बहेनु ने[31] लाव्यो.
फुवा रे फुवा हुं परणीने आव्यो,
उंचा कुळनी धणीआणी लाव्यो.
पोळीआ भाइ पोळ उघाड,
तारे बारणे लाडी लइ वरेओ.
बाई रे मेहरबाई घेर सणगार,
तारो पुत लाडी लइ वरेओ.
बाइ रे सुनाबाई दुभे उंबर धोबार,
तारो भाई लाडी लइ वरेओ.
बाइ रे मेहरबाई मोतीना चोक पुराव,
तारो पुत लाडी लइ वरेओ.
बाइ रे सुनाबाई घीए दीवा भर,
तारो भाई लाडी लइ वरेओ.
वरेओ रे वरेओ मेहरबाईनो पुत,
लाखेनी लाडी लइ वरेओ.

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# MISCELLANEA.

## MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1.—*Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the Lakshmaṇasêna era commenced in A. D. 1119, that the years of the era were *Kârttikâdi* years, and that, accordingly, to convert a Lakshmaṇasêna year into the corresponding year of the Śaka era, we must add 1041, when the date falls in one of the months from Kârttika to Phâlguna, and 1042, when the date falls in one of the months from Chaitra to Âśvina. To the six dates of the era which were then known to me I have added another date, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 50; and I would now draw attention to one more Lakshmaṇasêna date, which also works out correctly with my epoch.

According to the late Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrajî, the Buddha-Gayâ inscription of Aśôkavalla, published by him in the *Journal Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 358, is dated in line 11:—

Śrîmal-Lakshmaṇasênasy-âtîta-râjyê saṁ 51 Bhâdra di 8 râ 29.

Judging from the editor's own translation—"Saṁvat 51 of the reign of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasêna having elapsed,[1] the 8th day of the dark half of Bhâdrapada, the 29th solar day"—it may be suspected that the original inscription has *Bhâdra-vadi* instead of the *Bhâdra di* of the printed text. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the inscription is dated the 8th of either of the lunar halves (probably, of the dark half) of the month Bhâdrapada, being the 29th day of the solar month, of the Lakshmaṇasêna year 51.

The date falling in the month Bhâdrapada, the year of the date, supposing it to be the expired year 51, should correspond to Śaka (51 + 1042 = ) 1093 expired; and the details of the date prove that such is actually the case. For in Śaka 1093 expired the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Bhâdrapada ended about 19 h. after mean sunrise of the 25th August, A. D. 1171, causing that day to be Bhâdra-vadi 8; and the same 25th August also was the 29th day of the solar month Bhâdrapada, the Siṁha-saṁkrânti having taken place, by the Sûrya-siddhânta, 10 h. 4 m., or, by the Ârya-siddhânta, 8 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July.

The fact that the above date, in addition to the lunar day, also gives us the day of the solar month, induces me to mention here that, similarly to what I have shown to be a common practice in Bengâlî MSS.,[2] inscriptions also from Eastern India are sometimes dated according to the solar calendar. A clear and instructive example of this is furnished by the Tipura copper-plate, published by Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 403. That inscription is dated in Śaka 1141 expired, according to Colebrooke *sûryya-gatyâ tuladinê* 26, in reality *sûryya-gatyâ Phâlguna-dinê* 26. The 26th day of the solar Phâlguna of Śaka 1141 expired corresponds to the 19th February, A. D. 1220, the Kumbha-saṁkrânti having taken place 13 h. 3 m. after

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[31] Poetical for बेहेन.

[1] The real meaning is—'the year 51 since the (*commencement of the*) reign, (*now*) passed, of the illustrious Lakshmaṇasêna.'

[2] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 49.

mean sunrise of the 24th January. Now on the 19th February, A. D. 1220, the day of the date, the full-moon *tithi* commenced about one hour after mean sunrise, and there can hardly be a doubt that the donation recorded in the copper-plate was made on account of the full-moon. But although thus there was apparently every reason to follow the lunar calendar, the writer of the date evidently was induced by the practice of every-day life to give the date in the way in which he has done it.

And this date again leads me to draw attention to the date of **the Âmgâchhî copper-plate of Vigrahapâladêva III.**, of which I have given an account, *ante*, Vol. XXI. pp. 97-101. The grant recorded in that inscription was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, *i.e.*, on the full-moon *tithi*; and the inscription is dated in the 12th or 13th year of Vigrahapâladêva's reign, *Chaitra-dinê* 9. We know that the inscription is later than A. D. 1053;[3] and, taking the expression *Chaitra-dinê* 9 to refer to solar time, and comparing the date of the Tipura grant, I would suggest Monday, the 2nd March, A. D. 1086, as an equivalent of the date which, perhaps might be considered to satisfy the requirements of the case. Monday, the 2nd March A. D. 1086, was the 9th day of the solar Chaitra; on that day the full-moon *tithi* commenced about 5 h. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse on that particular full-moon. The eclipse was not visible in India; but we now have several other dates that record invisible eclipses. Should this suggestion be approved of, Vigrahapâladêva III. must be taken to have begun to reign about A. D. 1074.

Similar to the date of the Âmgâchhî plate is the date of **the Balasore copper-plate grant of Purushôttamadêva,** the king of Orissa, published *ante*, Vol. I. p. 355. According to Mr. Beames, Purushôttamadêva ascended the throne in A. D. 1478, and his grant is dated in the fifth year of his reign, on Monday, the 10th day of the month of Mêsha, *i. e.* Vaiśâkha, at the time of an eclipse. If the year of the accession of the king is correctly given, the date of the grant can only be Monday, the 7th April A. D. 1483, when there was an invisible eclipse of the sun; but by my calculations that day was the 11th (not the 10th) day of the solar Vaiśâkha, the Mêsha-saṁkrânti having taken place 17 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March, A. D. 1483.[4]

2.—*Ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 251-252, I have treated of four dates of **the Âshâḍhâdi Vikrama years** 1534, 1555, [15]83, and 1699; and Vol. XXI. p. 51, I have given two more such dates of the years 1574 and 1581. I can now draw attention to another date, of the Âshâḍhâdi year 1713, which is particularly interesting, because it quotes, what we should expect to be the first day of the year, the first day of the bright half of the month Âshâḍha. According to the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. V. p. 236, a MS. of the *Garga-paddhati* is dated:—

Saṁvat **Âshâḍhâdi** 1713 Âshâḍha-mâsê śuklê pakshê pratipach-**Chhukravâsarê.**

This date works out properly only for the *Chaitrâdi* Vikrama year 1713 expired, for which the equivalent of the date is **Friday,** the 13th June A. D. 1656; and it thus proves distinctly that the Âshâḍhâdi year really commences with the first day of the bright half of Âshâḍha, and not (as has been suggested) with a later day of the same month. For, did the Âshâḍhâdi year commence after the first of the bright half of Âshâḍha, the year 1713 of the date (for purposes of calculation) would have been the *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1713, and the date would have fallen in A. D. 1657.

3.—I know only three dates which are expressly referred to **the Siṁha era,** and have given them already in my list of Vikrama dates (*ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 24, 175, and 180; Nos. 9, 108, and 129), because they are all referred to the Vikrama era as well. About the European equivalents of two of these dates there is no doubt whatever; it is mainly in order to determine the proper equivalent of the third date, that I here put the three dates together.

(1). A copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II. is dated—

> śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat 1266 varshê **śrî-Siṁha-saṁvat** 96 varshê . . . Mârgga-śudi 14 **Gurau**—,

and the equivalent of this date, for Vikrama 1266 expired, is **Thursday,** the 12th November A. D. 1209. The difference between the Siṁha year and the Christian year is here 1113; between the Siṁha year and the expired (*Chaitrâdi*, or *Âshâḍhâdi*, or *Kârttikâdi*) Vikrama year, 1170.

(2). A Verâval stone inscription of the reign of the Vâghêla Arjunadêva is dated—

> śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁ 1320 . . . . . .

[3] See *ib.* p. 99.

[4] Monday, the 5th April A. D. 1456, *was* the 10th of the solar Vaiśâkha, and on that day there also was a solar eclipse.

tathâ srî-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshê Âshâḍha-vadi 13 **Ravau**—,

and the equivalent of this date, for the expired *Kârttikâdi* Vikrama year 1320, is **Sunday,** the 25th May A. D. 1264. Here the difference between the Siṁha year and the Christian year is again 1113. The difference between the Siṁha year and the Vikrama year put down in the date is only 1169; but as the Vikrama year of the date is the expired *Kârttikâdi* year 1320, which for the month of Âshâḍha is equivalent to the *Chaitrâdi* or *Âshâḍhâdi* year 1321, we may say that here too, the difference between the Siṁha year and the expired *Chaitrâdi* or *Âshâḍhâdi* Vikrama year *is* 1170. Compared with the first date, the date apparently proves that the Simha year was not a *Kârttikâdi* year, but began either with Chaitra or with Âshâḍha.

(3). A stone inscription at Mângrol in Kâthiâvâḍ, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, is dated—

śrîmad-Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 tathâ **srî-Siṁha-saṁvat** 32 Âśvina-vadi 13 **Sômê.**

Here the difference between the Siṁha year and the Vikrama year put down in the date is again 1170, and, judging from the preceding dates, the Vikrama year 1202 should be the expired *Chaitrâdi* or *Âshâḍhâdi* Vikrama year 1202. The preceding dates shew besides that the corresponding European date should fall in A. D. (32 + 1113 =) 1145. When treating of this date before, I indicated that, taking the date purely as a Vikrama date, the choice, as regards its European equivalent, would lie between Monday, the 28th August A. D. 1144, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half *ended* 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and Monday, the 15th October A. D. 1145, when the same *tithi commenced* 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. Irrespectively of any considerations connected with the Siṁha era, the first of these two possible equivalents seemed objectionable because it would necessitate the assumption that the Vikrama year of the date had been quoted as a current year. Now a comparison of the two other Siṁha dates will shew that we must definitely decide in favour of **Monday, the 15th October A. D. 1145,** as the proper equivalent of this date, notwithstanding the fact that the *tithi* of the date did not end, but commenced on that day.

The three dates shew that the Siṁha year was not a *Kârttikâdi* year, but they leave it uncertain whether it began with Chaitra or Âshâḍha. The question would have to be decided in favour of the *Âshâḍhâdi* year, if the following date could be referred with confidence to the Siṁha era.

According to the *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.* p. 312 (and *Archæol. Survey of West. India,* No. 2, p. 33), a short inscription at Girnâr is dated—

Saṁ 58 varshê Chaitra-vadi 2 Sômê.

Excepting, of course, dates of the Saptarshi era, I have not hitherto met with a single date from which the figures for the centuries of the year of the date have been purposely omitted; and therefore it does not seem to me at all improbable that the year 58 of this date may have to be referred to the Siṁha era. Now assuming the date to be a Siṁha date, the only possible equivalent of it would be **Monday, the 13th March A. D. 1172,** which was almost completely filled by the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Chaitra. Monday, the 13th March A. D. 1172, however, belongs to the month Chaitra of either the *Âshâḍhâdi* or the *Kârttikâdi* (but not the *Chaitrâdi*) Vikrama year (58 + 1170 =) 1228 expired; and, since we already have seen that the Siṁha year was not a *Kârttikâdi* year, it would, with necessity, follow from this date that the **Siṁha year commenced with the month Âshâḍha,** (and was perhaps the original *Âshâḍhâdi* year).

4.—**Of the Châlukya Vikrama Varsha** or era of the Western Châlukya king, Vikramâditya VI., Dr. Fleet has treated *ante,* Vol. VIII. pp. 187-193. My examination of a large number of dates of this era has yielded the results that, whatever may have been the day of the coronation of Vikramâditya VI., **the years of the dates and the Jovian years quoted with them coincide with the lunar Śaka years,** beginning with Chaitra-śudi 1 and ending with Phâlguna-vadi 15; and that a Châlukya Vikrama year may be converted into the corresponding expired Śaka year by the simple addition of 997. This may be seen from the following regular dates:—

(1). The Yêwûr tablet (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 20) is dated: . . . **Châḷukya-Vikrama-varshada** 2neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Śrâvaṇa-paurṇṇamâsi **Âditya-vâra sômagrahaṇa-**mahâparvvanimittadiṁ. The corresponding date, for Śaka (2+997=) 999 expired, which by the southern luni-solar system was the year Piṅgala, is **Sunday,** the 6th August A. D. 1077, when there was a **lunar eclipse** 21 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

(2). A stone-tablet at Kurtakôṭi (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 9) is dated: . . . Châ.-Vi.-varsha[da*] 7neya Dumdubhi-saṁvatsarada Pushya-śuddha-tadige **Âdityavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu.** In Śaka (7+997=) 1004 expired, the year Dundubhi, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha ended

4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** the 25th December A. D. 1082, and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place on the preceding day, 13 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

(3). According to Dr. Fleet (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 22) a stone-tablet at Âlûr records grants made '**at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, on Thursday,** the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Prajâpati saṁvatsara, which was the sixteenth of the years of the glorious Châlukya king Vikrama.' In Saka (16+997=) 1013 expired, the year Prajâpati, the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday,** the 25th December A. D. 1091, and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place on the preceding day, 21 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

(4). A stone-tablet at Kiruvatti (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 191, No. 20) is dated: Châ.-Vi.-varishada 24neya Pramâthi-saṁvatsarada Jyêshṭha-śuddha paurnna(rṇṇa)mâsi**Âditya-vâra sômagrahaṇad-aṁdu.** The corresponding date, for Saka (24+997=) 1021 expired, the year Pramâthin, is **Sunday,** the 5th June A. D. 1099, when there was a **lunar eclipse** 16 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

(5). A stone-tablet at Kargudari (*ante,* Vol. X. p. 252) is dated: . . . Châ.-Vi.-varshada 33neya Sarvadhâri-saṁvatsarada Herjjuggiya (*i.e.,* Âśvina) puṇṇami **Sômavârad**-andina. The corresponding date, for Saka (33+997=) 1030 expired, the year Sarvadhârin, is **Monday,** the 21st September A. D. 1108, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 21 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

The two following dates, taken together, prove that the Jovian years quoted in them commenced on the first day of the bright half of the lunar Chaitra, not at the time of the Mêsha-samkrânti, nor on the 5th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, the anniversary of the accession of the founder of the era.

(6). An inscription at Kaṭṭagêri (*ante,* Vol. VI. p. 138) is dated: . . . Châ.-Vi.-varshada 21neya Dhâtu-samvatsarada Chaitra su (śu)ddha 5 **Âdityavârad**-andu. The corresponding date, for Saka (21+997=) 1018 expired, is **Sunday,** the 2nd March A. D. 1096, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise. As the Mêsha-saṁkrânti did not take place till the 23rd March, A. D. 1096, the date shows that the Jovian year Dhâtṛi to which the date belonged commenced before the beginning of the solar Saka year 1018 expired, and did not coincide with the solar year.

(7). A stone-tablet of Baḷagâṁve (*ante,* Vol. V. p. 344) is dated '**on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Sunday,** the day of the new-moon of (the month) Phâlguna of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* which was the 18th of the years of the glorious Châḷukya Vikrama.' The corresponding date, for the *amânta* Phâlguna of Saka (18+997=) 1015 expired, is **Sunday,** the 19th March A. D. 1094, when there was a **solar eclipse,** which was visible in India, at 5 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The fact that this day belonged to the Jovian year Śrîmukha shews that that year did not commence (or end) on the 5th of the bright half of Phâlguna; for, had such been the case, the year Śrîmukha would have ended already on the 22nd February A. D. 1094, and the Jovian year of the date would have been Bhâva.

The following are some of the dates which do not work out satisfactorily:—

(8). An inscribed pillar at Araḷêśwar (*ante,* Vol. VIII. p. 190, No. 4) is dated: . . . Châ.-Vi.-kâlada 1neya Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-bahula-paṁchamî-**Maṁgalavâra-Mêshasaṁkrânti**-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu. The year of the date should be Saka (1+997=) 998 expired, but the date does not work out properly either for that year or for the immediately preceding and following years. The 5th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Chaitra of Saka 998 expired ended on Monday, the 28th March A. D. 1076, and the nearest Mêsha-samkrânti took place on Wednesday, the 23rd March A. D. 1076. For Saka 997 expired the corresponding dates are Wednesday, the 8th April, and Tuesday, the 24th March, A. D. 1075; and for Saka 999 expired, Friday, the 17th March, and Thursday, the 23rd March, A. D. 1077.

(9). A stone-tablet at Waḍagêri (*ib.* No. 5) is dated (on the anniversary of Vikramâditya's coronation): . . . Châ.-Vi.-varsha-prathama-Naḷa-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa-śuddha-paṁchamî-**Bri(bṛi)haspativârad**-aṁdu. The year of the date should again be Saka (1+997=) 998 expired; but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 31st January A. D. 1077; Friday, the 12th February A. D. 1076; and Monday, the 19th February A. D. 1078.

(10). The Tiḍgundi copper-plate grant of Vikramâditya VI. (*ante,* Vol. I. p. 81) is dated: śrî-Vikrama-kâla-saṁvatsarêshu shaṭsu atîtêshu saptamê Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsarê pravarttamânê tasya Kârttika-su(śu)ddha-pratipad-**Âdivârê.** Here the year of the date should be Saka (7+997=) 1004 expired, as in the date No. 2, above; but the equivalents of the date both for that year and for the immediately preceding and following years are Tuesday, the 25th October A. D. 1082

Wednesday, the 6th October A. D. 1081; and Saturday, the 14th October A. D. 1083.

(11). A stone-tablet at Saundatti (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 202,) is dated in the 21st year, the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, on **Sunday**, the 13th of the dark half of Pushya, and the moment **when the sun was commencing his progress to the north.** Here the year of the date should be Śaka (21+997=) 1018 expired, as in the date No. 6, above; but in Śaka 1018 expired the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Pausha ended on Wednesday, the 14th January A. D. 1097, and the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place on Wednesday, the 24th December A. D. 1096.

The Châlukya Vikrama era offers a comparatively far greater number of irregular dates than any other Hindu era. Here I will give only one more date which is of special interest on account of the doubtful meaning of the word employed to denote the week-day.

(12). According to Dr. Fleet (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 297) a stone-tablet at Koṇûr is dated 'in the 12th year of the era of the prosperous Châḷukya Vikrama, being the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, **at the moment of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north**, on **Vaḍḍavâra**, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Pausha.' The year of this date is Śaka (12+997=) 1009 expired, which was the year Prabhava; and in that year the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Pausha commenced 5 h. 6 m. before and ended 18 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday**, the 26th December A. D. 1087, and the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place 1 h. 47 m. before mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A. D. 1087. Now, that this is the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti spoken of in the date, there can be no doubt; but according to ordinary rules the *tithi* that should have been joined with the Saṁkrânti is the 13th, during which the Saṁkrânti itself took place and which occupied about nineteen hours of Saturday, the 25th December, not the 14th which is actually put down in the date. There is the further difficulty that we do not know what day of the week is meant by the word *Vaḍḍavâra* of the date. Judging from the remarks of Mr. L. Rice on the word *vaḍḍa*, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 90, one would feel inclined to regard that word as a synonym of *mukhya* or *âdi*, and to take *Vâḍḍavâra* as a name of Sunday. And in favour of this it might be urged, not only, that in the date under discussion the 14th *tithi* put down in the date did end on a Sunday, but also, that the date of the Anaṁkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradêva (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 12)—Śaka-varshamulu 1084 vuneṁti Chitrabhânu-saṁvatsara Mâgha śu 13 **Vaḍḍavâramunâṁdu**[5]—undoubtedly corresponds to **Sunday**, the 20th January, A. D. 1163. On the other hand, it might very properly be suggested that in the date under discussion the 14th *tithi* had been wrongly quoted instead of the 13th,—a suggestion which would render it necessary to assign to *Vaḍḍavâra* the meaning of Saturday; and in support of this interpretation, again, one might adduce the date of the Toragal inscription, published *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 97,—Sa-(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1110neya Plavaṁga-saṁvatsarada Puśya(shya) bahuḷa 10 **Vaḍḍavârav=uttarâyaṇa**-saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtadalu—, the proper equivalent of which without any doubt is **Saturday**, the 26th December, A. D. 1187. That *Vaḍḍavâra* must be either Saturday or Sunday (not, as was suggested by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî,[6] Wednesday or Thursday) is certain, and in my opinion the chances are in favour of Sunday; but the dates known to me are not sufficient to settle the question definitely.[7]

5.—*Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 24, I have shewn that the word **saka** is occasionally employed in dates of the Vikrama era in the general sense of 'year.' A clear instance of this usage occurs in the following verse which is found in a MS. of Gaṅgâdhara Sarasvatî's *Svârâjyasiddhi*:—

> Vasv-abdhi-muny-avani-mâna-**sakê** **Vṛishâkhya**-
> varshasya Mâgha-sita-**Vâkpati**-yukta-shashṭhyâṁ |
> Gaṅgâdharêṁdra-yatinâ Śivayôḥ padâbjê
> bhakty=â[r]pitâ sukṛitir=astu satâṁ śivâya ||

The year of this date is the Vikrama year (not, as has been assumed, the Śaka year) 1748 expired,

[5] In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 901, this *is* translated by 'Sunday.'

[6] See *Journal, Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 26.

[7] In addition to the above, I find in *Pâli, Sanskṛit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions* the following dates containing the word *Vaḍḍavâra*: —

No. 87.—'Śaka 1156, the Jaya *saṁvatsara*, "Vaḍḍavâra," the day of the full-moon of . . . Vaiśâkha.' The corresponding date would be Saturday, the 15th April, A. D. 1234.

No. 96. — 'Śaka 1066, the Rudhirôdgâri *saṁvatsara*, "Vaḍḍavâra," the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Mâgha.' Here the corresponding dates would be, for Ś. 1066 current = Rudhirôdgârin, Friday, the 4th February, A D. 1144; and for Ś. 1066 expired, Tuesday, the 23rd January, A. D. 1145.

No. 225, of the time of the Yâdava Râmachandra. — 'The twelfth year of his reign, the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara* (Śaka 1205); "Vaḍḍavâra," the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguṇa.' Here the corresponding date, for Ś. 1205 expired = Subhânu, would be Wednesday the 23rd February, A. D. 1284; but for Ś. 1206 expired = Târaṇa, Sunday, the 11th February, A. D. 1285.

and the corresponding date is Thursday, the 14th January, A. D. 1692. The Jovian year Vṛisha which is quoted in the date ended, by the Sûrya-siddhânta rule without bîja, on the 24th January, A. D. 1692.

*Göttingen.* F. KIELHORN.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### MUSSELWOMAN.

It may be assumed that most writers on Oriental subjects know that the termination *man* in the word Musalmân has no connection with the English termination *man* in such words as "Englishman," "Frenchman," etc. Indeed, no English writer would make such a mistake, in even purely English words, as to concoct *Gerwoman* and *Germen*, or *Burwoman* and *Burmen*, out of *German* and *Burman*. But a writer has at last been found, who can, in a publication professedly intended for Oriental readers, perpetrate, by what the late Sir Henry Yule has styled "the process of Hobson-Jobson," the astounding error of Musselwoman. Here is the passage. *The Overland Mail* of Feb. 10, 1893, p. 47: "It is now reported that the lady has resolved to be 'converted' and become a *Musselwoman* and dame of the harem, which will secure the presumptive heirship to the throne for her son." This passage occurs in the course of an ill-natured bit of gossip about the "Khedive" 'Abbâs Pâshâ.

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK NOTICE.

DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN-VERZEICHNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. Fünfter Band. Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prâkrit Handscriften von A. WEBER. Zweiter Band. Dritte Abtheilung. Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1892. 4to. pp. i.-xxvii. 829-1363, with five plates.

The second section of the second volume of Prof. Weber's great catalogue of the Berlin MSS. appeared in 1888, and the preface to this, the third and concluding section, is dated June 1891, the book being published in the course of 1892.[1] It is a privilege, which I value, to be able to congratulate him on the successful completion of his most valuable work.

The present section deals mainly with Jaina literature not included in the *Siddhânta.* This occupies pp. 829-1136. It is followed (pp. 1139-1202) by a catalogue of further MSS. (principally Brâhmaṇical) added to the library between 1886 and 1889, and some fourteen pages of *addenda et corrigenda.* Then we have the indexes (admirably prepared) so necessary in a work of this kind, such as indexes of the names of the writers of the MSS., their relations and patrons; of the names of works; of the authors, their works, relations and patrons; and of all matters or names dealt with or referred to in the catalogue. An interesting list of the dates of the MSS. in chronological order is also given, from which we learn that the oldest MS. (a commentary on the *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra*) in the collection is dated *V. S.* 1307, and that the next oldest (the *Kalpachûrṇi*) *V. S.* 1334. A facsimile of a leaf of the former is given amongst the illustrations.

Altogether 901 MSS. are described in the 1202 pages of the three parts of this second volume. Of these, no less than 787 pages are devoted to the 259 Jaina MSS. which form perhaps the most complete and interesting part of the whole of this division of the library.

Dr. Weber's preface gives an account of its growth, and renders due acknowledgment to the Government of Bombay, for allowing Dr. Bühler to send to Berlin at intervals a nearly complete series of the texts of *Śvêtâmbara Siddhânta,* together with many other important Jaina works. It was this collection which formed the basis of the author's essays on the sacred literature of that community, a translation of which has been lately appearing in this *Journal.* The Library is also indebted to Prof. Garbe, who during his brief stay in India of a year and a half, sent home nearly three hundred MSS. on various subjects.

The work is printed with the care and accuracy, which has distinguished the preceding sections of this volume, and Dr. Weber warmly acknowledges the assistance rendered to him by Drs. Leumann and Klatt in reading the proofs. This accuracy has not been attained without cost, and all scholars will sincerely regret that, as the author remarks, a good portion of his eyesight lies buried in the pages before us.

The preface contains an interesting note on the peculiarities of Jaina MSS., too long to quote here, but which is well worth the perusal of any person commencing the study of this class of work. They are specially distinguished by the neatness and accuracy with which they are written, equalled only, in Brâhmaṇical works, by MSS. of Vedic literature. The collection, as the professor points out, is rich in narrative-literature, affording a plenteous and almost unexplored mine of Indian folktales, and containing not infrequent references to things which connect India with the western world.

Again congratulating Dr. Weber on the completion of this striking monument of erudition combined with patient labour, I bring this note to a close.

G. A. G.

[1] For a notice of the first section, see *ante,* Vol. XVI. page 316, and of the second section, *ante,* Vol. XVIII. page 96.

# HIUEN TSIANG'S CAPITAL OF MAHARASHTRA.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., PH.D., C.I.E.

IN his account of **the country of Mahârâshṭra,** as the kingdom of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., Hiuen Tsiang tells us, according to Mr. Beal's translation of the *Si-yu-ki* (*Buddhist Records of the Western World,* Vol. II. pp. 255, 257), that "**the capital** "borders on the west on a great river . . . . . . . . Within and without the capital are five "*stûpas* to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. They were built by "Aśôkarâja. There are, besides these, other *stûpas* made of brick or stone, so many that it "would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a *saṅghârâma* in "which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva."

The name of this capital is not mentioned. And, though two indications, which ought to locate it and determine its name, are given,— *viz.* that it was situated about 1,000 *li* or 167 miles to the east of Broach,[1] and between 2,400 and 2,500 *li* or roughly about 410 miles to the north-west of the capital of a country which is called in Chinese *Kong-kin-na-pu-lo,* and is supposed to be in Sanskṛit Koṅkaṇâpura,[2]— they have failed to do so; partly because the capital of *Kong-kin-na-pu-lo* has never yet been satisfactorily determined; and partly because there is no place due east of Broach or nearly so, at or anywhere near the required distance, which answers to the description that is given. The result has been a variety of surmises as to the name of this capital. And the question has never yet been disposed of.

Now, **the real capital** of the Western Chalukya dynasty was **Bâdâmi,** the chief town of the tâlukâ of the same name in the Bijâpur District. But its surroundings do not answer to the description given by Hiuen Tsiang. There is, it is true, a river, within four miles of the town,— the Malaprabhâ; but it is only a tributary of the Kṛishṇa, and it cannot be called one of the great rivers of India. And about three miles to the south by east of the town, there is a temple of Banaśaṁkarî,— with a variety of shrines, a large enclosure, and a tank that has a cloister round three sides of it,— which presents the appearance of a certain amount of antiquity; but there are no indications of Buddhism about it, and nothing to justify the supposition that it is a Brâhmaṇical adaptation of an ancient Buddhist *saṁghârâma.* Further, the cave-temples at Bâdâmi are Jain and Brâhmaṇical,— not Buddhist. Again, neither in the town, nor in its neighbourhood, can any traces be found of any *stûpas.* And, finally, though the direction of Bâdâmi from Broach, south-south-east, may be taken as answering to the statement that Broach was to the west or north-west of the capital of Mahârâshṭra, still its distance, 435 miles, is altogether incommensurate with the given distance, and is quite sufficient, in itself, to exclude the possibility of such an identification. Bâdâmi, therefore, is undoubtedly inadmissible for the town referred to by Hiuen Tsiang.

Mr. Beal has stated, in a footnote, the other suggestions that have been made, and some of the objections to them. Thus, M. V. de St. Martin proposed Daulatâbâd in the Nizâm's Dominions. But, though the distance and direction from Broach,— 188 miles to the south-east,— are admissible, there is no river here; nor are there any Buddhist remains. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has been in favour of Kalyâṇi, in the Nizâm's Dominions, which has on the west a large stream named Kailâsa. But here, again, there is nothing that can be called "a great river;" there are no Buddhist remains; the distance from Broach, about 372 miles towards the south-east, is far too much; and there is absolutely nothing to justify the supposition that Kalyâṇi was a place of any importance at all, until it became the Western Châlukya capital, after the restoration of the dynasty by Taila II. in A. D. 973. And Mr. Fergusson named "Toka, Phulthamba, or Paitan." But, as regards these, though Paiṭhaṇ, on the Gôdâvarî, in the Nizâm's Dominions, is well admissible on account of its ancient importance, and might be fairly so because it is only about 220 miles to the south-east from

[1] On the question of the real bearings, however, see further on.

[2] See page 116 below, note 7.

Broach, no Buddhist remains have ever been discovered there. Ṭôka or Ṭôkêṁ, on the Gôdâvarî, in the Newâsa Tâlukâ of the Ahmednagar District, about 195 miles to the south-east of Broach, is nothing but an ordinary village, of not the slightest importance, except that it has a post-office and a few purely modern temples which are supposed to be invested with sanctity, — for which reasons alone it is mentioned in Gazetteers. And Phulthamba, properly Puṇtâmbê, on the same river, and in the Kôpargaon Tâlukâ of the same district, about 28 miles towards the north-west of Ṭôka, is nothing but a market-village with a railway station, and, in the same way, with a few entirely modern temples, and is mentioned in Gazetteers simply because it is such. Mr. Beal himself, locating the capital of *Kong-kin-na-pu-lo* near Golkonda in the Nizâm's Dominions, arrived at the conclusion that Hiuen Tsiang's capital of Mahârâshṭra must be found near the Taptî river, or perhaps near the Girṇâ, which flows through Nâsik and Khândêsh and joins the Taptî about fifteen miles to the north of Eraṇḍôl. But he did not suggest any particular town. And, as I have already intimated, there is no place on either river, at or near the required distance from Broach, answering to the description given by Hiuen Tsiang.

My own attention was attracted specially to the point quite recently, in consequence of a visit to the cave-temples at Ajaṇṭâ (properly Âjîṇṭhâ). They are described by Hiuen Tsiang, in his account of Mahârâshṭra, and are located by him in a great mountain on the eastern frontier of the country. And they are, in fact, in the Chândôr or Sâtmâḷâ range,— just about the point where the range, which finally merges itself in the highlands that form the southern frontier of Berâr, turns towards the south. To the west of Ajaṇṭâ, the range runs through Nândgaon and Chândôr (properly Chândwaḍ), and merges in the Sahyâdri chain in the north-west part of the Nâsik District. And what first forcibly struck my attention, when, after crossing the range from the direction of Ellôrâ, or rather after descending from the plateau which there runs along the southern crest of it, I was travelling along the north of it, is the conspicuous "wall-like boundary"[3] that it makes, from near Nândgaon to at least as far as Ajaṇṭâ, between Khândêsh and the country to the south. In the neighbourhood of Nândgaon and Manmâḍ, where the range is much broken and the level of the country itself rises a good deal, this peculiar feature is not so well marked. But it develops itself again to the west of Manmâḍ. And, taking the range as a whole, there can be no doubt that, in direct continuation of the eastern frontier, on which Hiuen Tsiang placed the Ajaṇṭâ caves, it formed the natural northern frontier of the country which he was describing.

Now, the distance from Broach as given by the Chinese pilgrim, *viz.* 167 miles, must be accepted more or less closely. But, as regards the bearings, while the text of the *Si-yu-ki* says that Broach was to the west of the unnamed capital of Mahârâshṭra (*loc. cit.* p. 259), still, however freely we may interpret the narrative, any easterly direction from Broach, even with a southerly bearing not sufficiently marked to require it to be called plainly south-easterly, carries us decidedly to the north of the Sâtmâḷâ range, and so keeps us outside the northern frontier of the country. On the other hand, however, Hwui-li, who wrote the *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang, says (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 147) that the direction of Broach from the unnamed capital was north-west; and any approximately south-east bearing from Broach takes us, at the distance of 110 to 167 miles, well to the south of the Sâtmâḷâs. And I think, therefore, that the bearings given by Hwui-li must of necessity be more correct than those in the narrative from which extracts have been given above.

And there is still one other point to be mentioned. Mr. Beal's expression "the capital borders on the west on a great river" is,— possibly owing to want of punctuation,— not very explicit, to say the least. And I think that we must prefer the far plainer words made use of by M. Stanislas Julien (*Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, p. 415),— "du côté de l'ouest, la capitale

[3] See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII., Khândêsh, p. 5; also see Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 5.

est voisine d'un grand pleuve," which apparently mean that the capital lay towards the west of the kingdom and was on or near a great river.[4] And I thus take it that we must locate the required place as far to the west as possible, consistently with maintaining, approximately, the given distance and direction from Broach.

Since, then, the given distance from Broach keeps us far away to the north of the real capital, Bâdâmi, we have to look for **some subordinate but important town,** somewhere along or near the northern frontier and towards the western end of it, which was mistakenly spoken of as the capital by Hiuen Tsiang,— most probably because it was the basis of the military operations against Harshavardhana of Kanauj, which also are alluded to in his account, and because, in connection with those operations, Pulikêsin II. happened to be there at the time. And I feel no hesitation in deciding that the place, which must of necessity lie somewhere towards the west or north-west of the Nâsik District, is **Nâsik** itself. This town is about 128 miles to the south-south-east of Broach: the distance corresponds sufficiently well: and, accepting the statement of Hwui-li, so does the bearing; for Broach, lying actually to the north-north-west of Nâsik, may very fairly, in the rough manner followed by the Chinese pilgrims, be described as lying towards the north-west. And the surroundings of the town, which has been a place of importance from considerable antiquity, answer in detail to the description given by Hiuen Tsiang. It is on the Gôdâvarî, which, anywhere along its course, is always counted as one of the great rivers of India. Within a distance of six miles on the south-west, there is the Pâṇḍu-lêṇa group of Buddhist caves, in which we may locate the *saṁghârâma* mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. And finally, as regards the *stûpas* spoken of by him, one, at any rate, still exists,— near a small water-fall on the Gôdâvârî, about six miles west of the town.[5]

In conclusion, I would remark that, in my opinion, the country which Hiuen Tsiang has described might have been called more properly **Kuntala (in Mahârâshṭra),**— rather than Mahârâshṭra itself. To allow for the number of ninety-nine thousand villages, whether actual or traditional, which the Aihoḷe inscription allots to the three divisions of it, each called Mahârâshṭraka, the Mahârâshṭra country proper must, I think, have extended on the north up to the Narmadâ, and on the east and north-east far beyond Ajaṇṭâ. What Hiuen Tsiang was describing is really the kingdom of Pulikêsin II., or part of it. Now, the later Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi were specially known as "the lords of Kuntala." The dominions of their predecessors of Bâdâmi appear to have coincided very much with their own dominions. And the existence of the Kuntala country may certainly be taken back to at least the time of Hiuen Tsiang; for it is mentioned, as a well-established and principal territorial division, in an inscription at Ajaṇṭâ,[6] which, though possibly not quite so early as the period of Hiuen Tsiang, is at any rate not very much later in date. It is, moreover, mentioned there under circumstances which suggest the inference that the Ajaṇṭâ caves were themselves in Kuntala.

It may be added that the given distance of about 410 miles to the south-east from Nâsik takes us to a very likely place indeed, **Karṇûl, as the capital of the country of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo.** The actual distance here is, as near as possible, 403 miles, to the south-east. And, on the assumption, which appears to be correct, that the distances given by Hiuen Tsiang are always the distances from capital to capital, the distance and direction to Karṇûl from

[4] The same meaning may, I think, be given to Mr. Beal's translation, by inserting a comma after "west." And very possibly he intended such a comma to be understood. But, as it stands, his sentence is decidedly enigmatical.

[5] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI., Nâsik, p. 539. It is there called a "burial mound;" but the details of the description shew it to be an undeniable *stûpa*.— To obviate unnecessary questioning, it may be stated that, in spite of its being a Buddhist site, and one, too, on the line of his route, Nâsik is nowhere mentioned by name by Hiuen Tsiang. So there is no objection of that kind,— *viz.* that he refers to it in any other connection,— against the identification for which I decide.— The matter seems to me so obvious, that it appears curious that no one has already hit on the true solution. But it probably required what I have been able to give it,— personal consideration on the spot.

[6] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 126, 127.—In an earlier time still, the name of Kuntala occurs in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xvi. 11.

Conjeveram, *viz.* about 232 miles to the north-west-by-north, seem to answer sufficiently well to the statement made by the Chinese writers, that the capital of *Kong-kin-na-pu-lo* was about 2,000 *li*, or approximately 333 miles, to the north-west from Kâñchî, *i.e.* Conjeveram.[7]

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## DANISH COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

The seaport of **Tranquebar** is situated in the Mâyavaram tâlukâ of the Tanjore district, 18 miles north of Negapatam. The only ancient Hindû building in it is a **Saiva temple**, which is partially washed away by the sea. This temple contains three **Tamil inscriptions**:—[1]

**No. I.**—An inscription which is dated in the 37th year of the reign of the **Pâṇḍya** king Kô-Mâṟavarman, (*alias*) Tribhuvanachakravartin **Kulaśêkharadêva.**

**No. II.**—An inscription which is dated on the 20th day of the month of *Kârttigai* of the cyclic year *Prabhava*, and which records a gift by a certain Irâmaiyar Ayyaṉ, who was the agent of "the glorious Achchudappa-Nâyakkar A[y]yaṉ." According to the *Tanjore Manual*, pp. 750 ff., **Achyutappa** was the name of the second of the four **Nâyaka** rulers of **Tañjâvûr** If he is meant, the date of the inscription would correspond to A. D. 1627.

**No. III.**—An inscription which is dated[2] in A. D. 1783, and which records that a certain Âpaduddhâraṇa-Seṭṭi, the son of Subrahmaṇya-Seṭṭi, erected a flagstaff (*dhvajastambha*) and laid the pavement (*taḷavisai*) of the temple.

The two last inscriptions call the temple Mâsilâmaṇi-Îśvara, while in the first, it is called Maṇivaṇṇîśvara, and Tranquebar itself "**Saḍaṅgaṇpâḍi,** *alias* Kulaśêgaraṇpaṭṭinam (*i. e.* the city of **Kulaśêkhara**)." The modern Tamiḻ designation of Tranquebar, **Taraṅgampâḍi** (*i. e.* "the village of the waves"), is evidently a corruption, produced through a popular etymology, of the form which occurs in Kulaśêkhara's inscription, Saḍaṅgaṇpâḍi.[3] The intermediate form Taḍaṅganpâḍi appears to be scribbled between lines 4 and 5 of the inscription No. II.

A large number of deserted buildings in the European style, the fort of "Dansborg," and the tombstones with Danish epitaphs in the cemetery remind the visitor of this Indian *Pompeii* that it used to be the seat of the Government of a **Danish colony.** The Danes established an East India Company during the reign of Christian IV. in A. D. 1616.[4] Their first ship, the "Oeresund," which left Denmark in August 1618, in charge of **Roelant Crape,** a Dutchman

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[7] Beal, *loc. cit.* p. 253 and note 38. The *Si-yu-ki* says "north-wards;" and Hwui-li, "north-west."— Someone or other has, doubtless, already commented on the curious appearance which the word Koṅkaṇâpura presents, as the name of a country. The Chinese transliteration *kong-kin-na* might also represent the Sanskrit *kaṅkana*, 'a bracelet,' or the Kanarese *keṅgaṇṇu*, 'red eye,' which occurs in *keṅgannavakki*, 'the black Indian cuckoo, having red eyes.' But the country lies so much in the direction of the province which in later records is called, with reference to the actual or traditional number of its villages, the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, and which may very well have included Karnûl, that I cannot help thinking that, in the Chinese *Kong-kin-na-pu-lo*, we may find the word Gaṅga or Koṅgaṇi. With Gaṅga for *kong-kin*, it is not easy to say what *na-pu-lo* can represent; unless it may be the Sanskrit *nûpura*, 'an anklet,' or *naḍvala* (also written *navalâ*), 'abounding with reeds, a reed-bed.' With Koṅgaṇi for *kong-kin-na*, we might, if Koṅgaṇi can be shewn to be the ancient name of any river, take the whole word to be either Koṅgaṇipûra, '(the country of) the floods of the Koṅgaṇi,' or Koṅgaṇipâra, '(the country of) the fords of the Koṅgaṇi.'— There was also a country named Koṅgu, which is suggested to be the modern Koḍagu or Coorg (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xli.). And this name, too, might be found in the Chinese word. But, if Koṅgu is Coorg, it seems too far to the west for the country traversed by Hiuen Tsiang.—Again, a Harihar inscription mentions a country named Koṅgaṇa (*id.* p. 70); it is distinct from the Koṅkaṇa, which is mentioned in the same passage.

[1] Nos. 75 to 77 of my *Progress Report for October* 1890 *to March* 1891; Madras G. O., 10th June 1891, No. 452, Public.

[2] The complete date of the inscription is:—"On the auspicious day, on which the *Uttiraṭṭâdinakshatra* fell on Friday, the 30th day of the month of *Âvaṇi* of the Sôbhakṛit year, which was current after the Sâlivâhana-Śaka year 1775 (*read* 1705) and the Kaliyuga year 4884."

[3] *Saḍaṅgaṇ* appears to be used in the sense of *shaḍ-aṅga-vid*, 'one who knows the six Aṅgas (of the Vêda).' With Saḍaṅgaṇpâḍi compare the term *chaturvêdi-maṅgalam*, which is frequently employed in Tamiḻ inscriptions as the designation of an *agrahâra*.

[4] Pastor Fenger's *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Tranquebar 1863, p. 1.

by birth, was attacked by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast and lost. The commander escaped with thirteen men to the court of Tanjore. Five other ships had left home in November 1618, in command of **Ove Gedde,** a Danish nobleman. Through the united efforts of Crape and Gedde, a treaty between Denmark and **Achyutappa,** the **Nâyaka** of **Tañjâvûr,** was concluded in November 1620. By this treaty, the Nâyaka ceded Tranquebar with fifteen neighbouring villages, — a strip of land of 1½ hours breadth and 2 hours length, — against an annual tribute of about Rs. 4,000.[5] Having laid the foundation of the fort of **Dansborg,** Gedde returned to Denmark, while Crape remained in charge of the new settlement. With one interruption (A. D. 1808 to 1814) the Danes continued to hold Tranquebar for more than two centuries until 1845, when it was purchased by the British. Since then, Tranquebar has lost its commercial importance to Negapatam, a former Dutch port,[6] which enjoys the advantage of being connected with the main-line of the South Indian Railway by a branch from Tanjore.

As appears from Mr. Neumann's great work on *Copper Coins*[7] and Mr. Weyl's *Catalogue of the Fonrobert Collection,*[8] the Danes issued a large number of types of colonial coins, most of which, however, are now rare or not procurable at all. A few years ago, Messrs. T. M. Ranga Chari and T. Desika Chari published the contents of their collection.[9] Through the kind offices of the Rev. T. Kreussler, who continued for some time to purchase on my account all coins which could be obtained at and near Tranquebar, I have since acquired a fairly representative collection, which is the subject of this paper. The abbreviations **N, W,** and **R** refer to the above-mentioned treatises of Mr. Neumann, Mr. Weyl, and Messrs. Ranga Chari and Desika Chari, respectively. For the preparation of the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plate was copied, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

## I.—CHRISTIAN THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1588 to 1648.)

**No. 1.** Lead. Weight, 64¾ grains.

(N. 20646; W. 2802.)

Obv. C with 4 enclosed (the monogram of the king), surmounted by a crown.

Rev. { [. I . B .]<br>CAS<br>1645 }

This specimen is valuable on account of its complete date; on the copy noticed by Neumann, the last figure is missing, and the reverse of Weyl's copy is illegible. The letters I. B. on the reverse are supposed to stand for T. B., an abbreviation of the mint-town, **Tranquebar**; see Neumann's remark on his No. 20672. *Cas,* and *Kas* on later Danish coins, represents,— like the Anglo-Indian "cash,"— the Tamil word *kâśu*, 'a coin.'

## II.—FREDERICK THE THIRD.

(A. D. 1648 to 1670.)

**No. 2.** Copper. Average weight, 12⅞ grains.

(N. 20648; R. 1.)

Obv. F 3, crowned.

Rev. The Norwegian lion.

Neumann refers to a similar coin (N. 20647) with the date ANNO 1667 on the obverse.

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5 See Dr. Germann's *Johann Philipp Fabricius*, Erlangen 1865, p. 87.

6 On the Dutch copper coins of Negapatam (Nâgapaṭṭaṇam) and Pulicat (Paḷavêrkâḍu) see Mr. Neumann's *Copper Coins*, Vol. III. p. 60 f. and Plate xlvii.

7 *Beschreibung der bekanntesten Kupfermünzen*, Vol. III. Prag 1863, pp. 73 ff.

8 *Verzeichniss von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Jules Fonrobert'schen Sammlung*, Berlin 1878, pp. 193 ff.

9 *Indo-Danish Coins; Madras Journal of Literature and Science or the Session* 1888-89.

### III.—CHRISTIAN THE FIFTH.

(A. D. 1670 to 1699.)

**No. 3.** Lead. Weight, $35\frac{1}{4}$, $36\frac{1}{2}$, $76\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(N. 20668; W. 2803-4).

Obv. C 5, linked and crowned.

Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

The letters D O C are the initials of "**Dansk Ostindisk Compagni**" (Danish East-Indian Company). According to Neumann, a lead coin of different type (N. 20661) bears the date 1687 on the obverse.

**No. 4.** Copper. Weight, $11\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

(N. 20668; R. 4.)

Obv. Same as No. 3.

Rev. Blank.

**No. 5.** Copper. Average weight, $13\frac{1}{6}$ grains.

(N. 20662-3; R. 2.)

Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned; 8 on the left, and 9 on the right. Other specimens have 9 on the left, and 0 or 1 on the right.

Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; W on the left, H on the right, and VK below.

The figures 89, 90 and 91 on the obverse are abbreviations of the dates 1689, 1690 and 1691. According to Neumann, the letters W. H. V. K. on the reverse are the initials of the Danish officer who issued the coin.

**No. 6.** Copper. Average weight, $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(N. 20664-7; W. 2809-10; R. 3.)

Obv. Double C 5, linked and crowned.

Rev. D O C, linked and crowned; 1 on the left, 6 on the right, and 94 below. Other specimens have 92 or 97 below.

The figures on the reverse represent the dates 1692, 1694 and 1697. Neumann and Weyl also note the date 1693, R. the date 1699.

### IV.—FREDERICK THE FOURTH.

(A. D. 1699 to 1730.)

**No. 7.** Copper; *one cash.* Weight, 13, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Obv. Double F 4, linked and crowned.

Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

**No. 8.** Copper; *two cash.* Weight, 28 grains.

(N. 20671.)

Obv. Same as No. 7.

Rev. D O C, linked; 2 *Kas* below.

Neumann describes a four-cash piece, and both Neumann and Weyl a ten-cash piece of similar type.

**No. 9.** Copper. Average weight, $12\frac{6}{7}$ grains.

(W. 2812; R. 5.)

Obv. A monogram, consisting of F and 4, crowned.

Rev. D O C, linked and crowned.

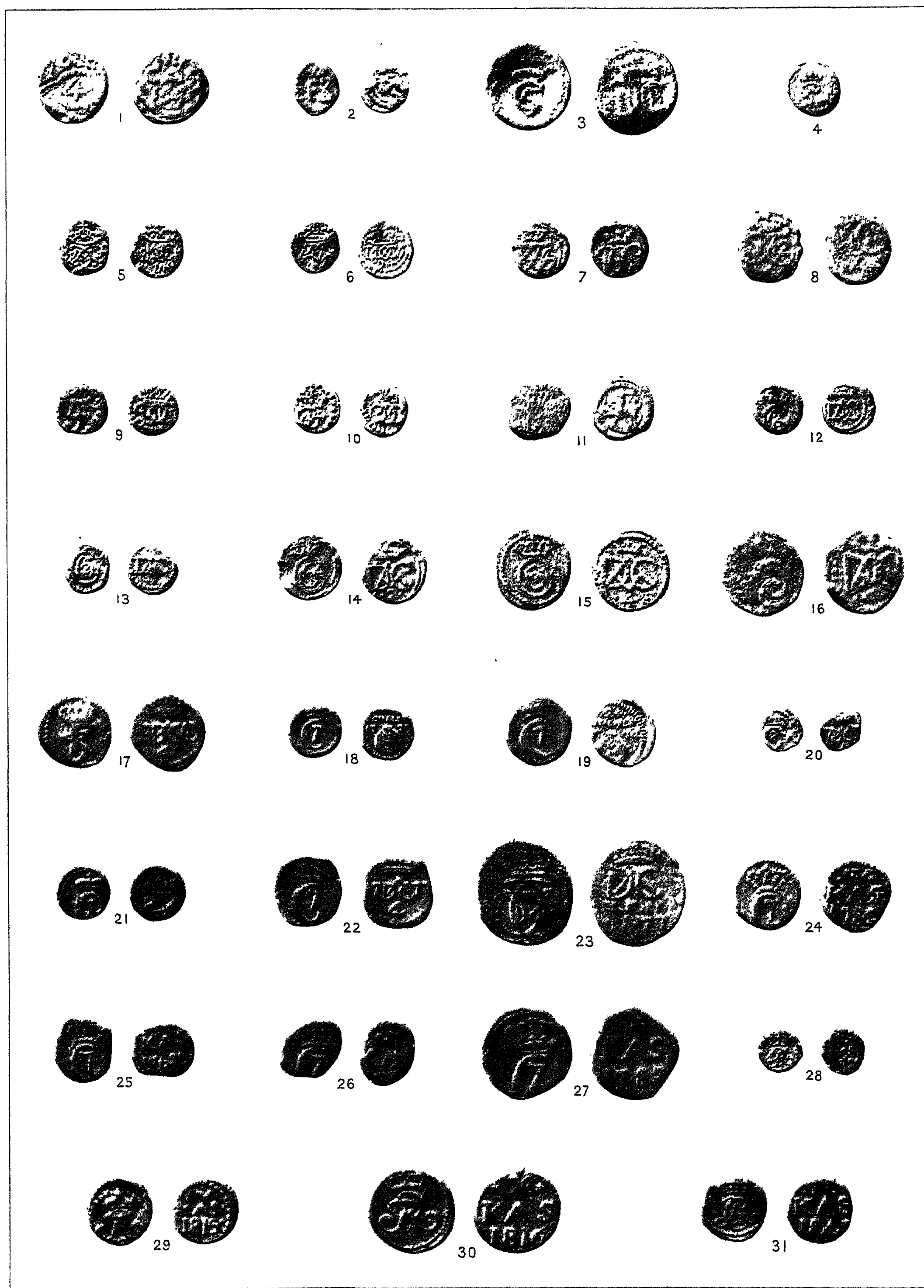
**No. 10.** Copper. Average weight, $13\frac{1}{3}$ grains.

(N. 20673-4; R. 6.)

Obv. F 4, linked and crowned.

Rev. Same as No. 9.

# DANISH COINS FROM TRANQUEBAR.




**FULL-SIZE.**

*From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.*

### V.—CHRISTIAN THE SIXTH.

(A. D. 1730 to 1746.)

**No. 11.** Copper. Weight, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 19 grains.

(N. 20678; W. 2821.)

Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned; 17 on the left, worn on the right.

Rev. The Norwegian lion.

The figure 17 on the obverse is the first half of the date. Neumann notes the date 1730, and Weyl the date 1732.

**No. 12.** Copper; *one cash*. Average weight, $12\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

(N. 20679; W. 2817.)

Obv. C with 6 enclosed, crowned.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned.

The letters D A C, which from the time of Christian VI. take the place of D O C, are the initials of "**Dansk Asiatisk Compagni**" (Danish Asiatic Company).

**No. 13.** Copper; *one cash*. Weight, 10, $12\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(N. 20680.)

Obv. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.

Rev. Same as No. 12, but not crowned.

**No. 14.** Copper; *two cash*. Weight, $23\frac{1}{2}$, $30\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

(N. 20677.)

Obv. Same as No. 12.

Rev. Same as No. 12, with the addition of the figure · 2 · below.

**No. 15.** Copper; *four cash*. Average weight, $40\frac{1}{8}$ grains.

(N. 20675-6; W. 2816; R. 8.)

Obv. Same as No. 12.

Rev. Same as No. 12, but · 4 · below.

**No. 16.** Copper; *four cash*. Weight, 34 grains.

Same type as No. 15; but the letters C 6 on the obverse are reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die.

### VI.—FREDERICK THE FIFTH.

(A. D. 1746 to 1766.)

**No. 17.** Copper; *four cash*. Average weight, $36\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(N. 20683; W. 2834; R. 9.)

Obv. F 5, linked and crowned.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 63 on the right, 4 below.

Neumann's No. 20682 and Weyl's No. 2832 have the different date 1761.

### VII.—CHRISTIAN THE SEVENTH.

(A. D. 1766 to 1808.)

**No. 18.** Silver; *one royalin*. Weight, 20, $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

(W. 2842 ff.; R. 16.)

Obv. C with 7 enclosed, crowned.

Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; 17 on the left, 73 on the right, · I · ROYALIN above.

According to Weyl, the latest date is 1792.

**No. 19.** Silver; *two royalins.* Weight, 40 grains.
(W. 2839 ff.; R. 15.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. The Danish coat-of-arms; [17] on the left, 74 on the right, ∴ 2 ∵ ROYALINER above.

According to Weyl, the earliest date is 1768, and the latest 1807.

**No. 20.** Copper; *one cash.* Weight, 9 grains.
(N. 20707-8.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [1]7 on the left, 6 * on the right, I (*i.e.* I Kas) below.

The fourth figure of the date is lost. Neumann notes the later dates 1777 and 1780.

**No. 21.** Copper; *two cash.* Weight, $17\frac{3}{4}$ grains.
(N. 20706; W. 2851.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; [17] on the left, 67 on the right, 2 below.

Neumann notes the later dates 1770 and 1780.

**No. 22.** Copper; *four cash,* earlier type. Average weight, $36\frac{9}{10}$ grains.
(N. 20693-7; W. 2839*a* ff.; R. 12.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; 17 on the left, 77 on the right, 4 below. Other specimens have 67, 68 and 70 on the right.

**No. 23.** Copper; *ten cash,* earlier type. Weight, $89\frac{1}{2}$, $98\frac{3}{4}$ grains.
(N. 20685-8; W. 2840; R. 11.)

Obv. Double C 7, linked and crowned.

Rev. D A C, linked and crowned; below it, X. KAS (*for* KAS) [A°] (*i.e.* Anno) 1777. Another specimen has the date 1768. Neumann notes the intermediate dates 1770 and 1772.

**No. 24.** Copper; *four cash,* later type. Average weight, $36\frac{14}{15}$ grains.
(N. 20698-705; W. 2859 ff.; R. 14.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. { . IV .
KAS
1788 }

On this and other dies, the A of KAS looks like a V upside down. The earliest date is 1782, the latest 1807.

**No. 25.** Copper; *four cash.* Weight, 32 grains.
(N. 20701.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. { [IV]
KAS
1786
R }

The letter R is perhaps the initial of the Danish officer who issued the coin; compare No. 5.

**No. 26.** Copper; *four cash.* Weight, 39 grains.
(W. 2855.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. Same as No. 24, but VI instead of IV through a mistake of the engraver of the die. On the three specimens which have passed through my hands, the date is cut away; Weyl's specimen has [17]82.

**No. 27.** Copper; *ten cash,* later type. Weight, 98½ grains.
(N. 20689-92; W. 2854 and 57; R. 13.)

Obv. Same as No. 18.

Rev. { . X . / KAS / 1782 }

The latest date is 1790.

## VIII.—FREDERICK THE SIXTH.

(A. D. 1808 to 1839.)

**No. 28.** Copper; *one cash.* Weight, 9¾ grains.
(N. 20730.)

Obv. F R (*i.e.* Fridericus Rex), linked and crowned; VI below.

Rev. { · I · / KAS / 181[9] }

**No. 29.** Copper; *four cash.* Average weight, 38 grains.
(N. 20714-29; W. 2871 ff.; R. 18.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

Rev. { · IV · / KAS / 1815 }

On some of the coins of the year 1817, the S of KAS is reversed through a mistake of the engraver of the die. The latest date is 1839. As remarked by Messrs. Ranga Chari and Desika Chari, p. 9, Frederick VI. did not strike any coins at Tranquebar during the earlier portion of his reign between the years 1808 and 1814, as the Indian colonies of Denmark were then in the temporary possession of the English.

**No. 30.** Copper; *ten cash.* Average weight, 94⅝ grains.
(N. 20709-13; W. 2868 and 82; R. 17.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

Rev. { *X* / KAS / 1816 }

The latest date is 1839.

## IX.—CHRISTIAN THE EIGHTH.

(A. D. 1839 to 1848.)

**No. 31.** Copper; *four cash.* Average weight, $39\frac{3}{10}$ grains.
(N. 20732-37; W. 2884-89; R. 20.)

Obv. C R (*i.e.* Christianus Rex), linked and crowned; VIII below.

Rev. { . IV. / KAS / 184[1] }

The earliest date is 1840, and the latest 1845. Neumann (20731) and R. (19) note a ten-cash piece of 1842.

*Postscript.*

After I had passed the accompanying Plate for printing, I received from Mr. T. M. Ranga Chari, District Munsif of Trichinopoly, a specimen of the following coin of **Christian VI.** :—

**No. 32.** Copper. Weight, 17 grains.

(N. 20681; W. 2818.)

Obv. Same as No. 13.

Rev. A monogram consisting of [T] and B.

The letters T B are an abbreviation of "**Tranquebar**;" see the remarks on No. 1. The monogram on the obverse of Neumann's and Weyl's specimens is surmounted by a crown, as on the obverse of No. 12.

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## NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C. I. S.

(*Continued from p.* 98).

### (2) On the writings of Tul'sî Dâs.

In my *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân*, I have given the following **list of the poet's works** which I had seen or heard of :—

1. *Râm-charit-mânas* (the well-known *Râmâyan*).
2. *Gîtâbalî.*
3. *Kabittâbalî*, or *Kabitta Râmâyan.*
4. *Dôhâbalî.*
5. *Chhappai Râmâyan.*
6. *Râm Sat'saî.*
7. *Jânakî Mangal.*
8. *Pârbatî Mangal.*
9. *Bairâgya Sandîpinî.*
10. *Râm Lalâ Nahachhû.*
11. *Bar'wê Râmâyan.*
12. *Râmâgyâ* (*Râmâjñâ*) or *Râm Sagunâbalî.*
13. *Sankaṭ Môchan.*
14. *Binay Pattrikâ.*
15. *Hanumân Bâhuk.*
16. *Râm Salâkâ.*
17. *Kuṇḍaliyâ Râmâyan.*
18. *Kaṛ'kâ Râmâyan.*
19. *Rôlâ Râmâyan.*
20. *Jhûl'nâ Râmâyan.*
21. *Krishṇâbalî.*

**Some of the above are certainly apocryphal**, and the following information since acquired may be useful.

**Bandan Pâṭhak**, in the commencement of his commentary on *Râm Lalâ Nahachhû*, says,—

*Aura baṛê khaṭa grantha kê*
*Ṭîkâ rachê sujâna* ।
*Alpa grantha khaṭa alpa-mati*
*Birachata Bandana-gyâna* ॥

'Other learned men composed commentaries on the six other greater works, and now Bandan, small-minded one that he is, composes, according to his knowledge, commentaries on the six smaller ones.'

Mahâdêv Prasâd has written a gloss on this commentary, and he illustrates Bandan Paṭhak's statement by remarks, of which the following is an abstract.

'That is to say, **Tul'sî Dâs wrote twelve works, six greater and six lesser,** as is proved by the verse of the well-known **Paṇḍit Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî.**

"'The voice of The Holy Master Tul'sî, blissful to the pious, acceptable to the Almighty, delightful to the universe, composed the *Râm Lalâ Nahachhû* (1), *Birâgyasandîpinî* (2) and *Bar'wê* (3) pleasing the heart of the Lord. It sang the sweet *mangalas* of Pârvatî (4) and Jânakî (5), and composed the *Râmâgyâ* (6) charming like the Cow of Plenty. After uniting *Dôhâs* (*dôhâ-bandh*) (7), *Kabittas* (8) and *Gîtas* (9), it told the tale of Krishṇa (10), and fixed all subjects, (*i.e. omne scibile*) in the *Râmâyan* (11) and the *Binay* (12)."

'Bandan Pâṭhak, in his *Mânas Śankâvalî*, says that he was a pupil of Chôp (or Chôpaî) Dâs, who was a pupil of Râm Gulâm, and, in another *Kabitta*, he says that Tul'sî Dâs taught the *Mânas Râmâyan* (*i.e.*, *Râm-charit-mânas*) to Râm Dâs, who taught it to Râm Dîn Jyôtishî, who taught it to Dhanî Râm, who taught it to Mân Dâs, who taught it to Râm Gulâm. **Râm Gulâm's authority is therefore of considerable weight.**[1]

'On the other hand, **Paṇḍit Śêsh Datt Śarmâ** (*alias* Phanês Datt), who (according to the *Mânasa Mayanka* was also a pupil-descendant of Tul'sî Dâs, and **whose authority is of equal weight),** not only recognizes the work called the *Sat'saî*, which is not mentioned in Râm Gulâm's list, as authentic, but has also written a commentary on it.'

There are, in my opinion, only two arguments in favour of the authenticity of the *Sat'saî*. The first is that mentioned above, that it was commented upon by Śêsh Datt[2]. The second is that it is possible, though improbable, that by, '*Dôhâ-bandh*,' Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî meant the *Sat'saî*, which is written throughout in the *Dôhâ* metre, and not the *Dôhâbalî*. There can be no doubt that the collection of verses commonly known as the *Dôhâbalî*, is not a poem consisting of one connected whole. It is a patchwork largely composed of *dôhâs* extracted from other works of the poet. To show this, I have drawn up the following table, showing where each verse in the *Dôhâbalî*, so far as identified, originally came from. It has been done with the help of native friends, especially Babu Râm Dîn Singh already mentioned. It is as complete as we could make it in default of full indexes of all the works of the poet.

[1] Bandan Pâṭhak has great authority. It must, however, be noted that Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî altogether denies this *Guru*-succession, and that the second *Kabitta* referred to above, is by him. He says that Tul'sî Dâs had no disciples. If he had, they would have called themselves Tul'sîdâsîs, just as we have Kabîrpanthîs, Dariyâdâsîs and the like.

Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî belonged to Mirzâpur, and was born of a poor and ignorant family. He took service (*phêrîdârî*) under a cotton merchant and used to delight in studying the writings of Tul'sî Dâs. At length his ingenious explanations of the *Râmâyan* so charmed the *baniyâs* who listened to him, that they subscribed together and appointed a place for him, where he could recite the poem to their heart's content. Finally, by hook or crook, they obtained for him old MSS. of the poet's works, from which he compiled a very correct text. He was a great Paṇḍit, and wrote a *Kabittâbalî* and other works. His principal pupils were a blind metal worker (*kasêrâ*), who was the Chôpaî Dâs above mentioned, and Lâlâ Chhakkan Lâl, whose name is frequently mentioned in this paper. According to other accounts, Chôpaî Dâs was a *Sannyâsî* (*Giri*). Râm Gulâm died in Sambat 1888 (1831 A. D.).

[2] In connexion with this, the following *Kabitta* by Kôdô Râm, a pupil of Jânakî Śarmâ, the son of Śêsh Datt, may be noted.

*Mânasa* (1), *gîtâbalî* (2), *kabitâbalî* (3) *banâî*, *krishnagîta-abalî* (4) *gâî satasaî* (5) *niramâî hai* |
*Pârabatî-mangala* (6) *kahi*, *mangala kahi Jânakî kî* (7), *Râmâjñâ* (8), *nahachhû* (9) *anurâga-yukta. gâî hai* ||
*Barawê* (10), *bairâgyasandîpanî* (11) *banâî*, *binai-pattrikâ* (12) *banâî jâ meṅ prêma parî chhâî hai* |
*Nâma-kalâ-kôsa-manî Tulasî krita têrê kâryu aisê nahiṅ kali meṅ kôu kabi kê kavitâ hai* ||
In this list the *Sat'saî* is substituted for the *Dôhâbalî*.

*Explanation of Abbreviations.*

Ag. = Râmâgyâ.
Bai. = Bairâgya Sandîpinî.
Sat. = Sat'saî.
Râm. = Râm-charit-mânas (Bâ = Bâl-kâṇḍ, A. = Ayôdhyâ-k°, Âr. = Âraṇya-k°, Ki = Kishkindhya-k°, Su = Sundar-k°., Ln. = Lankâ-k°, and Ut. = Uttar-kaṇḍ).

| No. of verse in Dôhâbalî. | Where found elsewhere. | No. of verse in Dôhâbalî. | Where found elsewhere. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ag. VII., 21* Bai. I.* Sat. I., 2.† | 102 | Sat. I., 59. |
| 2 | Ag. III., 7* | 103 | Sat. I, 60. |
| 3 | Ag. III., 14. | 105 | Râm. Bâ. 29(b). |
| 4 | Ag. II., 35. | 113 | Râm. Ut. 72(a). |
| 5 | Ag. VII., 28. | 114 | Ram. Ut. 25. |
| 6 | Râm. Bâ. 21.* | 115 | Râm. Ln. 47(a). |
| 7 | Sat. I., 30. | 116 | Râm. A. 87. |
| 9 | Râm. Bâ. 20. | 117 | Ag. IV., 15. |
| 10 | Sat. II., 24. | 119 | Ag. IV., 13. |
| 11 | Râm. Bâ. 26. | 120 | Ag. IV., 17. |
| 13 | Sat. II., 7. | 121 | Ag. IV., 16. |
| 16 | Sat. II., 11. | 122 | Ag. IV., 28. |
| 20 | Sat. I., 37. | 123 | Râm. A. 93. |
| 24 | Sat. I., 29. | 124 | Râm. Ki. 26. |
| 25 | Râm. Bâ. 19. | 125 | Râm. Ut. 34. |
| 26 | Râm. Bâ. 27. | 126 | Râm. Ut. 122(a). |
| 28 | Ag. V., 1. | 127 | Râm. Ut. 104(a). |
| 29 | Sat. II., 57. | 128 | Râm. Ut. 119(b). |
| 30 | Râm. Bâ. 22. | 129 | Râm. Ln. 3. |
| 31 | Râm. Bâ. 25. | 130 | Râm. Ln. Introduction. |
| 32 | Râm. Bâ. 24. | 131 | Ram. Su. 46. |
| 38 | Cf. 277. Sat. I., 107, Bai I., 15. | 132 | Râm. Ut. 61. |
| 50 | Râm. Bâ. 29 (a). | 133 | Râm. Ut. 90(a). |
| 52 | Sat. I., 62. | 134 | Râm. Ut. 90(b). |
| 54 | Sat. I., 41. | 135 | Râm. Ut. 92(b). |
| 57 | Sat. I., 109. | 137 | Râm. Ut. 89(a). |
| 69 | Sat. I., 45. | 138 | Râm. Ut. 78(a). |
| 78 | Sat. II., 4. | 139 | Râm. A. 185. |
| 79 | Sat. II, 3. | 145 | Sat. II., 5. |
| 91 | Sat. VII., 124. | 147 | Sat. II., 1. |
| 96 | Sat. I., 55. | 156 | Râm. Âr. 30. (Kh. B., 64). |
| 97 | Sat. I., 56. | 158 | Ag. III., 35. |
| 100 | Sat. I., 57. | 161 | Râm. Ut. 19(c). |
| 101 | Râm. Ln. 2. | 163 | Râm. Su. 49(b). |

* For convenience, all references are to Chhakkan Lâl's one volume edition of the 12 works. The numbers vary slightly in different editions. When the variation is considerable I give also the numbering of the Khaḍg Bilâs Press edition of Râm.; thus, Kh. B., 64.

† The edition of the *Sat'saî* referred to is that with Baij'nâth's commentary. There are often slight variations in the readings between the *Sat'saî* and the *Dôhâbalî*.

| No. of verse in Dôhâbalî. | Where found elsewhere. |
|---|---|
| 174 | Ag. VI., 34. |
| 175 | Ag. I., 21. |
| 179 | Râm. Ut. 130(*a*). |
| 181 | Râm. Bâ. 28(*b*). |
| 184 | Ag. VII., 14. |
| 185 | Râm. Ut. 22. |
| 188 | Sat. I., 28. |
| 189 | Râm. Bâ. 265. |
| 193 | Râm. Bâ. 32(*b*). |
| 195 | Râm. Bâ. 31. |
| 196 | Râm. Bâ. 10(*b*). |
| 198 | Sat. I., 43. |
| 199 | Râm. A. 126. |
| 205 | Râm. A. 230. |
| 206 | Râm. A. 214. |
| 209 | Ag. IV., 23. |
| 210 | Ag. III., 27. |
| 211 | Ag. IV., 27. |
| 212 | Ag. VII., 17. |
| 213 | Ag. VII., 18. |
| 214 | Ag. III., 26. |
| 215 | Sat. I., 40. |
| 217 | Râm. A. 42. |
| 218 | Ag. VII., 19. |
| 226 | Ag. III., 19. |
| 227 | Ag. III., 20 |
| 228 | Ag. VI., 35. |
| 229 | Ag. VI., 22. |
| 230 | Ag. II., 22. |
| 231 | Ag. VII., 2. |
| 232 | Ag. III., 22. |
| 233 | Ag. V., 22. |
| 237, 238 | Râm. Ki. Introduction. |
| 241 | Râm. A. 77. |
| 242 | Sat. I., 49. |
| 247 | Râm. A. 92. |
| 252 | Sat. II., 29. |
| 256 | Sat. II., 8. |
| 259 | Sat. IV., 23 |
| 261, 262 | Râm. Ut. 70. |
| 263 | Râm. Ut. 71(*a*). |
| 264, 265 | Râm. Âr. 32(*a*) (Kh. B., 66(*a*)). |
| 266 | Râm. Âr. 37 (Kh. B., 71). |
| 267 | Râm. A. 47. |
| 269 | Râm. Âr. 40 (*b*) (Kh. B., 74(*b*)). |
| 270 | Râm. Ut. 73(*a*). |
| 271 | Râm. A. 180. |
| 272 | Râm. Ln. 77. |
| 273 | Râm, Ut. 118(*b*). |
| 275 | Râm. Ut. 89(*b*). |
| 276 | Râm. Bâ 140. |
| 277 | Cf. 38, Sat. I., 107, Bai I., 15. |
| 278 | Sat. I., 82. |
| 279 | Sat. I, 94. |
| 280 | Sat. I., 92. |
| 281 | Sat. I., 83. |
| 282 | Sat. I., 91. |
| 283 | Sat. I., 90. |
| 284 | Sat. I., 86. |
| 285 | Sat. I., 88. |
| 286 | Sat. I., 89. |
| 287 | Sat. I., 84. |
| 288 | Sat. I., 79. |
| 289 | Sat. I., 80. |
| 290 | Sat. I., 85. |
| 291 | Sat. I., 87. |
| 292 | Sat. I., 73. |
| 293 | Sat. I., 74. |
| 294 | Sat. I., 75. |
| 295 | Sat. I., 76. |
| 296 | Sat. I., 77. |
| 299 | Sat. I., 105. |
| 301 | Sat. I., 103. |
| 302 | Sat. I., 99. |
| 303 | Sat. I., 104. |
| 304 | Sat. I., 102. |
| 306 | Sat. I., 96. |
| 308 | Sat. I., 106. |
| 309 | Sat. I., 108. |
| 340 | Râm. Ut. 33. |
| 347 | Râm. A. 280. |
| 349 | Sat. IV., 30. |
| 364 | Râm. Bâ. 7(*a*). |

| No. of verse in Dôhâbalî. | Where found elsewhere. | No. of verse in Dôhâbalî. | Where found elsewhere. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 369 | Râm. Bâ. 6. | 476 | Sat. VII., 26. |
| 370 | Râm. Ut. 95(*b*). | 477 | Sat. VII., 28. |
| 372 | Râm. Bâ. 7(*b*). | 478 | Sat. VII., 116. |
| 373 | Sat. VII., 95. | 479 | Sat. VII., 29. |
| 377 | Sat. VII., 94. | 480 | Râm. A. 172. |
| 378 | Sat. V. 32. | 481 | Sat. VII., 30. |
| 382 | Sat. VII., 102. | 484 | Râm. Ln. 16(*b*). |
| 384 | Sat. VII., 96. | 485 | Sat. VII., 57. |
| 386 | Râm. Ut. 78(*b*). | 486 | Sat. VII., 31. |
| 387 | Sat. VII., 97. | 487 | Sat. VII., 32. |
| 389 | Sat. VII., 103. | 488 | Sat. VII., 33. |
| 398 | Sat. VII., 52. | 490 | Sat. VII., 34. |
| 399 | Sat. VII., 44. | 492 | Sat. VII., 35. |
| 404 | Sat. VII., 105. | 494 | Sat. VII., 36. |
| 407 | Râm. Ut. 39. | 496 | Sat. VII., 37. |
| 413 | Sat. VII., 106. | 500 | Sat. VII., 68. |
| 414 | Sat. III., 91. | 503 | Râm. A. 179. |
| 420 | Sat. VII., 54. Ag. VII., 23. | 505 | Sat. VII., 70. |
| 421 | Râm. A. 63. | 506 | Sat. VII., 71. |
| 425 | Sat. VII., 107. | 507 | Sat. VII., 11. |
| 426 | Sat. VII., 108. | 508 | Sat. VII., 10. |
| 428 | Sat. VII., 112. | 509 | Sat. VII , 72. |
| 431 | Sat. VII., 109. | 510 | Sat. VII., 73. |
| 433 | Sat. VII., 113. | 512 | Sat. VII., 74. |
| 435 | Sat. VII., 114. | 514 | Sat. VII., 75. |
| 437 | Sat. VII., 119. | 516 | Sat. VII , 76. |
| 439 | Râm. Bâ. 274. | 517 | Sat. VII., 77. |
| 441 | Sat. VII., 101. | 518 | Sat. VII., 78. |
| 442 | Sat. VII., 100. | 519 | Sat. VII., 79. |
| 446 | Sat. VII., 115. | 520 | Sat. VII., 80. |
| 447 | Sat. VII., 47 (46). | 521 | Sat. VII., 81. |
| 449 | Sat. II., 15. | 522 | Râm. A. 314. |
| 450 | Râm. Bâ. 159 (*b*). | 523 | Râm. A. 305. |
| 451 | Sat. VII., 39. | 524 | Râm. Su. 37 (slight variation). |
| 461 | Ag. VII., 15. | 525 | Sat. VII., 82. |
| 462 | Ag. I., 17. | 526 | Sat. VII , 83. |
| 463 | Ag. I., 18. | 527 | Sat. VII., 84. |
| 465 | Sat. VII., 40. | 529 | Sat. VII., 85. |
| 466 | Sat. VII., 41. | 530 | Sat. VII., 86. |
| 469 | Sat. I., 54. | 539 | Sat. VII., 87. |
| 470 | Sat. VII., 129. | 540 | Râm. A. 70. |
| 474 | Sat. VII., 25. | 541 | Râm. A. 174. |
| 475 | Sat. VII., 27. | 542 | Râm. Ar. 5(*a*) (Kh B., 8(*a*)). |

| No. of verse in Dôhabalî. | Where found elsewhere. | No. of verse in Dôhâbalî | Where found elsewhere. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 543 | Râm. Su. 43. | 557 | Sat. VII., 122. |
| 545 | Sat. VII., 88. | 559 | Sat. VII., 63. |
| 547 | Sat. VII., 120. | 560 | Sat. VII., 123. |
| 548 | Sat VII., 121. | 561 | Râm. Ut. 103(*ba*). |
| 549 | Sat. VII., 62. | 562 | |
| 550 | Râm. Ut. 98. | 565 | Râm. Bâ. 32(*a*). |
| 551 | | 567 | Ag. VI., 25. |
| 552 | Râm. Ut. 99. | 569 | Ag. III., 21. |
| 553 | | 572 | Sat. VII., 125. |
| 555 | Râm Ut. 100(*b*). | | |

It will thus appear that the *Dôhâbalî* is in great measure a collection of verses selected from other works of the poet, and that hence it can hardly be an original work by him. It is quite possibly an anthology selected by some later admirer. Its contents, too, justify this theory: for the separate *dôhâs* (there are 572) have little connexion with each other, and the work in no way forms one connected whole.

It must however, be admitted that there is one very serious difficulty already alluded to, in the way of assuming that the work in *dôhâ* metre referred to by Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî, is the *Sat'saî*. That is the date given in I, 21. It is most improbable that Tul'sî Das should have used as a date the Current Sambat year, a thing which was not the custom in the North-West in his time, and which he does nowhere else, and it is also most improbable that he should have made a mistake in such a matter. This leads to the conclusion that, if the *Sat'saî* is genuine, at least that verse is an interpolation by a later writer, whose power of imitating his master's style was greater than his knowledge of astronomy.

Paṇḍit Sudhâkar-Dvivêdî points out to me that the style also of the *Sat'saî* differs considerably from that of undoubted works of Tul'sî Dâs. The *dôhâs* in it which also occur in the *Dôhâbalî* (some 127 in number) are in his style, but the rest present many points of difference. The first *dôhâ*, or invocation, is in a form never used by the poet, and words occurring in the poem, such as, *khasama*,[3] (i, 65), *papîharâ* (i, 81), *khatâ* (ii, 9), *niramôkha* (ii, 13), *jagatra* (ii, 40), *agata* (in some copies), *giraha* (ii, 46), *bastî* (ii, 55), *puhumi* (ii, 58), *apagata khê* (ii, 80), *guru-gama* (ii, 81), *ahanisa* (ii, 92), *punaḥ* (iv, 99), *mdmilâ* (vii, 110), *kamâna* (vii, 111), are never found in these forms in his acknowledged works. So also, the whole of the well-known third *sarga* with its enigmatical verses is self-condemnatory. Tul'sî Dâs, according to tradition, strongly condemned *kûṭa* verses like these, and blamed Sûr Dâs for writing such. The subject matter is no doubt Tul'sî Dâs's. The teaching and philosophy are his, but the whole language betrays the hand of an imitator.

For these reasons, the best Banâras paṇḍits of modern times deny the authenticity of the Sat'saî. As regards Sêsh Datt, they say, he wrote before its genuineness was questioned, and hence the fact that he wrote a commentary to it has small force as an argument. The best authorities of the present day consider that it is the work of some other Tul'sî Dâs, probably a Kâyasth of that name, who, some say, lived in Ghâzîpur. The main difference between his teaching and that of the older poet of the same name is, that he inculcates more than the latter the worship of Sîtâ, and hence commenced his work on the festival of her birth. This is explained by the supposition that he was originally a Sâkta before becoming a Vaishṇava and that his new belief is coloured by his former predilections. He borrowed numerous verses

[3] But *khasama* also occurs in K. Râm., Ut.. 24, 4.

of the older poet in his composition. Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî informs me that his own father was a pupil, in the *Râmâyaṇa*, of the Chhakkan Lâl already mentioned, and that he himself had learned many things from him. Chhakkan Lâl told him many times that *his* preceptor's, Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî's, opinion was that the *Sat'saî* was certainly not composed by the great Tul'sî Dâs.

My own opinion is that the authenticity of the *Sat'saî* is at least doubtful. There is much to be said on both sides. The date, if the verse in which it occurs is genuine, is certainly against the authenticity, so is the style, and so is the opinion of many native scholars. A fact, which also lends strength to this side, is that if we take the date as a Śâka and not as a Vikrama year, the week-day comes right, but the year A.D.[4] will be a century later than the time of Tul'sî Dâs. On the other hand, the authenticity of the *Sat'saî* was not impugned till the time of Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî, who died in 1831 A.D. The fact of the large number of *dôhâs* which are common both to the *Dôhâbalî* and the *Sat'saî* must be considered. The author of one must have borrowed from the other, and the question is which did so. If the author of the *Sat'saî* borrowed *dôhâs* from the older Tul'sî Dâs to suit his purpose, why did he borrow only from the *Dôhâbalî*, and, with one or two exceptions, only those verses in the *Dôhâbalî* which are not found elsewhere in the poet's works. We should have expected the author of the *Sat'saî* to have borrowed freely from the thousands of other *dôhâs* written by Tul'sî Dâs, and yet he does not borrow one except from the *Dôhâbalî*. On the other hand, the Dôhâbalî admittedly borrows freely from every work of Tul'sî Dâs in which *dôhâs* occur, from the *Râmâgyâ*, the *Birâg Sandîpinî*, and the *Râm-charit-mânas*, besides containing 127 verses occurring in the *Sat'saî*. *A priori* therefore, it would appear more probable that the author of the *Dôhâbalî* borrowed from the *Sat'saî*, rather than that the author of the *Sat'saî* borrowed from the *Dôhâbalî*. I cannot get over the violent improbability that the author of the *Sat'saî*, if a plagiarist, should have committed plagiarism only on the *Dôhâbalî*, and not on the other greater works of the poet, and that, in committing this plagiary, he should have carefully selected only those verses in the *Dôhâbalî* which are not themselves borrowed from elsewhere.

The *Dôhâbalî* not only bears on its face proof of its being a *cento* of verses taken from other poems of the master, but is stated to be so by tradition. It is said to have been compiled by Tul'sî Dâs himself, at the request of the great Ṭôḍar Mall. It was composed, partly of new *dôhâs*, and partly of verses selected from his earlier works, as a sort of short religious manual. It was therefore compiled after June 4th, 1598 A.D., the alleged date of the composition of the *Râmâjñâ*,[5] the latest of the works from which he quotes, and before 1623, the year of his death. As Ṭôḍar Mall died in 1589 A.D., the tradition that the work was composed at his suggestion may not be true.[6]

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that at least a portion of the Sat'saî was written by our Tul'sî Dâs, that from the poem, as he wrote it, he selected *dôhâs*, which he inserted in the *Dôhâbalî*, and that the *Sat'saî* is not entirely a modern work, consisting partly of verses stolen from the latter. Possibly, or rather certainly, it has undergone great changes at the hands of a later author, perhaps also named Tul'sî Dâs. This later author may have even given it the name of the *Sat'saî*, jealous that his master should not have the credit of having written a *Sat'saî*, as his great rival Sûr Dâs had done. Possibly the whole of the third *Sarga*[7] is an interpolation. Although Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî denied its authenticity he was certainly an admirer of the poem, for there is a copy of it in his handwriting in the library of the Maharajah of Banâras.[8]

[4] The corresponding date is Thursday May 5th, 1720.

[5] See, however, notes to pp. 93, 97 *ante*. As Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî maintains that this is the date of the copying of the MS., and not that of the composition of the poem, the above statement is possibly incorrect.

[6] Since the above was written I have seen a very old MS. of the *Dôhâbalî*, which does not contain any verses quoted from the Râmâjñâ. These verses are hence a subsequent addition. This fact modifies the statements made above.

[7] Not a single *dôhâ* in the third *Sarga* is found in the *Dôhâbalî*.

[8] So I am informed by Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî.

The authorised list of the canonical works of Tul'sî Dâs may therefore be taken as follows:—

A. The six lesser works—

(1) Râm Lalâ Nahachhû.
(2) Bairâgya Sandîpinî.
(3) Barawê Râmâyan.
(4) Pârbatî Mangal.
(5) Jânakî Mangal.
(6) Râmâjñâ.

B. The six greater works—

(1) Dôhâbalî (or Sat'saî.)
(2) Kabitta Râmâyan also called Kabittâbalî.
(3) Gît Râmâyan also called Gîtâbalî.
(4) Kṛishṇâvalî also called Kṛishṇagîtâbalî.
(5) Binay Pattrikâ.
(6) Râma Charita Mânasa, now called Râmâyan.

The above is the order in which they are given by Râm Gulâm Dvivêdî, and in which they are printed in the convenient *corpus* of the collected works of Tul'sî Dâs, published from Râm Gulâm's manuscripts by Lâlâ Chhakkan Lâl Râmâyanî.[9] This edition, however, gives the *Dôhâbalî*, and not the *Sat'saî*.

*(To be continued.)*

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## THE KUDOS OF KATHA AND THEIR VOCABULARY.

BY BERNARD HOUGHTON, C.S.

Appended is a short list of the more common words in the language of the Kudôs of Kathâ (Kaþâ), which has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. J. Dobson, District Superintendent of Police at Kathâ. The words selected are those used in the well-known vocabularies of Mr. Brian Hodgson, though a few of the postpositions and adverbs, which experience shows to vary excessively in the Tibeto-Burman dialects, have been designedly omitted. Mr. Dobson took the precaution to record the word-sounds both in English and Burmese characters, so that no difficulty has been experienced in reproducing his spelling of the Kudô words by the usual system of transliteration. The possibility, moreover, of clerical errors has been reduced to a minimum.

The Kudô tongue is not one of those included in the list of frontier languages, for which prizes are given on examination, and but little seems to be known about those who speak it, and who live principally in the Wunthô (Wunþô) sub-division of the Kathâ District. It is clear, however, that they were there before the Shâns appeared in those parts, and that some of them have become absorbed into the Shân race. In fact, many of the latter living in Wunthô and its vicinity are called Shân-Kudôs in token of their mixed origin, but of this title they are somewhat ashamed, and generally try to make themselves out to be full-blooded Shâns.

It is possible that the *Census Report*, when it is examined, may give us some information as to the numbers, &c., of the Kudôs, though, owing to the late rebellion in Wunthô, it would seem to be doubtful whether any accurate statistics will be forthcoming. In the meantime the list of words now given throws some light on the ethnic relations of the Kudôs, and, to bring out these relations the more clearly, I have appended to each word those more closely related to it in the cognate languages. The general result is to show that the Kudôs belong to the Kachin-Nâga branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, and that they are therefore comparatively recent

[9] For those who wish to study the text alone, this edition will be found the most accurate, and the most convenient. It is published at the Saraswatî Press, Banâras, by Bisêsar Prasâd.

immigrants into Burma.[1] The evidence at present available points to the conclusion that this section of the race only arrived in Burma after the Burmese central authority had become somewhat established, and that these wild tribesmen, though superior in fighting qualities to the Burman, have been checked, if not forced back, by the superior power which comes from a centralised authority, even when imperfectly organised. The Kudôs would seem to have been an advance guard of the Kachin race, and, what between the Shâns and the Burmans, to have been rapidly deprived of the autonomity which they originally possessed. They have in fact been chiefly subjugated by the former of these two races, which, unable owing to the Burmese power to get an outlet to the South-west, forced one to the North-west, — a movement culminating in the irruption of the Ahoms into Assam.

A glance at the list of the words given will show that at the time the Kudôs left their Tibetan home they were in a very low state of civilisation, and could not in fact count up to more than 5, or at most 6. The numerals above 6, and probably also that number, have been obviously borrowed from one of the Shân family of languages. This is in curious contrast to the Chin-Lushais, who have their own numerals up to 100. The words for 'buffalo' and 'goat' have also been adopted by the Kudôs after their arrival in Burma, but it is evident that previously they had pigs, fowls, and dogs, and that they knew of horses.

Apart from the above-noted general relationship of the Kudôs, my examination of the words given has led to the very interesting discovery that the **Sâks, a small tribe living in the Valley of the Kulâdaing in Arakan, are, of all known tribes, the most closely related to the Kudôs**, and that, in fact, it can scarcely be much more than 100 years since they formed one people. The list of Sâk words given in Hodgson's *Vocabulary* is unfortunately incomplete, but the resemblances to the Kudô words now given are so striking, — in several cases the Sâk furnishes the only parallel to the Kudô word, — as to show that they must have at one time formed one people, and that the period of separation cannot have been very long ago. This is the more remarkable as the Sâks live now far away from the Kudôs, and are in fact surrounded by tribes of the Chin-Lushai race, from whom they probably received a rough handling before they reached their present habitat. The most probable explanation is that a portion of the Kudôs, driven forth by some *vis major*[2], endeavoured to cross the hills to Nâga-land, but were unable to get through, or else lost their way, and, striking the head waters of the Kulâdaing, followed that river down to where they now live. They now form on the West of these hills, as the Kudôs do on the East, the most Southern extension of the Kachin-Nâga races. The result of this discovery is that **the Sâks must be withdrawn from the Chin-Lushai branch and affiliated to Kachin-Nâga branch**, (sub-section Kudô), of the Tibeto-Burman race.

**As to the original habitat of the Kudôs, together with that of the Kachin-Nâga sub-family generally, it is probable on the evidence before us that they came from North-Eastern Tibet, their route lying through the passes North of Bhamo. Their congeners in those regions would appear to be Gyarungs, Gyamis, Sokpas and Thochus, of which races but little is as yet known.**

**The first of these peoples is, it may be remarked, somewhat closely allied to the Karens,** whose passage into Burma, though by the same route as the Kachin-Nâga immigration, was probably much anterior to it. The language of the Karens is very much corrupted, and *primâ facie* does not seem to be specially related to those of the Kachin-Nâgas. All, however, show a tendency towards the Chinese section of the family. I use this last expression advisedly,

[1] A proof of this can be seen in the word for 'moon,' which in almost all dialects of this sub-family is *da*, (with variations), instead of *la*, &c. Now in the Tibetan language, which was reduced to writing about 632 A. D., it is spelt *z-la wa* (ཟླ་བ), which must be taken as representing the usual pronunciation of that time, and it is only since then that the sound has become corrupted into *dâ-wa*.

[2] Perhaps a Shân immigration.

being convinced that Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and the various cognate languages and dialects are all members of one great family, which, originating in Tibet or to the Northward, has spread itself East and South-East. Of all these languages the Chinese has become most corrupted in pronunciation, thus causing it for so long to be grouped apart from the others; but from the pronunciation of some of its better preserved dialects and from the restoration by modern scientists of its old sounds, it is easily shown that its most important roots are identical with the ordinary forms still existing in the Tibeto-Burman family proper. Justice, however, can hardly be done to the subject here, and I shall content myself now with a mere statement of this thesis, promising to return to the subject on a future occasion.

AIR.—*Halaung*. (*Cf.* Tib. *lung*, Serpa, Bhût. *lûng*, Ahom, Khamti, Laos, Siamese, *lôm*, Gara *lam-pâr*. *Ha* might stand for either *ka* or *k'a*, the former being the ordinary Tibeto-Burman prefix, the latter being a wide-spread root meaning 'sky;' but seeing that the words for 'hair' and 'head' have also the particle *ha*, it seems probable that in this case also it is merely the *ka* prefix).

ANT.—*Pun-sênꜱ.*[3] (*Cf.* Sâk *p'ün-si-gyâ.*)

ARROW.—*Talêt*. (Has both the *ta* prefix and affix. *Cf.* Sâk *tolî* in *tolî-ma-lâ*, Karen *plâ*, and possibly Ahom *lem*, Khamti *lim*, Laos *lempün*. Perhaps allied with the Burmese *lê* 'a bow' and its cognate words. Compare Bodo *ba-lâ*.)

BIRD.—Ûꜱ-*'sê-sa*. (Û is evidently the root, the remainder apparently being added to distinguish birds in general from fowls, *q. v.* *Cf.* Tengsa-Nâga *usó*, Sâk, *wâ-si*, Singpho *wu*, Angami-Nâga *te-vü*, Mikir, Namsang-Nâga *vo*, Mithan-Nâga, *ó*. Allied to the Tibeto-Burman root, *wâ* = a fowl; *cf.* also Southern Chin *wu-mun* ꜱ, 'a pigeon,' &c.)

BLOOD.—'*Sê*[4]. (*Cf.* Singpho *sai*, Thochu *sâ*, Manyak *shâ*, Gyami, Horpa *syê*, Gyarung *ta-shi*, Sunwar *a-si*, Burmese, *wê*, Karen *broï*, Sâk *t'ê*, Bodo *t'ô-i*.)

BOAT.—'*Wâ*-'*lîꜱ* ('*lí* and '*wâ* are possibly synonymous roots. The former is found in the forms *lî* or *lû*, with or without the ordinary prefixes or affixes, in most of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. As to '*wâ*, *cf.* Sâk *hau*, Khamti *hü*).

BONE.—*Mâk-kû*. (*Cf.* Murmi *nâk'û*, Newar *kwê*, Gyâmi *kû-thô*, Manyak *rû-k'û*, Chinese coll. *kûh*, Kami *a-hû*. Possibly the *kô* or *jô*, in Tibetan coll. *rû-kô* 'a bone,' is not a servile but a form of this root in conjunction with the commoner *rû*).

BUFFALO.—*Kyë*[5]. (*Cf.* Ahom *k'rai*, Burmese *kywê*, Khamti, Ahom and Siamese *k'wai*, Sâk *krô*).

CAT.—*Han-si*. (*Cf.* Sâk *haing*).

COW.—*Môk*. (*Cf.* Sâk *t'a-mûk*, Deoria-Chutia *mô-su*).

CROW.—*U-hâ*. (*Cf.* Mithan-Nâga *ok'â*, Sâk *wûkkâ*, Singpho *kok'â*, Ahom, Khamti, Laos, Siamese *kâ*. *Kâ* appears in several of the Himalayan words for 'crow.' As to *u*, *cf.* under 'egg.'

DAY.—*Ya-â*. (*Cf.* Sâk *yat-ta*, Bur. coll. *yet*. Possibly connected with *yâ* in *wan-yâ* 'to be light,' *q. v.* It is noteworthy that this word has no connection with that for 'sun').

DOG.—*Kyî*. (This root runs through most of the cognate languages varying in form from the Chinese *k'üen*, and Burmese *k'wê* to the Southern Chin *üi*).

EAR.—*Ka-nâ*. (*kâ* is the prefix. The root *nâ* is found throughout the Tibeto-Burman family).

EARTH.—*Ka*. (*Cf.* Sâk *kã*, Namsang-Nâga, Bodo, Garo *hâ*, Karen *haw-ko*, Vayu *kô*, Singpho *n'ngâ*, Sunwar *k'api*, Kiranti *bâ-k'â*, Limbu *k'am*).

EGG.—*U-di*. (*Cf.* Singpho *û-di*, Mithan-Nâga *oti*, Sâk *wa-ti*, Kiranti *u-ding*, Karen *di*, Limbu *t'in*, old Chinese *tan*, Mikir, Lepcha *ati*, Taungthu *dê*, Shandu, *a tê*, Karen, Lushai *atûi*,

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[3] The Burmese MS. shows the existence in Kudô of at least the heavy tone.

[4] Vowel sound as in *air*.

[5] *ky* is apparently pronounced as *ch*. *Cf.* the usage in Burmese, S. Chins, &c.

Dhimal *tûi*, Southern Chin, *a toi*. The prefixed *u* in Kudô, &c., doubtless stands for *û*, a fowl. The root *ti* or *tû i*, &c., Mr. Hodgson would identify with the similar one for 'water' found in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages).

ELEPHANT.—*Akyî*. (*Cf.* Singpho *magwi*, Sâk *ukû*).

EYE.—*Mêt-tu*. (*Mêt* is the root which is found in different forms in all Tibeto-Burman languages. The nearest to Kudô is the Mikir *mêk*).

FATHER.—*Âwa*. (*Cf.* Singpho *wâ*, Namsang-Nâga *va*. These two languages and Kudô are alone in possessing this word instead of the universal *pa, po*, &c. It is probably a softening of the latter.[6] If a comparison with the Dravidian languages be allowed, (I have already elsewhere shown a connection between these and the Tibeto-Burman family,[7]) the example of Yerukala *âva* throws light on the matter).

FIRE.—*Wan*. (*Cf.* Singpho *wan*, Namsang and Mithan Nâga *van*, Garo *wal*, Bodo *wat*, Sâk *bâ-in*. This is again a notable variation from the usual root *mî* or *mê*. It is probably connected with Southern Chin *awâ*, 'light,' Tib. coll. *'wê* 'light,' Chepang *wâ-gô* 'dawn.' See 'light' *infra*).

FOWL.—*U ȣ*. See 'bird,' *supra*.

FISH.—*Lông-nga*. (*Lông* perhaps refers to some particular kind of fish. The root *nga* in its various forms is found in most of the cognate languages).

FLOWER.—*Ba-pâ*. (Evidently a reduplicated form of the root *pâ*. *Cf.* Bodo *bî-p'a*, Southern Chin *p'â*, Shandu *apâ*, Dhimal *abâ*, Gâro *pâ*, Karen *p'a*, Sâk *apân*, Burmese *pân*, Singpho *si-pân*, Karen *p'an*, Lushai *ni-pû*, Kami *pôn*, Miri *â-pun*).

FOOT.—*Ta-paut*. (*Ta* is perhaps the prefix. *Cf.*, perhaps, Bodo *yâ-p'â*. (See 'hand').

GOAT.—*Gapë*. (Talaing *k'apa*, Sâk *kibi*, Shan *pâ*. The Palaing word for 'goat' is not known, but if, as is possible, it is the same as the Talaing, the inference would be that the Kudôs had borrowed the word from them).

HAIR.—*Halông-hû*. (As to *halông* see 'head.' *Cf.* Mithan-Naga *k'o*, Nowgong-Nâga *ko*, Tengra-Nâga *ku*, Khari-Nâga *k'wä*, (perhaps) Singpho *karâ*, Tib., Murmi, Takpa *krâ*).

HAND.—*Tapaung*. (*Ta* is perhaps the prefix. This is an example of the curious manner in which, as was first pointed out by Hodgson, the words for 'hand' and 'foot' run into each other in these languages. It is not easy to find any etymological relationships to this root, though it may possibly be connected with the following words for 'arm':— Southern Chin *bawn*, Lushai *bân*, Manip. *pâmbôm*, Shandu *bôpi*, Angami-Nâga, *bû*.[8]

HEAD.—*Ha-lang*. (*Ha* is the prefix. Probably a shortened form of *halông* in *halông-hû*=hair. (*Cf.* Chepang *tolong*, Magar *tâlû*, Shandu, Kami, Lushai *lû*, Southern Chin *alü*.)

HOG.—*Wâg*. (This root is found in almost all Tibeto-Burman languages).

HORN.—*Yôngâ*. (*Cf.* Namsang and Mithan Nâga *rông*, Garo *korong*, Singpho *rung*, Sâk *arûng*. This root with the meaning 'bone' is very common in the Tibeto-Burman family).

HORSE.—*Sabu*. (*Cf.* Sâk *sapû*, Newar *sâla*, Tib., *sê*, Southern Chin *sê* or *sî*).

HOUSE.—*Kyin*. (*Cf.* Sâk *kyin*, Tib., Bhut., Chepang *k'yim*, Mikir *hêm*, Karen *hi*, Limbu *him*, Burmese *im*, Manip. *yam*, Lushai, Southern Chin *in*. It is also found in many other cognate languages including, probably, Chinese *kê*).

IRON.—*'Sin*. (*Cf.* Sâk *bain*, Deoria-Chutia *sung*, Bodo *churr*).

LEAF.—*P'un-tap*. (*Cf.* Sâk *pwîn-tâk*.)

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[6] Compare Sâk *aba, ba-in* with Kudô *awa, wan*.

[7] *Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins and its Affinities*.

[8] An alternative derivation would make *ta* the root as in Sâk *atar, pauk* and *paung* being added to distinguish 'hand' from 'foot.'

LIGHT.—*Wan-yá-ma.* (From the examples of verbs given below, *ma* or *mat* would seem to be the termination of the aorist or present tense in Kudô, and *wán-yá-ma* therefore = it is light· See 'day' and 'fire,' *supra*).

MAN.—*Ta-mî-sat.* (*Mî* is of course the well-known root meaning 'man,' *ta* being the prefix *Sat* is an affix peculiar to Kudô and probably has some meaning[9]).

MONKEY.—*Kwèʔ.* (*Cf.* Angami-Nâga *ta-kwi*, Sâk *kowuk*, Garo *kauwé*).

MOON.—*Sadá.* (*Cf.* Sâk *vattá*, Singpho *sitá*, Manip. *tá*, Namsang-Nâga *dá*, Tib. coll. *dá-vá* corrupted from *z-lává*, Bhut. *dan*. *Sa* is perhaps an affix only, (*cf.* Sokpa *sárá*), but see under 'sun').

MOTHER.—*Amë.* (This is a root found in all cognate languages, except Southern Chin and a few others, which have varieties of the root *nu*).

MOUNTAIN.—*Kayá.*

MOSQUITO.—*Pa'sit.* (*Cf.* Sâk *píchí*).

NAME.—*Nanmë* (This is merely a corruption of the Burmese coll. *ná-me*, which in turn is derived from the Pâḷi).

Night.—*Nat-kyet.* (*Cf.* Sak *hanáhé*; and as to *nat*, Mithan-Nâga *rang-nak*, Tablung-Nâga, *rang-niak*, Lepcha *sanap*).

OIL.—*Salaw.* (*Cf.* Kami *sarau*, Lushai *sa'rîk*, Sâk *sí-dák*, Southern Chin *a'sí*, &c.).

PLANTAIN.—*Salá-shi.* (*Shi*=fruit. *Cf.*, perhaps, Limbu *lá*).

RIVER.—*Myit.* (Burmese colloquial. There is doubtless an indigenous word for 'stream.')

ROAD.—*Lam.* (A very common root in the Tibeto-Burman family).

SALT.—*Sûm.* (*Cf.* Namsang-Nâga *sum*, Deoria-Chutia *sün*, Sâk *súng*, Singpho *jum*, Nowgong-Nâga *ma-tsü*. Probably ultimately related to the *cha* or *chi* root found in most cognate languages).

SKIN.—*Salé.* (*Cf.* Burmese *ƀaré* Dhimal *d'âlé*; (perhaps) Sokpa *sárá*).

SKY.—*Hamét.* (*Ha* is perhaps a prefix, but see under 'air.' *Cf.* Southern Chin *amé-haw*, Thochu *mahte*, Manyak *ma*, Burmese *mô*, Murmi *mú*, Gyarung *mûn*, Nâga *ke-'mu*, a cloud.)

SNAKE.—*Ka-p'ü.* (*Ka* is the prefix. *Cf.* Sâk *kapú*, Mithan, Tablung, and Namsang Nâga *pú*, Horpa *p'á*, Garo *dû-pú*, Sunwar *bû-sá*, Bhut., Lepcha *bö*, Magar *bul*, Tib. *brûl*, Lushai *rûl*, Manyak *brú*, Thochu *búgi*, Southern Chin *p'aw*).

STAR.—*U-nû-shi.* (Perhaps, Gyarung *tsi-ni*).

STONE.—*Lông-kû-shi.* (*Lông* is the root, which is widely diffused in the Tibeto-Burmese family).

SUN.—*Samêt.* (*Cf.* Sâk *sa-mî.* As to *mêt* see under 'sky.' *Sa* in this case would appear to be the root for 'sun' found in Bodo *shan*, Garo *san*, Dhimal *sa-ne*, Lepcha *sáchak*, but in Kudo it is found also prefixed to the word for 'moon').

TIGER.—*Ka'sá.* (*Cf.* Sâk *ka-ƀá*, Namsang-Nâga *sa*, Deoria-Chutia *mesá*, Tablung-Nâga *sanu*).[10]

TOOTH.—*Swá.* (*Cf.* Murmi *swá*, Sak *aƀawá*, Burmese *ƀwá*, Thochu *swá*. Mithan-Nâga *wá*. Singpho, Sakpa, Newar, *wá*, Namsang and Tablung Nâga, *pá*).

TREE.—*P'un-grun.* (*Cf.* Singpho *p'un*, Sâk *pûng-páng*, Deoria-Chutia *popon*, Bodo *bong-phang*).

VILLAGE.—*T'ên.* (*Cf.* Kiranti *têng*, Sâk *ting*, Mithan-Nâga *ting*, Tablung-Nâga *tying*, Tib. coll. *tông*, Chinese coll. *táng*).

WATER.—*Wëʔ.* (*Cf.* Newar *wá*, Sak *ó*).

I.—*Nga.*—This is a very common root in the Tibeto-Burman family, and elsewhere.

[9] Possibly the same word as the nam Sâk.

[10] Query = tigress. *Sa*, 'a tiger' and *nu*, the feminine suffix.

THOU.—*Nank.* (*Cf.* Singpho, Burmese *nang*, Mikir, Magar *náng*, Lushai, *nangma*, Southern Chin *naung*, Chinese coll. *nin*, Gyami, Horpa *ni*, Manyak *nô*, Angami-Nâga *no*. The root is also found in many other languages and dialects).

HE, SHE, IT.—*K'yin. Bin-ná-nú.* (*Cf.* Bodo *bî*, Miri *bu*).

WE.—*Ali-suda.* (This is a very anomalous form, and is evidently from a different root to the singular.)

YE.—*Hani.* (*Cf.* Limbu *k'eni*, Kiranti *k'ananin.*) Also Murmi *aini*, Sokpa *ch'ini*, Horpa *ni-ni*. Looking to these analogies I would derive this word from *ha* = thou, (Lepcha *hau* connected with Tib. coll. *k'é*, Tib. *k'yod*, &c.) and *ni* = thou (*cf. nank* above), the word thus being a reduplicated 2nd person, (though from two roots) — a sufficiently common method of forming the plural).

THEY.—*Anda.* (This differs again completely from the singular form.)

MINE.—*Alisuda.* (Probably a mistake for *nga.*)

THINE.—*Hani.* (For *nank ?*)

HIS.—*Amî-shî-da.*

OURS.—*Ali-suda.*

YOURS.—*Hani.*

THEIRS.—*Andauk.*

ONE.—*Tanat.* (*Nat* is apparently a numeral auxiliary. As to *ta*, (*cf.* Burmese coll. *ta*, Mithan-Naga *átta*, Manyak *tábî*, Takpa *t'i*, Gyarung *ka-tí*, Limbu *tît*, Burmese *tach.*)

TWO.—*Krin-tet.* (*Tet*, as will be seen below, is a numeral co-efficient. *Cf.* Singpho *k'ong*, and perhaps Karen *k'i*).

THREE.—*Sum-tet.* (This root for three is very wide-spread, and needs no illustration.)

FOUR.—*Pî-tet.* (The servile has absorbed the initial letter of the root. *Cf.* Newar *pî*, Gyarung *plî*, Murmi *blî*, Garo, *brî*, Sâk *prî*, Lushai, Lepcha *palî*, Mikir *p'ilî*, &c., &c. The root *lî* is almost as common as *sum.*)

FIVE.—*Ngáŏ-tet.* (*Ngá* or *ngô* for five is found in most Tibeto-Burman languages. In Southern Chinese it has the clipped form *ng'*.)

SIX.—*Kôk-tet.* (Probably from the Shân *hôk*. The real Tibeto-Burman root for this numeral appears to be *ruk*, so that if this is an indigenous word, the servile has displaced the initial letter of the root. The latter is very widely diffused.)

SEVEN.—*'Set-tet.* (*Cf.* Chinese *sit*, Khamti *tset*, Kami *sê-ri*, Southern Chin *'sî*, Gyami *ch'i*, Ahom *chil*, Singpho *si-nil*, Garo *si-ning.*)

EIGHT.—*P'et-tet.* (*Cf.* Ahom, Khamti, Laos *pet*, Siamese *pêt*, Chinese coll. *pah* for *pat*. Possibly connected with Murmi, Gurung *prê*, which root (if *p* is a servile), appears in a good many of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)

NINE.—*Kau-tet.* (*Cf.* Ahom, Khamti, Siamese *kau*. This root in slightly modified forms appears in most languages of the family and in Chinese).

TEN.—*Shim-nú.* (*Shim* is evidently the real root; *nú* = Khamti, Laos, Siamese *nüng* = one. *Cf.* Ahom, &c., *sip*, Chinese coll. *shih*, Singpho, Gyarung *sî*, Sunwar *sa-shî*, Takpa *chi*, Murmi *chî-wai.*)

TWENTY.—*Son-nú.* (*Cf.* Laos *san-nüng*, Ahom, Khamti *san.*)

THIRTY.—*San-ship.* (*Cf.* Ahom *sam-sip*, Khamti, Laos, Siamese *sám-ship*, Chinese coll. *san-shih*, Gyarung *ka-sám-si*, Singpho *tum-sî.*)

FORTY.—*Shi-ship.*—(*Cf.* Ahom, &c., *sî-sip*, (Chinese coll. *ssu-ship.*)

FIFTY.—*Há-ship.* (*Cf.* Ahom, &c., *há-ship*, Southern Chin *hauk-kyît*).

ONE HUNDRED.—*Pauk-nú.* (*Cf.* Chinese coll. *poh* for *pok*; Ahom, Khamti *pák.*)

EAT.—*Yôk-mat.* (*Mat* or *ma* is probably the termination of the aorist.)

DRINK.—*U-wawn-mat*. (*Cf.* Sakpa *wô-û*, Karen *aw*.)

SLEEP.—*Ek-ma*. (*Cf.* Burmese coll. *êk*, Burmese *ip*, Limbu *ip-se*, Vayu *im*, Mikir, Kami. Southern Chin *î*.)

WAKE.—*Mi-li-ma*.

LAUGH.—*Ni-yôk-ma*. (*Cf.* Chepang *'ni*, Angami-Nâga *nü*, Bodo, Garo *mi-ni*, Singpho *ma-nûi*, Lushai, Kami, Southern Chin *noi*, Newar *nyu*, Taungthu *ngá*, Manipuri *nôk*, Murmi *nyet*, Gurung *nyed*, Mikir *ingnêk*.)

WEEP.—*Hapma*. (*Cf.* Limbu *hâb-ê*, Garo *hêp*, Bodo, Kiranti (one dialect), Manipuri *kâp*, Southern Chin *kâk*, Singpho *krâp-u*, Lushai *tap*, Newar *k'wô*, Nâga *kra*, Dhimal *kâr*, Kami *k'á*.)

BE SILENT.—*Yá-p'yî-shî. nim*. (*Nim* is apparently the termination of the 2nd person singular of the Imperative; *cf.* Burman coll. *'nin*, Burmese *'nang*, Southern Chin *'naung*.)

SPEAK.—*Tû-ta b'auk*. (*Cf.* as to *tû*, Namsang-Nâga *t'û*, Burman *t'û*, 'to reply.' As to *b'auk*, Sunwar *pâk* and perhaps Ahom *pôk*, Siamese *p'ut*.)

COME.—*Li*. (*Cf.* Dhimal, Gyami *lê*, Burmese *lá*, Manipuri *lâk*, Kami *lan*, Southern Chin, Lushai, Taungthu *lô*, Magar *rá*.)

GO.—*Nang*. (*Cf.* Lepcha *nân*, Burmese *'nang*, 'to cause to go, to drive').

STAND UP.—*'Sap-nim*. (*Cf.* Singpho *tsap-u*, Nowgong-Nâga, Garo *chap*, Tengsa-Nâga *sep-tak*.

SIT DOWN.—*T'ônŝnim*. (*Cf.* Burmese *t'aing*.)

MOVE, WALK.—*Tarak nang, lam ta-yang*. (*Nang* = to go; *lam* = a path.)

RUN.—*Ka-mat*. (Cf. Bodo *k'ât*, Singpho *gagâtu*, Karen *ghê*. Perhaps allied to the Burmese *ka* = to dance.)

GIVE { TO ME.—*nga-yan î*. (*An* is evidently the dative affix.)
TO ANY.—*hî-yan î-yan*. The second *yan* in the second phrase is probably a mistake for *yang*, which is either the future particle or an alternative one for the aorist (see *infra*). *Î* is the root to give, the only analogy to it being the same word in Telugu. *Hî* is probable the Singpho *k'î*( = *he*) a root found in several of the Tibeto-Burman languages.)

TAKE { FROM ME.—*Nga-het lang*. FROM ANY.—*hi-het lang*. } ( *Het* is a postposition. As to *lang*, *cf.* Tib. *lan*, Tib. coll., Bhut. *lên*, Mikir *long* 'to obtain,' Manipuri *lan*, Southern Chin *lô*, Kami, Shandu, Singpho Lushai *lá*, Chepang *lí*, Magar *lî-o*, Garo, Limbu *lê*, Angami-Nâga *lê* 'to accept, take.')

STRIKE.—*Tan-nang*. (*Cf.* Old Chinese *tâng*, Dhimal *dânghai*, Karen *tan-dû*, Tib. *dûn*, Tib. coll., Serpa, Bhut., Magar *dûng*, Lushai, Southern Chin *deng*.)

KILL.—*Wan-shî-yang*. (*Wan* appears to be the root, and is perhaps allied to Bodo *wat*.)

BRING.—*Lai*. (Probably a shortening of *la* for *lang* = to take and *î* = to give.)

TAKE AWAY.—*La-nang*. (*La* for *lang* = to take, and *nang* = to go.)

LIFT UP, RAISE, BEAR, CARRY.—*Nga-an*.

HEAR.—*Tet-pu-ma*. (*Cf.* Namsang-Nâga, *tôt-o*, Mithan-Nâga *a-t'ak*, Gurung *t'êd*.)

UNDERSTAND.—*Nga-min-shá-ha-ma*.

TELL, RELATE.—*Hë-yang*. (*Cf.* Southern Chin *han*, Kami *há*, Lushai *han* 'to abuse,' Burmese *haw* 'to preach,' Chinese coll. *hwá* Vayu *hât*, Old Chinese *gwat*.)

RED.—*Hama*. (Perhap Karen *gaw*.)

GREEN.—*'Sin-pyî-pyî-nga-ma*. (It is not clear whether the root is *'sin* or *pyî*. If the former it is allied with the Burmese *chin*, Singpho *ke-tsing*, &c., &c.)

LONG.—*Saut-ma*. (*Cf.* Southern Chin *'sauh*, Mithan-Nâga *chô-ek*, Manyak *shá*, Angami-Nâga *hâc*, Shandu *sî*, Lushai, Burmese coll. *shê*, Manipuri *sang*, Kami *shang*, Burmese *'rañ*, Tib. *ring*.)

SHORT.—*Tun-na.* (*Cf.* Singpho *kû-tûn*, Tib. *t'ûng*, Bhut. *tun*, Murmi *t'ûm*, Magar *tûn*, Kiranti *dûng*, Takpa, Gyami *t'ông*, Burmese *tô*)

TALL MAN.—*matamisa saut-ma.*
SHORT MAN.—*matamisa tun-na.* } (It will be noticed that *ma* is prefixed to the word for man.)

SMALL.—*Asina.* (*Cf.* Singpho *katsi*, Burmese *si*, Karen *'sî*, Agami-Nâga *ka-chê*, Newar *chî-ga*, Chinese coll. *siao.*)

GREAT.—*Tôm* 8*-ma.* (*Cf.* Karen *dô*, Namsang-Nâga *a-dông*, Takpa *t'ên*, Lushai, Southern, Chin *t'au* 'to be fat'.)

ROUND.—*Waing-waing nga-ma.* (From the Burmese. Probably an adverbial form,—see 'green.')

SQUARE.—*Lê*8*daung.* (Burmese.)

FLAT.—*Palat-k'ara.* (Perhaps, Serpa *lî-blib*, Bhut. *le-blep*, Gurung *p'lê-bâ*, Lepcha *lêp-bo.*)

LEVEL.—*Nyî-tama.* (Burmese. Both the words, 'flat' and 'level' are apparently adverbs.)

FAT.—*Tôm-ma.* See above, 'great.'

THIN.—*Asina.* See above, 'small.'

WEARY (BE).—*Naung-ma.* (*Cf.* Burmese *ñaung.*)

THIRSTY (BE).—*Wë* 8 *nga-ta-mat.* (*Wë* = water. *Ngata* is probably the Burmese *ngat.*)

HUNGRY (BE).—*Yôk-k'aw-na.*

## MISCELLANEA.

### DATES FROM SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

*Ante*, Vol XXI. p. 49, I have treated of some dates which, instead of quoting a lunar month, give us the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be on the day intended by the date. I now find that this is a common practice in Southern India[1]; and to show this, I propose here to treat briefly of the dates of the inscriptions, edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *South-Indian Inscriptions*. Vol. I. I shall begin with the regular dates, and shall first take those which leave no doubt whatever that the months, referred to in the dates, are the solar months.

1.—On p. 111. an inscription on the east wall of the Sômanâthêśvara temple at Padavêḍu is dated:—'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttirâḍam (*i. e.*, **Uttarâshâḍhâ**), which corresponds to the *yôga* **Âyushmat** and to **Saturday**, the thirteenth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Siṁha** of the *Sukla* year, which was current after the Śaka year 1371 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Śukla is Śaka 1371 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the **Siṁha-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar month Bhâdrapada began, 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July A.D. 1449. And the European equivalent of the date is **Saturday**, the 2nd August A. D. 1449, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 43 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ** for 10 h. 30 m., and the *yôga* **Âyushmat** for 4 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this day was the 13th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, and therefore the month of Siṁha, *i. e.* Bhâdrapaḍa, quoted in the date, must be the solar month Bhâdrapada.

2.—On p. 70, an inscription on a stone at Aṛappakkam is dated:—'On **Wednesday**, the twelfth lunar day of the latter half of the month of **Kumbha** of the *Akshaya-saṁvatsara*, which was current after the Śaka year 1488 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Akshaya (or Kshaya) is Śaka 1488 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the **Kumbha-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar month Phâlguna began, 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January A.D. 1567. And the European equivalent of the date is **Wednesday**, the 5th February A. D. 1567, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this was the 12th of the dark half of the *amânta* Mâgha.

3.—On p. 85, an inscription on a stone, built into the floor of the court-yard of the Viriñchipuram temple, is dated:—'On **Thursday**, the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Punarvasu**, which corresponds to the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of **Mêsha** of the *Saumya* year, which was current after the Śâlivâha-Śaka year 1471 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Saumya is Śaka 1471 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti** took

[1] The same practice is still followed in Orissa. See *ante*, Vol. I. p. 64.

place, and the solar month Vaiśâkha began, 19 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th March A. D. 1549. And the European equivalent of the date is **Thursday**, the 4th April A. D. 1549, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 44 m. and when the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for about 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this was the 7th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, and the day thus belonged to both the solar and the lunar Vaiśâkha.

4.—On p. 78, an inscription on the north wall of the Perumâḷ temple at Gâṅganûr near Vêlûr is dated:—'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî**, which corresponds to **Monday**, the first lunar day of the former half of the month of **Rishabha** of the *Pramâthin* year, (*which was*) the 17th year of (*the reign of*) Sakalalôkachakravartin.'

According to Dr Hultzsch, the year Pramâthin must here be Śaka 1261 expired. In that year the **Vṛishabha-samkrânti** took place, and the solar month Jyaishṭha began, 9 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th April A. D. 1339. And the European equivalent of the date is **Monday**, the 10th May A. D. 1339, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar the day was the first of the bright half of Jyaishṭha, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Jyaishṭha.

5.—On p. 104, an inscription on the south wall of a Maṇḍapa at the base of the Tirumalai rock is dated:—'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttiraṭṭâdi (*i e.*, **Uttarabhadrapadâ**), which corresponds to **Monday**, the eighth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Dhanus** of the *Ânanda* year, which was current after the Śaka year 1296 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Ânanda is Śaka 1296 expired, as stated in the date. In that year the **Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar month Pausha began, 20 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th November A. D 1374 And the European equivalent of the date is **Monday**, the 11th December A.D. 1374, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half *commenced* 3 h 41 m., and when the moon entered the *nakshatra* **Uttarabhadrapadâ** 3 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. By the lunar calendar this day fell in the bright half of Pausha, and it therefore belonged to both the solar and the lunar Pausha.

The four following dates (Nos. 6—9) do not work out properly.

6.—On p. 74, an inscription on a stone at Sattuvâchchêri near Vêlûr is dated:—'On **Wednesday**, the thirteenth lunar day of the dark half of the month of **Makara** of the *Yuva-saṁvatsara*, which was current after the Śaka year 1497 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year *Yuvan* is Śaka 1497 expired, as stated in the date. And in that year the sun was in the sign **Makara**, or, in other words, the solar month Mâgha lasted, from 4 h. 57 m after mean sunrise of the 29th December A.D. 1575 to 15 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th January A.D. 1576. During this time there was only one 13th *tithi* of the dark half, and this *tithi* lasted from shortly after sunrise of Thursday, the 29th December, to about the end of the same day, and it cannot in any way be joined with a Wednesday.—In my opinion, the word *Makara* of the date is probably an error for **Dhanuḥ**; for the **Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti** of the same year took place 20 h 36 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th November A.D. 1575, and a 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended on the following day, **Wednesday**, the 30th November, 5 h. 15 m after mean sunrise. This day would belong to the solar Pausha, and by the lunar calendar to the *amânta* Mârgaśirsha.

7.—On p 80, an inscription on the base of the Îśvara temple at Teḷḷûr near Vêlûr is dated:—'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Tiruvônam (*i e.*, **Sravaṇa**), which corresponds to **Monday**, the fifth lunar day of the former half of the month of **Karkaṭaka** of the *Sâdhâraṇa* year (*and*) the Śaka year 1353.'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Sâdhâraṇa is Śaka 1352 expired (or 1353 current). And in that year the sun was in the sign **Karkaṭa**, or, in other words, the solar month Śrâvaṇa lasted, from 23 h 13 m after mean sunrise of the 28th June to 10 h 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th July A.D. 1430. During this time there was only one 5th *tithi* of the bright half, and this ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th July, when the moon was in Hasta (13), not in Śravaṇa (22), and which therefore clearly is not the day of the date.—In Śaka 1352 expired, the year of this date, the only fifth of the bright half on which the moon was in **Sravaṇa** was **Monday**, the 20th November A.D. 1430, which by the northern calendar was Mârga-śudi 5, and which also was the 22nd day of the solar Mârgaśirsha. Now, as the solar Mârgaśirsha of the north would in the south be called the month of Kârttigai, I am inclined to think that **Monday**, the 20th November A.D. 1430, is really the day of the date, and that in the date the word *Karkaṭaka* has been erroneously put for *Kârttigai.*

8.—On p. 108, an inscription at the Ammaiappêśvara temple at Paḍavêdu is dated:—'To-day,

which is (*the day of the nakshatra*) **Rêvatî** and **Monday**, the seventh lunar day of the former half of the month of **Karkaṭaka**, which[2] was current after the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and eighty (*had passed*).'

In Śaka 1180 expired the sun was in the sign **Karkaṭa**, or, in other words, the solar Śrâvana lasted, from 11 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June to 22 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 28th July A. D. 1258. During this time there was one 7th *tithi* of the bright half, which *commenced* 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday**, the 8th July, and ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th July Here we might feel inclined to assume that the *tithi* had been joined with the day on which it commenced; but on Monday, the 8th July, the moon was in Hasta (13) and Chitrâ (14), not in Rêvatî (27).—Under any circumstances the date appears to contain an error, but what the exact error may be I am unable to decide. If the word *Karkaṭaka* of the date were a mistake for *Kârttigai*, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half *would* end on a Monday,—the 4th November A. D. 1258, which, by the northern calendar, was Mârga-śudi 7 and also the 7th day of the solar Mârgaśîrsha; but on that Monday the *nakshatra* was Śravishṭhâ (23), not Rêvatî (27). Again, if in Śaka 1180 expired we were to search for a Monday on which the moon was in Rêvatî and on which also a 7th *tithi* ended, we should find this to have been the case on Monday, the 24th June A. D. 1258; but that Monday was the 7th of the dark half, and on it the sun was in the sign Mithuna.

9.—On p. 125, an inscription on a pillar in the Maṇḍapa in front of the Râjasiṁhavarmêśvara shrine at Kâñchîpuram is dated:—' On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Têr (*i.e.*, **Rôhiṇî**), which corresponds to **Tuesday**, the seventh lunar day of the latter half of the month of **Makara** of the *Kîlaka* year, which was current (*during the reign*) of Kambanna-uḍaiyar.'

According to Dr. Hultzsch, the Kîlaka year must here be Śaka 1291 (current, or 1290 expired). In that year the sun was in **Makara**, or, in other words, the solar Mâgha lasted, from 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th December A. D. 1368 to 2 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 25th January A. D. 1369. And during this time the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 1st January A. D. 1369, when the moon was in Chitrâ (14), not in Rôhiṇî (4), and which clearly is not the day of the date.—I am unable to suggest any correction of this date, and can only say that during the solar Mâgha of Śaka 1290 expired the moon *was* in Rôhiṇî at sunrise of Thursday, the 18th January A. D. 1369, which was the 10th of the bright half of the lunar Mâgha; and that the whole year Śaka 1290 expired contains no Tuesday, either in the bright or in the dark half of a lunar month, on which the moon was in Rôhinî.

10.—Differing from the above, a date on p. 84, from an inscription inside the front Gôpura of the Viriñchipuram temple, gives us the solar month, and both the day of that solar month and the lunar day, without stating, however, whether the lunar day belonged to the bright or to the dark half. Dr. Hultzsch translates the date thus:—'On the day of (*the nakshatra*) Anusham (*i e*, **Anurâdhâ**), which corresponds to **Wednesday**, the sixth lunar day, the 3rd (*solar day*), of the month of **Paṅguṇi** (*i e*, Phalgunî) of the *Viśvâvasu* year, which was current after the Śaka year 1347 (*had passed*).'

By the southern luni-solar system the year Viśvâvasu is Śaka 1347 expired, as stated in the date. The month of Panguṇi is the solar Chaitra of the northern calendar; and the *nakshatra* Anurâdhâ, joined, in or near Phâlguna, with the sixth lunar day, shows that this sixth lunar day belonged to the dark half of the lunar month. In Śaka 1347 expired the **Mîna-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 15 h. 42 m, after mean sunrise of the 24th February A. D. 1426; and the European equivalent of the date is **Wednesday**, the 27th February A. D. 1426, when the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Phâlguna) ended 20 h. 30 m., and when the moon was in **Anurâdhâ** for about 23 h. after mean sunrise.

Another date in Dr. Hultzsch's volume (p. 60. verse 21), which also, like the dates 1—9, quotes a sign of the zodiac, may be omitted here, because it has been already treated by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 426. But I would take this opportunity to say a few words about the date of **the copper-plate in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Koṭṭayam** which was first given in this Journal (Vol. I. p. 229) by the late **Dr. Burnell**, and which has again been drawn attention to by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 287 and 289. According to Dr. Hultzsch's translation the date is this:—' On the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî**, **Saturday**, the twenty-first of the month of **Mîna** (*of the year in which*) Jupiter (*was*) in **Makara** (*within the time*) during which the sacred rule of the illustrious Vîra-Râghava-chakravartin . . . was current.'

Dr. Burnell, when writing about this date,

[2] The name of the Jovian year has evidently been omitted from this date through an oversight.

mentioned that he had shown it to the ablest native astronomer (K Krishṇa Josiyâr) in Southern India, and that in two days he received from him the calculation worked out, proving that the year of the date was A. D. 774, and that this was the only possible year. Now I am sure that the calculation which Dr. Burnell received from the native astronomer was correct, though Dr Burnell, instead of saying A. D. 774, should have said A. D. 774-775; but A. D. 774-775 is not the only possible year. For I can myself point out two days either of which would suit the astronomical requirements of the date,—Saturday, the 10th March A. D. 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A. D. 775.

In Kaliyuga 3780 expired the **Mîna-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of the 18th February, A. D. 680; and, accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mîna (or Chaitra) was **Saturday**, the 10th March A. D. 680. On that day the moon entered **Rôhiṇî** about 6 h. after mean sunrise, and on the same day Jupiter was in the sign **Makara**, which it had entered on the 26th November A. D. 679.

Again, in Kaliyuga 3875 expired the **Mîna-saṁkrânti** took place, and the solar Chaitra began, 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the 19th February A. D. 775, and, accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mîna (or Chaitra) was **Saturday**, the 11th March A. D. 775. On that day the moon was in **Rôhiṇî** for about 17 h. after mean sunrise, and Jupiter was in the sign **Makara** which it had entered on the 17th October A. D. 774.

Perhaps there may be other days which also would suit the date. But even if this should not be the case, I know too little of the history of Southern India to be able to say, which of the two possible equivalents of the date, given above, would be preferable.

*Göttingen.* F. Kielhorn.

## BOOK NOTICE.

Kalhana's Rajatarangini, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, edited by M. A. Stein, Ph.D, Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, Vol. I. Sanskrit text with critical notes.

The two great Asiatic nations, with a very ancient but isolated civilization, afford a striking contrast in their treatment of history. The Chinese possess not only authentic chronicles, going back year by year to the eighth century B. C., but also historical accounts of their royal dynasties, beginning from a period considerably earlier than 2000 B. C India, on the other hand, did not produce any work of even a quasi-historical character till more than a thousand years after the commencement of our era. That a people so intellectually gifted as the Indians, who reached an advanced stage in philosophical speculation, and showed great accuracy of observation in linguistic investigations several centuries before Christ, should have entirely lacked the historical sense, is certainly a remarkable phenomenon. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that when the Aryan conquerors had overspread the plains of Hindustân, the Indian mind, influenced by the climate, turned more and more away from the realities of active life towards speculation, arriving as early as the sixth century B. C. at the conclusion that action is a positive evil. Hence it is not till the twelfth century of our era that the first Indian work was written which at all deserves the name of a history, *viz.*, **Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kasmîr.** Yet even in that author, as Prof. Weber says, the poet predominates over the historian.

**The Râjataraṅgiṇî** first became known through **Horace Hayman Wilson's essay on the Hindu History of Kasmîr**, published in 1825. Ten years later the *editio princeps* appeared under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This edition is based mainly on a Dêvanâgarî transcript from a Śârada MS., which has now been proved to be the original of all known MSS. of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* Its value is not great, owing to the numerous mistakes made in the course of the transcription, and to liberties taken with the text through ignorance of the topography of Kaśmîr on the part of the Paṇḍits who undertook to edit the work.

**Troyer's edition**, published at Paris in 1840, and comprising only the first six cantos, was based on the same materials. Though an improvement on its predecessor, it is still very defective, and proved of but little use to General Cunningham in his chronological researches.

No further progress in our knowledge of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* was made till 1875, when **Prof. Bühler undertook his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kasmîr.** This scholar, whose researches have thrown more light on the ancient history of India than those of perhaps any other living Sanskritist, then discovered the *codex archetypus* of all existing copies of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. It was fortunate that Dr. Stein, a pupil of Prof. Bühler, was enabled to visit the Valley of Kaśmîr in 1888 and the following years, one of his objects being to obtain possession of this valuable MS. with a view to editing it. Though he found it to be still more difficult of access than it had been during the lifetime of its former owner, on whose death it had to be divided among the heirs, Dr. Stein's persevering efforts were at last crowned with success in 1889.

The *Rájataraṅgiṇî* consists of eight cantos or *taraṅgas*, comprising altogether nearly 8,000 verses, and is composed in the ordinary Śloka metre. The codex archetypus, when obtained by Dr. Stein, proved to contain the whole of the work, with the exception of one leaf in the middle and one at the end, these having probably been lost when the partition took place. The name of the copyist, Ratnakaṇṭha, is given in the colophons to some of the *taraṅgas*, but the date is nowhere stated. However, as the dates of various other works copied or composed by the same writer range from 1648 to 1681 A. D., the MS. in question may safely be assigned to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Though written in a difficult hand, as may be seen from the two facsimile specimen pages reproduced in Dr. Stein's edition, the MS. is remarkably free from corruptions and mistakes. The faithfulness of the transcription is proved by the fact that the *lacunæ*, which vary in length from one syllable to several verses, being indicated by dots and empty spaces, are left even where it would have been easy to supply the missing letters.

Dr. Stein conjectures that the original of Ratnakantha's MS. must have been a very old one, because in one particular passage the copyist is in doubt whether to read तेजो or श्रोजो, a confusion which could only be due to a peculiarity of the Śârada character, not to be found in Sârada inscriptions later than the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. The syllables ते and श्रो are in this older form of the Śârada character almost identical in form, as *e* is always written with a vertical stroke before the consonant (ƒत = ते). It must, however, be borne in mind that the characters used in MSS. may very well have differed from those employed in coins and inscriptions. This peculiar method of writing *e* is also to be found for instance in a Dêvanâgarî MS. of Shadguruśishya, dating from the end of the fourteenth century.

It being evident from what has been said that Dr. Stein's edition is practically based on a single MS., the question as to whether the codex archetypus contains any old glosses becomes one of primary importance. It is a satisfaction to be informed that there are actually many valuable marginal notes on details of the topography of Kaśmîr, besides various readings and corrections, supplied by four different hands. The annotations of two of these, designated as $A^2$ and $A^3$, are old and of considerable critical value. $A^2$, probably a contemporary of Ratnakaṇṭha, appears to have revised from the same original what the copyist had written, and to have added the notes and various readings which the copyist had omitted. The additions of $A^3$ are of especial value, inasmuch as he fills up the *lacunæ*, in cantos i to vii not from conjecture, but, as the evidence adduced by Dr. Stein shows, from a MS. independent of the original copied by Ratnakaṇṭha. As there seem, however, to be no traces of its use in later copies of the *Rájataraṅgiṇî*, this MS. has in all probability been irretrievably lost. Unfortunately the text of Ratnakantha contains numerous corrupt passages in the last third of the seventh and the whole of the eighth canto, while the *lacunæ* are here rarely filled up by $A_3$. Considering that this part of the MS. comprises rather more than one-half of the whole work, these omissions are much to be deplored, particularly as the increased trustworthiness of the narrative, as it approaches the times of the author, is counterbalanced by obscurity due to corruptions.

Dr. Stein's critical notes show that he has proceeded with great caution in dealing with a task beset with serious difficulties, and the parallel passages which he brings to bear on obscurities in the text are evidence of the extreme care with which he has executed his work. That there is still scope for emendation in the eighth canto, Dr. Stein is himself the first to acknowledge; but it will be clear to all Sanskritists, who examine his edition, that he has accomplished his task with all the thoroughness possible in the circumstances. Dr. Stein is to be congratulated on having been able, not only to produce the first trustworthy edition of so important a work as the *Rájataraṅgiṇî*, but to study on the spot in the course of the last four years the topography of Kaśmîr, on a knowledge of which the full comprehension of that work so largely depends. It is also fortunate for the subject that this combined task has fallen into the hands of so persevering, energetic, and enterprising a man. Sanskṛit scholars will look forward with much interest to the appearance of the second volume, which, besides an introduction and exegetical notes on the text is to contain a commentary on all matters of historical, archæological, and topographical interest occurring in Kalhana's narrative. On the completion of that volume Dr. Stein will have accomplished a work complete in itself, which will add much to our knowledge of the history and archæology of mediæval India. It seems a pity that the book should have been published in the very unwieldy form of atlas folio. But as it has been brought out under the patronage of the Kaśmîr State Council, this practical drawback was perhaps unavoidable. We have here another recent instance of the enlightened support extended by Indian Princes to the promotion of research and to the preservation of the ancient literature of their country.

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# TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

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## No. 4. — THE VIKRAMA-CHOLAN-ULA.

SIX years ago, during one of my official tours, I halted at Tanjore, and visited the Sarasvatî-Mahal, or the "Palace of the Goddess of Wisdom" in that town. This building forms a part of the residence of the late Râjâs of Tanjore, and is so called because it contains a vast library of miscellaneous works composed in Sanskṛit, Marâṭhî, Tamiḻ, and English, printed and in manuscript, collected by successive Râjâs. The volumes I found neatly arranged and labelled, and catalogues of the books available for the visitor, whose curiosity might tempt him to see what treasures of the ancient lore of the country lie buried there. I did not examine the catalogues of Sanskṛit books, because I knew that Dr. Burnell, who was employed as a Judge for several years at Tanjore, had examined the whole library, and had described everything of that kind that was valuable. But I carefully went through the lists of Tamiḻ works, and found two manuscripts, bearing respectively the titles **Vikrama-Chôḻaṉ-Ulâ** and **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻaṉ-Ulâ**, which seemed to be of some historical value. They were written on palmyra leaves, about a foot long and one and a half inch broad. The leaves were written on both sides and in clear characters ; but they were fast decaying, the edges breaking under the slightest touch,—tiny insects, more diligent than the antiquarian, having already gone through every leaf of the manuscript and "read, marked and digested" a great portion of it. A Tamiḻ Paṇḍit, who accompanied me, and who was an ardent admirer of the ancient masters of Tamiḻ poetry, was in raptures over the two poems, especially their latter parts, in which the author describes in very lascivious strains the amorous demeanour of the women of the palace at the sight of the king; but to me the introductory portions, wherein the ancestry of the Chôḻa princes is given, was of absorbing interest. It struck me at the time that the poems would furnish a clue to the tangled genealogy of the **Chôḻas**, which at present cannot be unravelled with the side of information afforded by inscriptions alone. I had them copied at once. Some months afterwards, the late Tyâgarâja Cheṭṭiyâr, Tamiḻ Paṇḍit of the Government College, Kumbhakôṇam, who had copies of these poems with him, having kindly lent me his manuscripts for my use, I compared them with the copies taken at the Sarasvatî-Mahal, and found little or no difference, except a few blunders made by copyists.

I give below the text and translation of the first 182 lines of the *Vikrama-Chôḻaṉ-Ulâ.* The rest of the poem is of no value to the student of history, and is besides of too licentious a character to be rendered into English. As denoted by the title, the work belongs to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil as "**ulâ**." This name is derived from the root *ulâ*, which means 'to stroll' or 'to go in state.' Poems of this class usually begin with an account of the ancestors of the hero, then depict his personal appearance when he sets out from his mansion, followed by his vassals and servants, and conclude with a very elaborate description of the enamoured behaviour of the women of his court, young and old, the eagerness with which they await his appearance, their joy and confusion when his eyes meet their gaze, their sorrow and sadness when he passes out of their sight. The poem is one of the best of its kind in the Tamiḻ language. For elegance of expression and richness of imagery it may be compared to Moore's *Lalla Rookh.* It is composed in the *Nêriśai-kali-veṇpâ* metre. The name of the author is not known.

The poem begins with the genealogy of the **Chôḻas**, which is traced through Brahmâ, the Sun, and other mythological personages to the king, who is said to have built high banks on both sides of the bed of the river **Kâviri**. The name of this king is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* as **Karikâla-Chôḻa**. His successors are described as follows :—

I. The king, who set at liberty the **Chêra** prince, on hearing the poem *Kaḻavaḻi* sung by the poet **Poygai**. This is **Śeṅgaṭ-Chôḻa**; see my translation of the *Kaḻavaḻi*, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

II. The victor of many a battlefield, who bore on his person no less than 96 scars gained in battle.

III. He who constructed a roof of gold to the sacred hall in the temple at **Chidambaram.** From the Leyden grant it appears that this king was **Parântaka-Chôḷa.**[1] He also bore the title of **Vîra-Nârâyaṇa-Chôḷa.**[2]

IV. He who conquered the **Malainâḍu,** *i.e.*, most probably the Koṅgu and Chêra countries, and killed 18 princes in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy [3]

V. He whose armies seized the countries bordering on the **Gaṅgâ** and **Kaḍâram.**[4]

VI. He who defeated the king of **Vaṅga,** and thrice attacked **Kalyâṇa,** the capital of the Western Châlukyas.[5]

VII. He who won the battle of **Koppa** (or Koppai). The inscriptions of this king, commencing with the words *Tirumagaḷ maruviya śeṅgôl vêndan,* are found in many parts of the Tamiḻ country, and it appears from them that he was known by the title of **Uḍaiyâr Śri-Râjêndradêva,** *alias* **Kô-Parakêsarivarman.**

VIII. He who made a *sarpa-śayana, i.e.* a couch or bed in the shape of a coiled serpent, for the image of Vishṇu at **Śrîraṅgam.**

IX. The victor of **Kûḍal-saṅgama.**[6]

X. His successor, of whom no particulars are given.

XI. He who chased the **Pâṇḍyas,** defeated the **Chêra,** twice quelled the rebellion at **Śâlai,** annexed **Koṅkaṇam** and **Kaṇṇaḍam,** caused the death of the proud king of the **Mârâṭṭas,** and abolished all tolls throughout his kingdom. This is Uḍaiyâr Śrî-Râjarâjadêva, *alias* Kô-Râjakêsarivarman, whose inscriptions begin with the words *Tirumagaḷ pôla perunilachchelviyum.*[7]

XII. **Vikrama-Chôḷa,** the hero of the poem, and the son of the last mentioned king. His inscriptions begin with the words *Tiru maṇṇi vaḷara* and are found in several of the large temples in the Tamiḻ districts. He bore the title Uḍaiyâr Śrî-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva, *alias* Kô-Parakêsarivarman.[8]

Then the poem describes the king's bed-room, his morning-bath, prayers and dress, of which his jewels form the most conspicuous part. The usual complimentary phrases describing the reigning king as the consort of the goddess of the Earth and of the goddesses of Wealth and Victory occur here. This helps us to understand the allusion in almost every inscription of this period to **Bhuvanam-muḻudum-uḍaiyâḷ** or **Ulagam-muḻudum-uḍaiyâḷ,** *i.e.* the goddess of the Earth, as the mistress of the king. After a tedious and overdrawn account of the royal elephant, the poem proceeds to give a vivid sketch of the pompous pageant which the procession of an oriental king always presents. The king is seated on an elephant under the shade of a magnificent parasol, while his attendants fan him with *chaurîs.* Huge sea-shells and pipes are blown; the big drums thunder; the royal bodyguard, with drawn swords, appear behind

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1 *Archæol. Surv. South. India,* Vol. IV. p. 217.

2 *Manual of the Salem District,* Vol. II. p. 369.

3 [This appears to be the great Râjarâja, whose inscriptions refer to the conquest of Malainâḍu; see *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. pp. 2 and 236.—E. H.]

4 [This must be Râjarâja's son Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who boasts in his inscriptions to have conquered the Gaṅgâ and Kaḍâram; *ibid.* p. 109.—E. H.]

5 [The corresponding verse (viii. 26) of the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* suggests that No. VI. is Kô-Râjakêsarivarman *alias* Râjâdhirâjadêva, who, according to his unpublished inscriptions, "caused to be burnt the palace of the Chalukya (king) in the city of Kampili."—E. H.]

6 [The same battle is mentioned in unpublished inscriptions of Kô-Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* Vîra-Râjêndradêva. —E. H.]

7 [I cannot follow Mr. Kanakasabhai here, but believe that the king referred to is Kulôttuṅga I. (A. D. 1063 to 1112.)—E. H.]

8 [In my opinion, the hero of the poem is not Râjêndra-Chôḷa, but Vikrama-Chôḷa, who ruled from A. D. 1112 to 1127, see *ante,* Vol. XX. p. 282.—E. H.]

him; the tiger banner flutters in the breeze; and before and on both sides of him come, mounted on horses, his vassal kings and nobles, an interesting and detailed list of whom is given:—

1. Foremost in the brilliant assemblage of princes is the **Toṇḍaimâṉ.** This is evidently the **Pallava** king, who was at this time a feudatory of the Chôlas. He is said to have defeated the **Chêras,** the **Pâṇḍyas,** and the kings of **Mâlava, Siṁhala** and **Koṅkaṇa.**

2. **Muṉaiyar-kôṉ,** or the king of **Muṉai,** a place now known as **Tirumuṉaippâḍi.** The word Muṉaippâḍi signifies a war-camp, and the place appears to have been so named because it marked the boundary between the Chôḷa and Pallava kingdoms, before the latter had merged into the Chôḷa dominions.

3. **Chôḷa-kôṉ,** or the viceroy of the **Chôḷa** kingdom proper.

4. The Brâhmaṉ **Kaṇṇaṉ.** This name is a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit **Kṛishṇa.** He is said to have been a native of the town of **Kañjam,** which is I believe now called **Kañjaṉûr** and is in the Tanjore district. He was a minister in charge of the palace and the treasury.

5. **Vâṇaṉ,** or the **Bâṇa** king.

6. **Kâliṅgar-kôṉ,** or the king of **Kaliṅga.** His capital was Kaliṅganagara, the modern Kalingapatam in the Vizagapatam district.

7. **Kâḍavaṉ,** the king of the hill-fort of **'Señji.** As Kâḍavaṉ, 'the forester,' is a Tamiḷ synonym of the Sanskṛit **Pallava,** he appears to have belonged to the Pallava royal family. His fortress 'Señji, which is spelled Gingee in English, belongs to the modern South Arcot district.

8. The king of **Vêṇâḍu.** This is the ancient name of the southern part of the Travancore territory.

9. **Anantapâlaṉ,** who is said to have been famous for his charities.

10. **Vattavaṉ.** This seems to be a Tamiḷ form of the Sanskrit name **Vatsa.** He stormed the three-walled town of **Maṇṇai,** which was defended by **Âryas.** In the inscriptions of Râjêndra-Chôḷa, this town is referred to as conquered by the king, and the name is coupled with **Kaṭakam,** indicating most probably that Maṇṇai and Katakam were identical or adjacent to each other. Kaṭakam is the modern Cuttack in the province of Orissa.

11. The king of **Chêdinâḍu.** This may be Chêdi or Bundêlkhaṇḍ, but is more probably another Chêdi, a petty principality in the Tamiḷ country, the capital of which was **Tirukkôvalûr** in the South Arcot district.

12. The chief of **Âṇaikkâval,** *i. e.,* Tiruvâṇaikkâval in the Trichinopoly district.

13. **Adigaṉ.** This is the title of the chiefs of Dharmapurî in the Salem district, the ancient **Tagaḍûr** or **Takaṭâ.**[9]

14. **Vallabhaṉ,** the **Nuḷambaṉ,** *i. e.* the king of **Nuḷambavâḍi,** a division of the Mysore territory.

15. **Tirigattaṉ** [*i. e.* the king of **Trigarta**].

This description of the king's appearance in public agrees so well with what Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, saw about two centuries later when he visited Southern India, that I am tempted to quote his words. "It is a fact," says he, "that the king goes as bare as the rest, only round his loins he has a piece of fine cloth, and round his neck he has a necklace entirely of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and the like, in so much that his collar is of great value . . . . . . . . . . The king aforesaid also wears on his arms three golden bracelets thickly set with pearls of great value, and anklets also of like kind he wears on his legs, and rings on his toes likewise. So let me tell you, what this king wears between gold and gems and pearls, is worth more than a city's ransom. And there are about the king a number of Barons

[9] An inscription of an Adigaimâṉ appears at page 106 of Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I.

in attendance upon him. These ride with him, and keep always near him, and have great authority in the kingdom, they are called the king's trusty lieges."[10]

## TEXT.

Atti mukattuttamaṉai nittaṉiṉai chittamê.
Tavaḷattâmarai tâtâr kôvil
Avaḷaippôṟṟutum aruntamiḻ kuṟittê

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Chîr tanta tâmaraiyâḷ kêḷvaṉ tiruvutarak
Kâr tantavuntik kamalattu — pârtanta
Âtikkadavuddichai mukaṉumânkavaṉṟaṉ
Kâtaṟkula maintaṉ **Kâchipaṉum** — mêtakka
Maiyaṟu kâdchi **Marîchiyum** maṇdilam
Cheyya taṉi yâḻittêrôṉum — maiyal kûr
Chintaṉai âviṟku muṟṟattiruttêriṉ
Maintaṉaiyûrnta maṟavôṉum — paintadat
Tâdutuṟaiyil adupuliyum pulvâyum
Kûda nîrûddiya koṟṟavaṉum — nîdiya
Mâkavimânantaṉaiyûranta maṉṉavaṉap
**Pôkapuripuranta** pûpatiyum — yâkattu
Kûṟalariya maṉukkuṉarntu kûṟṟukku
Têṟa vaḷakkuraitta **Chembiaṉum** — mâṟaḻin
Tôdi maṟaliyoḻippa mutumakkaḷ
Tâdi pakutta tarâpatiyum — kûdârtam
Tûṅkum eyil eṟinta **Chôḻaṉumêṟkadalil**
Vîṅkunîr kîḻ kadalil viddôṉum — âṅkup
Pilamataṉiṟ pukkuttaṉ pêroḻiyâl **Nâkar**
Kulamakaḷaik kaippidittakôvu — mulakaṟiyak
Kâkkum chiṟu puṟavu kâkka kaḷikûrntu
Tûkkum tulai pukunta tûyôṉum — mêkkuyarak
Koḷḷum **Kudakakkuvadûdaṟuttiḻiyat**
Taḷḷum tirai **Poṉṉi** tantôṉum — teḷḷaruvich
Cheṉṉippuliyêṟiruttikkiri tirittup
**Poṉṉikkarai** kaṇda pûpatiyum — miṉṉaruḷin
Mêtakka **Poikai** kavi koṇdu **Villavaṉai**
Pâtattaḷai vidda pârttipaṉum — mîtellâ
Meṉkoṇda toṉṉûṟṟiṉ mêlumiru mûṉṟu
Puṇkoṇda veṉṟippuravalaṉuṅ — kaṇkoṇda
Kôtilâttêṟal kuṉikkuntiru maṉṟaṅ
Kâtalâṟ poṉ mêynta kâvalaṉun — tûtarkkâyp
Paṇdu pakal oṉṟilîroṉpatu chiramuṅ
Koṇdu **Malainâdu** koṇdôṉum — taṇdiṉâṟ
**Kaṅkâ** natiyum **Kadâramum** kaikkoṇdu
Chiṅkâtaṉattirunta **Chembiyaṉum** — **Vaṅkattai**
Muṟṟum muraṇadakki mummadipôyk **Kaliyâṇam**
Cheṟṟa taṉi yâṉaich chêvakaṉum — paṟṟalarai
Vêppattadu kaḷattu vêḷaṅkaḷ âyiramum
**Koppattoru** kaḷiṟṟâṟ koṇdôṉu — mâppaḷanûl
Pâdaravat **Teṉṉ-Araṅka** mêyârkkup paṇmaṇiyâ

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[10] *Marco Polo's Travels*, by Col. Yule, Vol. II. Bk. III. Chap. XVII.

Lâdaravappâyalamaittôṇum — **Kûdalâr**
**Chaṅkamattu** koḷḷum taṇipparaṇikkeṇṇiṟaiṅta
Tuṅkamata yâṇai tuṇittôṇum — aṅkavaṇpiṇ
Kâval purintavaṇi kâttavaṇum eṇṟivarkaḷ
Pûvalayam muṟṟum purantatar piṇ — mêvalartam
Chêlaitturantu chilaiyaittadintirukâṟ
**Châlaikkalam** aṟutta taṇdiṇâṇ — mêlaik
Kadal koṇdu **Koṅkaṇamuṅ Kaṇṇadamuṅkaikkoṇ**
Dadal koṇda **Mârâddarachai** — yudalai
Yiṟakki vada varaiyê yellaiyâyttollai
Maṟakkaliyuñchuṅkamum mâṟṟi — yaṟattikiri
Vârittikiri valamâka vantaḷikku
Mâriṟpoli tôl **Apayâṟkup**-pârviḷaṅkat
Tôṇṟiya kôṇ **Vikkiramachôḷaṇ** vêddaittumbai
Mûṇṟu murachu mukil muḷaṅka — nôṇṟalaiya
Mummaippuvaṇam purakka mudikavittu
Chemmaittaṇikkôl tichaiyaḷappa — vemmai
Vidavudpaduttu viḷukkavikai eddu
Kadavudkaḷiṟu kaḷippa — chudarchêr
Iṇaittâr makudam iṟakki archar
Tuṇaittâḷ apichêkañchûdi — paṇaittêṟu
Nîrâḷiyêḷum nilavâḷiyeḷuntan
Pôrâḷiyoṇṟâṟ potu ṇîkki — chîrârum
Mêya tikiri viri mêkalaiyalkuṟ
Rûya ṇila madantai tôḷkaḷiṇum — châyaliṇ
Nôtumulakaṅkaḷ êḷuntaṇittudaiya
Kôtil kula maṅkai koṅkaiyiṇum — pôtil
Niṟaikiṇṟa chelvi neduṅkankaḷiṇum
Uṟaikiṇṟa nâḷil oru nâḷ — aṟaikaḷaṟkâl
Teṇṇar tiṟai aḷanta muttiṟchilapûṇdu
Teṇṇar malai ârachchêṟanintu — teṇṇar
Varavidda teṇṟal adi varuda vâdkaṇ
Poravidda pêrâyam pôṟṟa — iravidda
Nittilappantaṟkîḷ nîṇilâppâyaliṟ
Rottalar mâlai tuṇaittôḷum —maittadaṅ
Kaṇṇum mulaiyum periya kaḷiyaṇṇam
Eṇṇumulakaṅkaḷ êḷudaiya — peṇṇaṇaṅku
Peyta malar ôti peṇ chakkiravarttiyudaṇ
Eytiya palli iṇiteḷuntu — poyyâta
**Poṇṇitturai** mañchaṇamâdip pûchurarkai
Kaṇṇittaliraṟukiṇ kâppaṇintu — muṇṇai
Maṟaikkoḷuntai veḷḷi malaikkoḷuntai mavulip
Piṟaikkoḷuntai vaitta pirâṇai — kaṟaikkaḷattu.
Chekkarppaṇi vichumpai teyvattaṇichchudarai
Mukkad kaṇiyai mudivaṇaṅki — mikkuyarnta
Tâṇattoḷil mudittu châttum takaimaiyiṇ
Mâṇakkalankaḷ varavaruḷi — têṇmoittu
Chûḷumalar mukattu choṇmâmakaḷudaṇê.
Tâḷumakarakkuḷai tayaṅka — vâḷuṇ
Tada mulaippâr madantai taṇṇudaṇê tôḷiṟ

Chudar maṇikkêyurañ chûḻntu — padarun
Taṉippilapperuṅkîrttit taiyaludaṉê
Maṇikkadakaṅkaiyil vayaṅkap — paṇippaṇa.
Muyaṅkuntiruvudaṉê muṉṉîr kodutta
Vayaṅku maṇi mârpiṉiṉmalka — vayaṅkâ
Varuṅkoṟṟa mâtiṟkumaṇaṅkiṉudaṉê
Maruṅkiṟṟiruvudaivâḷ vâyppat — tiruntiya
Vaṇṇappadimattaru pêraṇiyaṇintu
Vaṇṇattaḷaviṉ vaṇappamaittuk — kaṇṇutalôṉ
Kâmaṉ chilai vaṇakka vâṅkiya kaddaḷakait
Tâma mudivaṇakkam tantaṇaiya — kâmarupûṅ
Kôlattodu peyarntu kôyiṟpuṟaniṉṟu
Kâlattiruṅ kadâkkaliṟu — ñâlattu
Tâṉê muḷaṅ kuvataṉṟittaṉakketirê
Vâṉê mulaṅkiṉum vâṉṟadavi — vâṉuk
Kaṉiyumaruppumadaṟkaiyumiṉmai
Taṉiyum yamarâchataṇḍamâ — tuṉiyâṟ
Pariya poruṅkodi kaṇattup paṇaikka
Ariya oru tâṉêyâki — kariya
Malaikkôddai madittidiyak kuttum
Kolaikkôddu veṅkâla kôddam — malaittôda
Vûṟu matam taṉatêyâka vulakattu
Vêṟu matam peṟâ vêkattâṟ — kûṟonâtê
Tâṅkipporaiyâṟṟâttattam pidar niṉṟu
Vâṅkipporaiyai mêṉmuḷutu — môṅkiya
Koṟṟappuyamiraṇḍâṟkômâṉ Akaḷaṅkaṉ
Muṟṟapparintatarpiṉ muṉ pâtam — muṟṟa
Varuttamatu maṟantu mâtirattu vêḷam
Parutta kadântiḷaittuppâyap — perukkat
Tuvaittu maturachuvadu mitittôdi
Yavaṟṟinaravaṅkaṇḍâṟi — yivaṟṟai
Yalittavaṉ eṅkômâṉâtalâṉiṉṟu
Kalittaṉaveṉṟuvakkuṅkaliṟu — neḷittiḷiya
Vêṟṟuppulattai vêtittukkotittamaru
Lêṟṟupparumaṇṇariṉṉuyiraik — kûṟṟuk
Karuttumayirâpataṉiṉṟatanai
Yiruttippadi padiyâyêṟit — tiruttakka
Koṟṟakkavikai niḷaṟṟakkulirntiraddaik
Kaṟṟaikkavariyiḷaṅkâlachaippa — voṟṟai
Valampuriyûta vaḷaikkulaṅkaḷâṟppach
Chilambumurachuñchilamba — pulampayil
Vâdpadai tôṟṟa maṟa maṉṉavar neruṅkak
Kôdpulikkkoṟṟak kodiyôṅkach — chêdpulattut
Teṉṉaru Mâluvaruñ Chiṅkaḷaruṅ Koṅkaṇattu
Maṉṉaruntôṟka Malainâdar — muṉṉaṅ
Kulaiyapporutorukâṟkoṇda paraṇi
Malaiyattarum Toṇdaimuṉ — palarmudimê
Lâṟkkuṅkaḷaṟkâl Aṉakaṉṟaṇatavaiyil
Pârkkumatimantrapâlakaril — pôrkkut
Todukkappunaitumbai thûchiṉoduñchûdak

Kodukkappuṇai **Muṇaiyar** kôṇum — **Udukkaraiyum**
**Kankaraiyu Mârâddaraiyuṅ Kaliṅkaraiyuṅ**
**Koṅkaraiyumêṇaik Kudakaraiyun** — taṅkôṇ
Muṇiyum poḷutu muri puruvattôdu
Kuṇiyuñchilaich **Chôḷakôṇuñ** — chaṇapatitaṇ
Tôḷuṅkalachamuñchuṟṟamuṅkoṟṟappôr
Vâḷumpuliyumatiyamaichchu — nâḷumây
Mañchaikkiḷittu vaḷarum perum purichaik
**Kañchattirumaṟaiyôn Kaṇṇaṇum** — veñchamattup
Pullâta maṇṇar pulâludampu pêyvâṅka
Vollâraikkûṟṟamuyir vânkap — pullârvan
Tâṅkumadamâtar tattaṅkuḷai vâṅka
Vâṅkum vari chilaikkai **Vâṇaṇum** — **Vêṅkaiyiṇuṅ**
Kûdâr **Viḷiñattuṅ Kollattuṅ Koṅkattum**
Môdâl **Iraddattum Oddattum** — mâdâ
Ladiyeduttu vevêṟarachiḷiya vîrak
Kodiyedutta **Kâliṅkar kôṇum** — kadiyaraṇach
Chemporpatanaichcheṟiyiñchi **Chenchiyarkôn**
Kambakkaḷiyâṇaik **Kâdavaṇum** — vembik
Kalakkiyavañchakkaḷiyâṇaippâril
Vilakkiya **Vêṇâdar** vêntum — talaittarumam
Vârik **Kumari** mutal **Mantâkiṇiyaḷvum**
Pârittavaṇ **Anantapâlaṇum** — **Âriyariṇ**
Muddipporutâr **Vada-Maṇṇai** mummatilum
Madditta mâlyânai **Vattavaṇum** — maddaiyeḷak
**Kâtittiru** nâdduk kaddaraṇaṅkaddaḷitta
**Chêtittiru** nâdar chelvaṇum — pûtalattu
Muddiya tevvar chadai kadda moikaḷaṟkâl
Kaddiya kâr **Âṇaikkâvalaṇum** — **Oddiya**
Mâṇavaracharriya **Vada-Kaliṅkat**
Tâṇai tuṇitta **Atikaṇum** — **Mîṇavartaṅ**
**Kôddâruṅk Kollamuṅ**koṇda kodai **Nuḷambaṇ**
Vâddâr matayânai **Vallavaṇum** — kôddaraṇak
**Koṅkaikkulaittuk Kudakaikkuvadiditta**
Cheṅkaikkaḷiṟṟut **Tirikattaṇum** — aṅkavaṇpiṇ
**Vallavaṇuṅ Kôchalaṇu Mâkataṇu Mâḷuvaṇum**
**Villavaṇuṅ Kêraḷaṇu Mînavaṇum** — **Pallavaṇum**
Eṇṇum perumpêrkaḷeṇṇili maṇdilikar
Muṇṇum iru maruṅkumoittîṇdap — paṇmaṇichêr
Chôti vayiramadakkuñchudarttodiyâr
Vîti kuṟukutalum —

**TRANSLATION.**

My soul! Pray thou daily to the excellent (Gaṇapati) that has the face of an elephant!

Let us praise her (Sarasvatî) whose shrine is the white water-lily, full of pollen, so that she may inspire us with elegant Tamiḷ!

The first of gods, creator of the earth (Brahmâ), who rose with faces four out of the water-lily, that grew from the dark navel of the sacred person of (Vishṇu) the spouse of that goddess whose seat is on the lovely lotus flower. Then his beloved son **Kâśyapa.** Then great **Marîchi,** a faultless seer. Then he whose car rolls on a single flaming wheel. Then that

stern sire who drove his chariot over his son to soothe a cow in dire distress. Then the mighty monarch who made the timid fawn and the fierce tiger drink together in the same cool springs. Then the king who rode an aërial car and (*mounting to the skies*) saved **Bhôgapurî.** Then the 'Sembiyaṉ (*i. e.* the **Chôḷa**) who by a solemn sacrifice created a wondrous man and won his cause, satisfying the ruthless god of death. Then the sovereign who shared the grey beard of elders and drove Yama out of his sight. Then the **Chôḷa** who stormed the castles of his foes which hung in the air. Then he who let into the Eastern bay the swelling waters of the Western sea. Then the prince who bravely went down a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of the noble daughter of the **Nâga** race. Then that generous man who is known to all the world as having joyously entered the scales (*to be weighed*), to save a little dove. Then he who brought the river Poṉṉi (**Kâviri**) whose rushing current cuts its way through the rocky ridges of high **Kuḍagu.** Then the king who set his tiger (*banner*) on the mountain whose summit gleams with crystal waterfalls, and formed high banks to control the floods of the **Poṉṉi.** Then the sovereign who heard the lofty lay of **Poygai** and graciously struck the fetters off the feet of the Villavaṉ (*i. e.* the **Chêra** king). Then that conqueror whose person was covered with scars (*gained in battle*), twice three and ninety in number. Then that guardian (*of the world*) who, with pious love, covered with sheets of gold the roof of the hall where 'Siva (*literally*, pure honey) dances. Then he who, to avenge his envoy, obtained of old, in a day, the heads of twice nine princes and conquered **Malainâḍu.** Then he who sat on his throne while his armies seized the **Gaṅgâ** and **Kaḍâram.** Then that matchless soldier who broke the power of (*the king of*) **Vaṅga** and thrice attacked **Kalyâṇa.** Then he who, riding on a single tusker, killed his enemies in a fierce fight at **Koppa** and took a thousand elephants. Then he who, with gems of many kinds, made a couch in the shape of a hooded serpent for the god (Vishṇu) of the Southern Raṅgam (**Śrîraṅgam**) where ancient (Vêdic) hymns are sung. Then he who cut down countless majestic rutting elephants, and won a great victory at **Kûḍal-saṅgama.** Then he who after the above watched and protected the earth. After all these kings had ruled the whole compass of this earth, came the **Abhaya** whose shoulders were adorned with garlands of *âr*; who, with his army which had chased the *śêl* (a fish, the flag of the **Pâṇḍya**) and broken the bow (the flag of the **Chêra**) and twice cut the rebels at **Sâlai,** annexed **Koṅkaṇam** and **Kaṉṉaḍam** (*and all the land*) up to the shores of the Western sea; caused the death of the proud king of the **Mârâṭṭas**; rid the country of all evils and tolls; and ruled with mercy the whole of this sea-girt earth up to the bounds of the Northern mountain. His illustrious son **Vikrama-Chôḷa** assumed the diadem amid the thundering of the three drums, and governed the three worlds, extending his righteous dominion in all directions, the cool shade of his umbrella removing all evil (*or unhappiness*) and gladdening (*the hearts of*) the eight celestial elephants (*which guard the eight points*). Kings took off their glittering crowns, which were wound with wreaths of flowers, and bowed their heads at his pair of feet. He brought under his own martial sway the seven swelling seas and the seven continents. While thus he reclined on the shoulders of the goddess of the Earth, like the broad and bright girdle on whose hips are the chains of mountains, and on the bosom of the beauteous and chaste virgin (the goddess of Victory) who is the sole mistress of the seven worlds, and in the presence (*literally*, long eyes) of the goddess of Wealth who dwells in the (*lotus*) flower, —one morning, he rose brightly from his bed which was all white as the moonlight, under a canopy of pearls, and to which he had retired overnight, wearing the choicest pearls paid as tribute by the Southern (**Pâṇḍya**) princes; his person perfumed with the paste of the sandal of their (the **Pâṇḍyas'**) mountain; his feet wooed by the southern breezes at their bidding; accompanied by the empress "Mistress of the seven worlds," who, with bright large eyes and swelling bosom, her tresses twined with fresh blossoms, and her shoulders wound with strings of fragrant flowers, was graceful as a goddess and gay as the playful swan, and served by a group of women whose glances wound like sharp swords. (*Having risen*) he bathed in the river **Poṉṉi** whose current never dries up, and put on his wrist a bracelet made of the tender shoots of the *aṟugu* grass, handed to him by his priests, and offered his prayers to him (Siva) who is the light of the ancient

Vêdas, the flame on the silver mountain (Kailâsa), who wears the young crescent on his head, whose throat is dark, and whose ethereal body is of a ruddy hue, who is the supreme luminary amongst gods, who has three eyes, and who is full of mercy. (*Then*) he distributed large sums of money (*to the Brâhmans*) and was pleased to send for the (*royal*) jewels whose magnificence passeth description. On his face, which was the seat of the goddess of Eloquence, and which bloomed like a full-blown flower beset by bees, sparkled fish shaped ear-rings. On his shoulders which bore the broad-bosomed goddess of the Earth, he set epaulets, which blazed with brilliant gems. On his wrists, where the restless goddess of Fame sat, shone bracelets set with precious stones. On his chest, which was the abode of the goddess of Wealth, beamed the priceless jewel which the ocean gave up when churned (*by the gods*) with the great snake (Vâsuki *for a rope*). At his waist, he placed gracefully his sacred sabre on which lay the great goddess of Victory. Having put on rich and rare ornaments of exquisite beauty and arrayed himself gorgeously, he issued out of the palace, appearing so enchantingly handsome, that it seemed as if 'Siva had bestowed on him, while he bowed his wreathed crown to the god, all the heavenly charms of which he had deprived Kâma (Cupid) when the latter had once bent his bow on the god. There stood before him the huge and fierce royal elephant which would not brook to hear the roar of other elephants, and if it heard the thunder of the clouds, would sweep (*with its trunk*) even the sky, and finding no trunk or tusks opposing it, would be appeased; which would alone bear the heavy war-banner, and with its death-dealing tusks batter and break down even hard rocks; which, being unaccustomed to the smell of other rutting-juice but its own, — when **Akalaṅka** (*i.e.* the Spotless) had, with his swelling victorious shoulders, removed from the neck of the elephants which guard the eight points, the burden (*of this earth*), which they had borne with silent anguish, and made them forget the aching pain of their forelegs and discharge rut in floods,— scenting their rut, followed up the current of the floods, and pacified by the sounds of the celestial elephants, rejoiced that they were gladdened by the favour of its royal master; which would trample under foot and lay waste the enemies' lands and furiously devote to death the dear lives of the princes who face it on the field of battle. On such an Airâvata (*or white elephant*) he mounted step by step, and sat under the shade of a superb umbrella. A pair of thick *chavris* fanned cool and gentle puffs of wind; the deep sound of the great sea-shell swelled; bands of pipes made shrill music; the *śilambu* and the big drums thundered; the well-drilled bodyguard of swordsmen appeared; high above all waved the banner of the conquering tiger; and there crowded warrior kings, such as: — the **Toṇḍaimâṉ**, who in a single campaign scattered the armies of **Malainâḍu** and defeated the Teṉṉar (**Pâṇḍyas**), **Mâḷuvar, Siṅgaḷar, Koṅkaṉar,** and other kings of distant lands; and of the ministers of **Anagha**, whose sounding anklets rest on many a crowned head, the **Muṉaiyar-kôṉ**, who with his headgear winds the wreath of victory in besieging enemies' strongholds; and the **Chôḷa-kôṉ** who, whenever his sovereign is displeased with the **Uḍukkar**, Kaṅgar (**Gaṅgas**), **Mârâṭṭar, Kaliṅgar, Koṅgar** and other Western nations, bends his bow on them with a frown; and the Brâhmaṉ **Kaṉṉaṉ** of the town of **Kañjam,** the high walls of which pierce the clouds, who daily superintends the royal guard, treasury, palace, sword (*or armoury*), tiger (*standard*) and council; and the **Vâṉaṉ**, armed with the bow bound with leather, who offers the lives of rival kings to death, their stinking carcasses to demons, and compels their fond mistresses (*who have become widows*) to remove their ear-rings (*and other ornaments*); and the **Kâliṅga** king, who with his victorious banner has put to flight many a prince in **Vêṅgai, Viḻiñam, Kollam, Koṅgam, Iraṭṭam** and **Oḍḍam**; and the **Kâḍavaṉ**, who rides the gay elephant, king of the hill-fort of **Señji**, which, crowded with battlements, resembles the unassailable red mountain (Mêru); and the king of **Vêṇâḍu** who drove the rogue elephant, which caused people to tremble by its great fury; and **Anantapâlaṉ**, who performed deeds of great charity and spread his fame from **Kumarî** to the **Mandâkinî**; and the **Vattavaṉ**, whose huge elephant broke down the three walls of Northern **Maṉṉai**, where the **Âryas** had fought hard for their town; and the prince of the sacred **Chêdinâḍu**, who levelled to the ground the strong fortifications of **Kâdi**; and the chief of **Âṉaikkâval**, who, when he ties the sounding anklet on his leg, never fails to compel the foes whom he encounters, to tie up the hair

on their head in tangled knots; and the **Adigan**, who cut down the armies of Northern **Kalinga** and routed the king of **Oḍḍiyam**; and **Vallabhan**, the munificent **Nuḷamban**, who, riding a rutting elephant, conquered **Kôṭṭâṟu** belonging to the Mînavar (**Pâṇḍyas**), and **Kollam**; and **Tirigattan** of the red-trunked elephant, who overthrew **Koṅgu** which is defended by mountains, and knocked down the crags of **Kuḍagu**; and after him came the **Vallavan**, **Kôsalan**, **Mâgadan**, **Mâḷuvan**, **Villavan**, **Kêraḷan**, **Mînavan** and **Pallavan**. Surrounded in this manner in front and on both sides by great kings and chiefs without number, he approached the street where live the fair women whose polished bracelets sparkle with many gems and brilliant diamonds.

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## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS OF DHAMMACHETI. 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

(*Continued from page* 89.)

### TEXT.[1]

### Obverse face of the First Stone.

*Namō tassa bhagavatō arahatō sammāsambuddhassa.*

Siddhā bhavantu Jinacakkavarâbhivuḍḍhiyō siddhaṁ Buddhassa namō.

**Rāmaññadēsapatibhū-Rāmādhipatinā** katā

Jinasāsanasaṁsuddhi tam pavatti kathīyatē.

Rāmaññadēsapatibhū-**Rāmādhipatirāja**-kālē Jinasâsanassa suddhi.

**Sakyamunino Sammāsambuddhassa** parinibbānatō dvinnaṁ vassasatānam upari aṭṭhārasamē vassē vītivattē **Dhammāsōkarājā** abhisēkaṁ pāpuṇi. Tatō catutthē vassē **Nigrōdhasāmaṇēraṁ** paṭicca **Buddhasāsanē** sañjātā 'tiviya pasādēna bhikkhūnaṁ lābhasakkārō vēpullam agamāsi; titthiyānaṁ parihāyi.

Atha titthiyā lābhasakkāraṁ patthayamānā kēci bhikkhūsu pabbajjitvā upasampajjitva sakāni sakāni **Sassatâdīni** diṭṭhigatāni pakāsēnti. Kēci pana sayam ēva pabbajjitvā bhikkhu-vēsaṁ gahētvā sakāni sakāni diṭṭhigatāni pakāsēnti. Tē sabbē pi upōsathâdisaṅghakammaṁ karōntānaṁ bhikkūnaṁ antaraṁ pavisitvā nisīdanti. Tēna parisā asuddhâti saṅghō upōsathaṁ na karōti. Tatō **Asōkārāmē** sattavassāni upōsathō pacchijji.

Taṁ paticca rājā **Dhammāsōko** sāsan'-uppanna-mala-kaṇṭaka-'bbudâpaharaṇēna sāsanaṁ sōdhetukāmō **Mōggaliputtatissamahāthēram** upanissayaṁ katvā, Vibhajjavādī Sammāsambuddhō sassatādivādinō titthiyâti samayam uggahetvā, **sabbe bhikkhū** sannipātāpetvā samānaladdhikē ēkatō vasāpētvā, tatō ēk 'ēkaṁ nīharitvā; kiṁvādī Sammāsambuddhō ti? vuttē **Vibhajjavādī** Sammāsambuddhō ti vadantā **sāsanikabhikkhū** saṭṭhisatasahassā ahēsum; **Sassatâdivādī** Sammāsambuddho ti vadantā pana **titthiyabhūtā pāpabhikkhū** saṭṭhisahassā ahēsuṁ. Atha rājā tē sabbē pi saṭṭhisahassē pāpabhikkhū uppabbājētvā, "parisuddhā dāni parisā, karōtu saṅghō upōsathakamman ti" vatvā nagaraṁ pāvisi.

Tatō **Mōggaliputtatissamahāthēro Asōkārāmē** tēhi sabbēhi saṭṭhisatasahassēhi bhikkhūhi saddhim **upōsatham akāsi**. Tad avasānē saṅkhēpēna Bhagavatā **desitaṁ Kathāvatthu-pakaraṇaṁ** Bhagavatā dinnanayē ṭhatvā vitthārētvā dēsēsi. Tatō paraṁ yathā 'yasmā **Mahākassapathērō** chaḷâbhiññācatupaṭisambhidāpattē pañcasatamattē khīṇâsavabhikkhū uccinitvā sattamāsaṁ **Paṭhamasaṅgītim akāsi**; yathā c 'āyasmā **Mahāyasathērō** chaḷābhiññā-catupaṭisambhidapattē sattasatamattē khīṇâsavabhikkū uccinitvā aṭṭhamāsaṁ **Dutiyasaṅgītim akāsi**; evaṁ chaḷābhiññācatupaṭisambhidāpattē sahassamattē khīṇâsavabhikkū uccinitvā navamāsaṁ **Tatiyasaṅgītim akāsi**. Saṅgītikaraṇâvasānē pana anāgatē sāsanaṁ paccantaraṭṭhēsu patiṭṭhahissâtîti viditvā "tēsu tēsu raṭṭhēsu sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpēthâti" tē tē **Majjhantika**-

[1] Throughout this text च is represented by c: छ by ch: the diacritical sign ^ represents *sandhi*: the sign-represents a long vowel.

**thērâdayō** thērē pēsēsi. Tēsu **Mahāmahindatheraṁ Tambapaṇṇidīpē sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhēpētuṁ pēsēsi; Sōṇatheraṁ pana Uttaratheraṅ ca Suvaṇṇabhūmiraṭṭha-saṅkhāta-Rāmaññadēsē sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpētuṁ pēsēsi.**

Tadā **Suvaṇṇabhūmiraṭṭ hē Sirimāsōkō nāma rājā rajjaṁ kārēsi. Tassa rājaṭṭhānī, nagaraṁ Kēlāsabhapabbatacētiyassa pacchimânudisāyaṁ hōti.** Tassa tu nagarassa pācīn-'upaḍḍhabhāgō pabbatam uddhani hōti, pacchim 'upaḍḍhabhāgō samē bhūmibhāgē hōti. **Taṁ pana nagaraṁ Gōḷamanussagharānaṁ viya mattikgharānaṁ bahulatāya Gōḷamattika-nagaran ti yāv 'ajjatanā vōharanti.**

**Tassa pana nagarassa samuddôpakaṭṭhaṭṭhā** samuddavāsī rakkhasī raññō gēhē anuvijātaṁ dārakaṁ satataṁ gahētvā khādati. Tasmiṁ ca thērā gamanasamayē rattiyaṁ raññō aggamahēsī ēkaṁ dārakaṁ vijāyi. Sāpi rakkhasī raññō gēhē dārakassa nibbattabhāvaṁ ñatvā taṁ khāditukāmā pañcasataparivārā nagarâbhimukhī āgacchati. Manussā taṁ disvā bhītatāsitā viravanti. Tadā dve thērā ativiya bhayānakē rakkhasi-sīha-sadisē ēka-sīsa-dvidhā-bhūta-sīha-kāyē disvā, tatō rakkhasi-gaṇatō diguṇē attabhāvē māpētvā, anubandhitvā rudhāpēsuṁ. Atha tē pisācā thēramāpitē diguṇē attabhāvē disvā, "mayaṁ pi dāni imēsaṁ bhakkhā bhavissāmâti" bhītā samuddâbhimukhā dhāviṁsu. Thērā puna tēsam anāgamanatthāya dīpassa samantā ārakkhaṁ saṁvidahitvā, tadā sannipatitānaṁ manussānaṁ **Brahmajālasuttaṁ dēsēsuṁ.** Dēsanâvasānē saṭṭhisahassānaṁ manussānaṁ dhammâbhisamayō ahōsi: aḍḍhuḍḍhāni purisasahassāni diyaḍḍhāni c 'itthisahassāni pabbajiṁsu; avasēsā pana manussā saraṇēsu ca sīlēsu ca patiṭṭhahiṁsu. Evaṁ Sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānatō **dvinnaṁ vassasatānam upari chattiṁsatimē vassē vītivattē imasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē dvē thērā sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpēsun ti daṭṭhabbaṁ.**

**Tatō pabhuti Rāmaññadēsē tadahu jātarājakumārānaṁ Sōṇuttarâti nāmaṁ akariṁsu.** Sabbēsaṁ abhinavajātadârakānañ ca rakkha-sâyanivāraṇatthaṁ bhuje vā paṇṇe vā **thēra-māpit' -attabhāva-rūpaṁ likhitvā,** sīsôpari ṭhapayiṁsu. Nagarassa pācīn uttaradisāṁ bhāgē girimatthakē thēra-māpit-'attabhāva-rūpaṁ silāmayaṁ katvā ṭhapayiṁsu. **Taṁ rūpam yāv 'ajjatanā dissati.**

Evaṁ Rāmaññadēsē sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō paṭṭhāya cirakantaṁ dibbati. Gacchantē gacchantē kālē mahāmaṇḍalassâpi Rāmaññadēsassa visuṁ visuṁ dāmarikattakaraṇēna bhinnattā, ahivāt-arōgapīlitattā, dubbhikkhapīḷitattā, varacakkasaṅkhittāya sattarājasēnāyâ-bhibhūtattā ca, Rāmaññaṭṭhānaṁ dubbalaṁ jātaṁ. Tēna taṁ nivāsīnaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ sukhēna pariyattiṁ vā paṭipattiṁ vā paripurētum asakkōṇēyyattā sāsanam pi dubbalaṁ jātaṁ.

**Suriyakumārō** ti pana paṭiladdhakumāranāmassa **Manōharīraññō** rajjakaraṇakālē accan-tadubbalaṁ jātaṁ. Tadā Sammāsambuddhaparinibbānatō **chasatâdhikavassasahassaṁ hōtīti** datthabbam.

**Ek 'uttarachasatâdhikavassasahassē pana kālē ruddha-rūpa-bēdasakkarājē Arimad-danapur 'issarēn' Ânuruddhadēvēna rñana sapiṭakattayaṁ bhikkhusaṅgham ānētvā Pugāmasaṅkhāte Arimaddanapurē sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpitaṁ.**

**Tatō satt 'uttarasatavassakāle rasa-yama-pāṇa-sakkarājē Laṅkādīpasmiṁ Sirisaṅ-ghabōdhi-Parakkamabāhurājā sāsanaṁ visōdhēsi.**

Tatō pana chaṭṭhē vassē **yama-sikhi-pāṇa-sakkarājē** Laṅkādīpē cētiyâbhivandanatthāya **Pugāmabhūpâcariyabhūtō Uttarājīvamahāthērō:** "sambahūlēhi bhikkhūhi saddhiṁ nāvam abhirūhissāmîti" yēna **Kusimanagaraṁ tēna pakkāmi.** Kō pan 'ēsa Uttarâjīvamahāthērō ti? **Ayaṁ hi thērō Rāmaññadēsiyaputtō Ariyavaṁsathērassa sissō; Ariyavaṁsathērō pana Kappuṅganagaravāsi-Mahākālathērassā sissō; sō pana Sudhammanagaravāsinō Prāna-dassimahathērassa sisso;** sō tu lōkiyajjhānâbhiññālābhī tappaccayā pātō va Magadharaṭṭhē Uruvēḷāyaṁ mahābōdhiyaṅgaṇaṁ sammajjitvā, puna paccāgantvā, **Sudhammapuriyā** piṇḍāya carati. Tassa ca patidinaṁ pātō va mahābōdhiyaṅgaṇaṁ sammajjanakālē, Sudhammapuratō Magadharaṭṭhagāminō Uruvēḷavāsi-vāṇijjakā manussā disvā, paccagantvā Sudhammapuriyānaṁ

manussānam ārōcēnti. Tasmā Prānadassimahāthērō lōkiyajjhānâbhiññāsamāpattilābhîti sañjāniṁsu.

Uttarājīvamahāthērō Kusimanagaraṁ patvā, sambahulēhi bhikkhūhi paripuṇṇavīsativassēna ca sāmaṇērēna saddhiṁ nāvam abhirūhi. Kō pan'ēsa sāmaṇērō? Kasmā naṁ Chapaṭasāmaṇērō ti vōharīyatîti? Sō hi **Kusimaraṭṭhavāsīnaṁ** puttō **Uttarājīvamahāthērassa sisso. Kusimaraṭṭhē Chapaṭō ti laddhanāmagāmavāsīnaṁ** puttattā Chapaṭō sāmaṇērō ti vōhārīyati.

Uttarājīvamahāthēro pi nāvam abhirūhitvā, Laṅkādīpaṁ gatō. Tatō Laṅkādīpavāsinō mahāthērā tēna saddhiṁ dhammiyā kathāya saṁsanditvā samanubhāsitvā saṁpiyāyamānā: "mayaṁ Laṅkādīpē sāsanapatiṭṭhāpakassa Mahāmahindathērassa pavēṇibhūtā; tumhē pana Suvaṇṇabhūmiraṭṭhē sāsanapatiṭṭhāpakānam Sōṇ 'Uttarâbhidhānānaṁ dvinnaṁ mahāthêrānaṁ pavēṇibhūtā. Tasmā sabbē mayam ēkatō saṅghakammaṁ karissāmâti" vatvā, paripuṇṇavīsativassaṁ Chapaṭasāmaṇēram upasampādēnti.

Tatō paraṁ Uttarājīvamahāthērō Laṅkādīpe yaṁ kiñci cêtiya-vandanâdi-kiccaṁ niṭṭhāpētabbaṁ, taṁ sabbaṁ niṭṭhāpētvā, Pugāmanagaraṁ paccāgantum ārabhi.

Atha **Chapaṭabhikkhuss** 'ētad ahōsi: "sacâhaṁ pi Uttarājīvamahāthērēna saddhiṁ paccāgamissāmi, tattha ñātipalibōdhēna yathāphāsukam uddēsaparipucchaṁ kātuṁ na sakkhissāmi. Appēva nāmâhaṁ mahāthēram apalōkētvā, idh'ēva Laṅkādīpē vasitvā, uddēsaparipucchavasēna s'aṭṭhakathaṁ piṭakattayam uggahētvā va, paccāgamēyyan ti." Tatō sō Uttarājīvamahāthēram apalōkētvā, **Laṅkādīpe yēv'ōhīyi.**

**Uttarâjîvamahâthêrô** pi sambahulêhi bhikkhûhi saddhiṁ nâvam abhiruyha, **Kusimanagaraṁ patvâ, yêna Pugâmanagaraṁ tad avasaritvâ,** tasmiṁ paṭivasi.

**Chapaṭabhikkhu ca** uddēsaparipucchapasutō s'aṭṭhakathaṁ piṭakattayam uggahētvā. dasavassō hutvā, thērasammutiṁ labhitvā, Pugâmanagaraṁ paccāgantukāmō, cintēsi: "sacâham ēkakō va paccāgamissāmi, tattha Ōttarājīvamahāthērâbhāvēna, Pugāmavāsīhi bhikkhūhi saddhim ēkatō yadi saṅghakammaṁ kattum na icchāmi. Tadā pañcavaggagaṇâbhāvēna kathaṁ visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ kattuṁ lacchāmi? Yaṁ nu nâham aññēhi Tipiṭakadharēhi catūhi saddhiṁ paccāgamēyyan ti." Ēvañ ca pana sō cintētvā **Tāmâlitthivāsiputtēna Sīvalithērēna, Kambōjarājatanujēna Tāmalindathērēna, Kiñcipuravāsitanayēn Ânandathērēna, Laṅkādīpavāsikâtrajēna Rāhulathērēna** ca saddhiṁ saṁvidhāya nāvam abhirūhitvā paccāgacchi Tē pañca pi mahāthērā Tipiṭakadharā byattā paṭibalā. Tēsu **Rāhulatherō suṭṭhutaraṁ byattō paṭibalō.**

**Tē pana pañca mahāthērā Kusimanagaraṁ patvā,** vass'upanāyikāyōpakaṭṭhattā Pugāmanagaraṁ gamanakālâbhāvatō, Kusimanagarē yēva vassam upagacchiṁsu. Tēsaṁ vass'upagamanaṭṭhānē vihāravatthu vā pākārō vā Kusimanagarassa dakkhiṇadisābhāgē yāv' ajjatanā dissati. Atha khō **Chapaṭō mahāthērō** vuṭṭhavassō pavārētvā, catūhi thērēhi sadhdiṁ yēna **Pugāmanagaraṁ** tēna **cārikaṁ** pakkāmi.

Uttarājīvamahāthērō tu katipayadivasâsampattē Chapaṭamahathērē kālam akāsi.

Chapaṭathērō ca Pugāmanagaraṁ patvā, nijâcariyabhūt Ōttarājīvamahāthērassa kālaṅkatabhāvaṁ ñatvā, tass 'āḷāhanaṁ gantvā, vandana-khamāpana-kammāni katvā, catūhi thērēhi saddhim ēva samantayi: "amhākam āyasmantō ācariyabhūt Ōttarājīvamahāthērēna saddhim ēkatō Laṅkādīpavāsinō mahāthērā sanghakammaṁ karōnti yēva; mayaṁ pi dāni Sōṇ 'Uttarâbhidhānathērapavēṇibhūtēhi Pugāmavāsīhi bhikkhūhi saddhim ēkatō saṅghakammaṁ kātuṁ yuttarūpā bhavissāma. **Athâpi pubbē amhākam ācariyabhūtō Ramaññavāsikō Uttarājīvamahāthērō yēv' issarō; idāni tu Marammadēsiyānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ yēv' issarattā. Tēhis addhim ēkatō saṅghakammaṁ kātuṁ na icchāmâti.'**' Tatō Chapaṭamahāthērō mānavasēna Pugāmavāsīhi bhikkhūhi saddhim ēkatō saṅghakammam akatvā visuṁ yēva saṅghakammam akāsi.

**Êvaṁ Rāmaññadēsē Sudhammanagaratō sāsanassa gantvā, Marammadēsē Pugāmanagarē patiṭṭhānatō catuvīsâdhikavassasatē vitivattē yēva sikhi-bēda-pāna-sakkarājē Laṅkādīpatō sāsanam agantvā Pugāmanagarē patiṭṭhātîti daṭṭhabbaṁ.**

Tadā **Pugāmanagarē Narapatijayasūrō** nāma rājā rajjaṁ kārēti. **Sō pañcasu mahāthērēsu ativiya pasannō,** Erāvatiyā mahānadiyā nāvāsaṅghātaṁ kārāpētvā, bahûpasampadâpēkkhē pañca mahāthērē upasampadāpēti. Tēn'ētē mahāthērā anukkamēna vaḍḍhitvā bahugaṇā jātā.

Ekasmiṁ pana divasē rājā pañcannaṁ mahāthērānaṁ mahādānam dātuṁ samajjaṁ kārāpēti. Tasmiṁ samayē **Rāhulathērō** ēkissâbhirūpāya nātak'itthiyā dassanēnânabhiratiyā pīḷitō gihībhāvaṁ patthayamānō gihībhāvaṁ kattum ārabhi. Tadā Chapaṭamahāthērâdayō cattārō pi mahāthērā punappunaṁ dhammiyā kathāya tam ōvadiṁsu, samanubhāsiṁsu. Ēvāṁ sō catūhi pi mahāthērēhi dhammiyā kathāya ōvadiyamānō pi taṁ cittam nivattētuṁ nâsakkhi. Atha catūhi mahāthērēhi: "yajjâvusō, nānappakārēn' amhēhi dhammiyā kathāy' ōvadiyamānō pi samānō taṁ cittaṁ nivattētum nâsakkhi. Mā yidha tvaṁ gihībhāvāya vāyamēyyāsi; Rāmaññadēsaṁ pana gantvā nāvam abhirūhitvā, Malayadīpaṁ patvā, tasmiṁ yēva gihībhāvāya vāyamēyyāhîti." Punappunam ev'uyyōjitō **Rāmaññadēsaṁ gantvā, nāvam abhirūhitvā, Malayadīpaṁ gatō.**

Tattha pana sō Vinayaṁ jānitukāmaṁ **Malayadīp'issaraṁ rājanaṁ** saṭīkassa Khuddasikkhāpakaraṇassa sikkhāpanēna sabbavinayapāḷiyā atthaṁ **bōdhēsi.** Malayarājā tasmiṁ pasīditvā, nānappakārēhi maṇīhi pattaṁ pūrētvā pūjēsi. **Rāhulathērō** taṁ pūjāsakkāraṁ labhitvā, **gihī hutva, gharâvasaṁ kappēti.**

Api ca aparēna samayēna catūsu pi thērēsu Chapaṭamahāthēro kālam akāsi. Sīvalimahāthēro ca, Tāmalindamahāthēro ca, Ânandamahāthēro câti, tayō mahāthēra Pugāmanagarē sāsanam ujjōtayiṁsu.

Ath'ēkadā Pugāmarājā pasīditvā tayō hatthiyō tēsaṁ tiṇṇaṁ mahāthērānam adāsi. Atha tēsu Sīvalimahāthērō, Tāmalindamahāthērō câti, dvē mahāthērā dvē hatthiyō vanē vissajjāpēsum. Ānandathērō pana: "Kiñcipuravāsīnaṁ ñātakānaṁ pahēnakaṁ karissāmîti," Kusimanagaraṁ gantvā, hatthiṁ nāvam abhirūhāpēsi. Tatō dvē mahāthērā: "mayaṁ panâvusō, hatthiṁ labhitvā, vanē vissajjāpēma; kissa pana tvaṁ tiracchānagatassa dukkham uppādētvā, ñātakanaṁ pahēṇakaṁ karōsi? Ayuttan tē kamman ti" vadiṁsu. Tadā Ānandathērō: "Kissa tumhē bhantē, ēvarūpaṁ mama avacuttha? Kiṁ pana bhantē, Bhagavā 'ñātisaṅgahaṁ maṅgalan' ti nabhāsîti" āha. Tatō dvē mahāthērā: "dubbacō 'si tvaṁ, Ānanda, yaṁ mādisānaṁ vuḍḍhānam amhākam ōvādânusāsanaṁ na gaṇhēyyāsi. Yajj ēvam āvusō, tvaṁ visuṁ saṅghakammam karōhi; mayam pi visum karissāmâte" vadimsu. Tatō patthāya dvē mahāthērā visum saṅghakammam akaṁsu. Ānandathērō pana visuṁ saṅghakammam akāsi.

Tatō paraṁ Tāmalindamahāthērō bahussutānaṁ byattānaṁ paṭibalānaṁ sissānaṁ hētu santikam āgatâgatē khattiyâdayō upāsakē: "bahussutā, bhōntō, upāsakā, bhikkū byattā, paṭibalā; catupaccayâlābhēna pariyattiṁ vā patipattim va pūrētum nâsakkhiṁsu. Catūhi paccayēhi, upāsakā, tēsam saṅgaham icchāma. Yadi pana tumhē catupaccayasaṅgahaṁ karissatha; addhā tē pariyattiṁ vā paṭipattiṁ vā purētuṁ sakkhissantîti" vatvā, vacāviññattiyā catupaccayam uppādēsi. Atha Sīvalimahāthērō Tāmalindathēram āha: "Bhagavatā khō, āvusō, vacīviññattihet'uppannapaccayā garahitā; kissa pana tvam āvusō, vacīviññattiyā catupaccayam uppādēsi? Ayuttan tē kamman ti." Tatō Tāmalindathērō Sīvalimahāthēram ēvam āha: "attānam ēva bhantē, uddissa katavacīviññattiyā uppannapaccayaṁ Bhagavatā garahitaṁ. Mayā pana bhantē, n'attānam uddissa vacīviññattiyā catupaccayam uppāditaṁ. Atha khō bahussutānaṁ byattānaṁ paṭibalānaṁ sissānaṁ catupaccayalābhēna pariyatti-paṭi-patti-pūraṇena sāsanassa vuḍḍhi bhavissatîti mantvā tēsaṁ hētu vacīviññattiyā catupaccayam uppāditan ti." Puna Sīvalimahāthērō Tāmalindathēram ēvam āha: "yajj ēvam āvusō, Tāmalinda, vadēyyāsi, ēvaṁ tvaṁ pi visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ karōhi; aham pi visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ karissāmi. Samānacchandānaṁ hi khō āvusō, Tāmalinda, samānâdhippāyānam aññamaññ

'ōvādânusāsanikarānam ēkatō saṅghakammakaraṇaṁ yuttarūpan ti." Tatō pabhuti tē pi dvē mahāthērā visuṁ saṅghakammam akaṁsu.

**Tadā Pugāmanagarē Sudhammanagaratō āgatasāsanapavēṇibhūtō bhikkhusaṅghō ca, Sīvalimāhāthērasissabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghō ca, Tāmalindamahāthērasissabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghō ca, Ānandamahāthērasissabhūtō bhikkhusaṅgō câti: cattārō bhikkhusaṅghā visuṁ bhinnattā, visuṁ nikāyā jātā. Tēsu pana Sudhammanagaratō āgatasāsânapavēṇibhūtō bhikkhusāṅgho purimakālâgatattā 'Purimabhikkhusaṅghō' ti Pugāmavāsinō Marammamanussā vōharanti. Tatō pana bhikkhusaṅghō Sīhaḷadīpatō āgatasāsanapavēṇibhūtattā 'Sīhaḷabhikkhusaṅgho' ti, pacchimakālâgatattā 'Pacchimabhikkhusaṅgho 'ti ca vōharanti.**

Tatō paraṁ tēsu pi tīsu mahāthērēsu Sīvalimahāthērō ca Tāmalindamahāthērō câti, dvē mahāthērā yāvatâyukaṁ sāsanaṁ jōtayitvā, yathākammaṁ gatā. **Ânandathērō** pana catupaññāsavassāni Pugāmanagarē sāsanaṁ jōtayitvā, **muni-suñña-rasa-sakkarājē saṁpatte yathākammaṁ gatō.**

**Reverse Face of the First Stone.**

*Dibbatu Jinacakkam!*

**Dalaraṭṭhē pana Padippajēyyâbhidhānagāmavāsiputtō Sāriputtō nām'ēkō samaṇērō Pugāmanagaraṁ gantva, Ânandathērassa santikē upasampajjitvā,** aṭṭhakathāsahitaṁ dhammavinayaṁ pariyāpuṇāti. Sō ēvam pariyattadhammavinayō samānō bahussutō Sāriputtō bhikkhu byattō paṭibalō ti patthatayasō hōti. Atha Pugāmarājā tassa kittisaddaṁ sutvā: "yadi Sāriputtō bhikkhu bahussutō sutadharō sutasannicayō byattō paṭibalō aṅga-paccaṅga-pāripūri-samannāgatō ca abhavissa, evaṁ tam ācariyaṁ katvā payirupāsissāmîti" parijane pēsitvā vīmaṁsāpēsi. Tē pana parijanā raññō pēsitā Sāriputtassa bhikkhunō aṅga-paccaṅga-pāripūriṁ vīmaṁsiṁsu. Evaṁ vīmaṁsamānā tassa bhikkhunō pād'aṅguṭṭhak 'aggacchinnabhāvaṁ disvā raññō taṁ pavattim ārōcēsuṁ. **Rājā**: "na sabb'aṅgapāripūrisamannāgatō sō bhikkhû ti" maññamānō tassa bahuṁ pūjāsakkāraṁ katvā, **Dhammavilāsathērō ti' nāmaṁ datvā,** "Rāmaññadēsē sāsanaṁ pajjōtēyyāhî ti" vatvā tam uyyōjēsi.

Tatō **Dhammavilāsāthērō Rāmaññadēsaṁ gantvā** Dalanagarē bahū bhikkhū dhammavinayaṁ pariyāpuṇāpēsi. **Tadā Dalanagarē tāṁ pakkhaṁ bhikkusaṅghaṁ Sīhaḷapakkhabhikkhusaṅghan ti** vōharanti. Sōṇ' Uttarâbhidhānānaṁ arahantānaṁ pavēṇibhūtaṁ pana **purimaṁ bhikkhusaṅgham Ariyârahantapakkhasanghan ti** ca Rāmaññadēsiyā vōharanti.

**Êkō pana bahussutaguṇasaṁpannō Ariyârahantapakkhō mahāthērō Lakkhiyapuraraṭṭhē** bakāsamacchānaṁ bahulatāya **Bakāsan ti** laddhanāmassa nadimukhassōpakaṭṭhabhūtē vihārē **paṭivasati.** Tatō avidūrē ēkam āpaṇam atthi; tamh 'āpaṇatō avidūrē ṭhanē bahū karamarē Kambōjiyē manussē samānētvā vasāpēnti. Tēn' ētam āpaṇaṁ pi Kambōjâpaṇan ti vōharanti. Tassa ca vihārassa Kambōjâpaṇēn âsannattā Kambōjâpaṇavihārō ti vōharanti. Taṁ vihāravāsimahāthēram pi Paṭhama-Kambōjâpaṇavihārathērō ti vōharanti. Pacchā pana **Paṭhama-Kambōjâpaṇavihārathērō** ti avatvā, **Kambōjâpaṇamahāthērō** ti voharanti.

Tatō aparabhāge Dalapurâdhivāsi saddhāsampannō Sirijayavaḍḍhanō nām' ēkō amaccō mahāvāpiyā samīpē vihāraṁ katva, Kambōjâpaṇamahāthēraṁ nimantētvā vasāpēsi. Tadā Dalanagarē Ariyârahantasaṅghapakkhass' abbhantarē ayam ēva Kambōjâpaṇamahāthērō guṇavantatarō vuḍḍhatarō ca, tasmā sabbō pi Ariyârahantasaṅghō **Kambōjâpaṇamahāthērasaṅghapakkhō** ti vadanti. Aparabhāgē tu Kambōjâpaṇamahāthērasaṅghapakkhō ti avatvā, **Kambōjâpaṇasaṅghapakkhō** ti vadanti. Puna ca paraṁ Kambōjàpaṇasaṅghapakkhō ti avatvā, **Kambōjâsaṅghapakkhō** ti vadanti.

**Tatō pana pabhuti Dalâbhidhānē nagarē Ariyârahantasaṅghapakkhassa Kambōjasaṅghapakkhō ti vōhāram upādāya, sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaññadēsē Ariyârahantapakkhaṁ Kambōjasaṅghapakkō ti vōhariṁsu.**

**Muttimanagarē pana Kambōjasaṅghapakkhō ; Sīvalimahāthērapavēṇibhūtō Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkho ; Tāmalindamahāthērapavēṇibhūtō Sihaḷasaṅghapakkhō ; Ânandamahāthērapavēṇibhūtō Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkō ca ;** Muttimanagarē yēva dēviyā 'cariyabhūtassa Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā upasampadaṁ gahētvā pun' āgantvā, visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ gantvā upasampadaṁ gahētvā pun' āgantvā, visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ karōntassa **Buddhavaṁsamahāthērassa pavēṇibhūtō Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkhō ;** Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā gahitôpasampadassa Muttimanagaraṁ paccāgantvā, visuṁ saṅghakammaṁ karōntassa **Mahānāgâbhidhānassa Mahāsāminō pavēṇibhūtō Sīhaḷasaṅghapakkhō câti : chadhā bhinnā saṅghapakkhā ēkatō saṅghakammassâkatattā nānāsaṁvāsakā nānānikāyā jātā.**

Tēsu pi sabbēsu chasu nikāyēsu simāsammutikammôpasampadakammâdisaṅghakammakaraṇakālē, bahūnaṁ tipiṭakadharānaṁ bahussutānaṁ byattānaṁ paṭibalānam ēkaccaṁ sannipatitvā saṁsanditvā yuttâyuttavicāraṇānam abhāvēna, tasmiṁ tasmiṁ yēva nikāyē mahāthērā: " mayam ēva byattā paṭibalā ti" maññamānā sakasakānaṁ matiyā yēva saṅghakammaṁ akariṁsu.

Api ca kēci thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē yattakē padēsē simaṁ bandhitum icchanti ; tattakassa samantā nimittaṁ ṭhapētvā, nimittānaṁ bahi tasmiṁ ṭhitānaṁ bhikkhunaṁ hatthapāsânayanachandâharaṇa-bahi-nīharaṇa-vasēna sōdhanam akatva, antōnimittâgatē yēva bhikkhū hatthapāsâgatē katvā simaṁ bandhanti. Tassañ ca simāyam upasampadakammaṁ karōnti.

Kēci pana thērā : " yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ bandhitum icchanti ; tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē samantā antōnimittâgatānan ca bahinimittâgatānañ ca hatthapāsânayanâdivasēna sōdhanaṁ katvā va simā bandhitabbâ ti" vadanti. Tathâpi simābandhanakālē sabbā yēva gāmasimā sōdhētuṁ dukkarâ ti maññamānā, visuṁgāmalakkhaṇaṁ saccatō tathatō anuphadhārētva, yattakaṁ yattakaṁ padēsaṁ paricchinditvā, rājā kassaci dēti : tattakō tattakō padēsō visuṁgāmō hōti ti sanniṭṭhānaṁ katvā upacārasimāmattam ēva vā tatō adhikaṁ pi vā yaṁ kiñci yathārucitakaṁ padēsaṁ rājâdīhi paricchindāpētvā, tatth' ēva ṭhitānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ hatthapāsânayanâdivasēna sōdhanaṁ katvā, sakalāya gāmasimāya sōdhanam akatvā, simaṁ bandhanti. Tassañ ca simāyam upasampadakammaṁ karōnti.

Aparē tu thērā : ' dvinnaṁ baddhasimānaṁ yēva rukkhasākhâdisambandhēn' aññamaññasaṅkarō hōti ; baddhasima-gāmasimānaṁ vā dvinnaṁ gāmasimānaṁ vā rukkhasākhâdisaṁbandhē pi saṅkarō na hōtîti,' attham adhimuñcitvā, yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ banditum icchanti ; tassa gāmakhettassa samantatō aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi rukkhasākhâdi-sambandhâvacchēdam akatvā, tasmiṁ yēva gāmakhēttē ṭhitānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ hatthapāsânayanâdivasēna sōdhanaṁ katvā simaṁ bandhanti. Tassañ ca simāyam upasampadakammaṁ karōnti.

Aññē pana thērā Pāḷiyaṭṭhakathāsu vuttaṁ nadīlakkhaṇaṁ vā jātassaralakkhâṇaṁ vā sabbâkārēnârēnânupadhārētvā ' anvaḍḍhamāsaṁ anudasâhaṁ anupañcâhan ti' aṭṭhakathāyaṁ vuttapadānam atthaṁ sammânupadhārētvā, ativuṭṭhikē pi Rāmaññadēsē nadīlakkaṇajātassaralakkhaṇavirahitēsu pi nadījātassarēsu sajjitāyam udakukhēpasimāyam upasmpadammaṁ karonti.

Ekaccē pana thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ bandhitum icchanti ; tass' aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi rukkhasākhâdi-sambandhaṁ avacchinditvā, tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē antōnimittâgatē ca bahinimittâgatē ca hatthapāsâgatē vā katvā, chandaṁ vā âharitvā, bahi vā nīharitvā, simaṁ bandhanti. Tassaṁ simāyam upasampadakammakaraṇakālē pana tassā ca gāmasimāya rukkhasākhâdi sambandham aviyōjētvā upasampadakammaṁ karōnti.

**Sammāsambuddhaparinibbānatō panâ dvâhikēsu dvīsu vassasahassēsu vītivattēsu, nabha-yama-nāga-sakkarāje** tipiṭaka-bēdâgamatakka-byākaraṇa-chandâlaṅkāra-jōti-vajja-gaṇika-sattha-saṅkhātānaṁ sutānaṁ vasēna bahussutō, iṭṭhakavaḍḍhakī-daruvaḍḍhaki-sippâdivasēna bahusippō nānādēsabhāsāsukataparicayō, saddahâdya nēkaguṇa-gaṇa-samaṅgī, kumuda-kunda-sarada-candikā-samāna-sētagajapati-bhūtō **Rāmādhipati nāma Siripavaramahādhammarājādhirājā Kusimamaṇḍala-Haṁsavatimaṇḍala-Muttimamaṇḍalasaṅkhātēsu tīsu Rāmañ-**

ñamaṇḍalēsu janatāya rakkhâvaraṇaguttiṁ katvā Haṁsavatiyaṁ dhammēna samēna rajjaṁ karēsi.

Tadā sō rājā Satthusāsāne suṭṭhutaraṁ pasannattāy' ēvam cintēsi: "pabbajjâdhīnā khō upasampadā upasampadhīnañ ca sasanaṁ: upasampada pana simā-parisa-vatthu-ññatyânusāvana-sampattisaṅkhātāhi pañcahi sampattīhi yuttā vâkuppā ṭhānârahā hōti. Tāsu parisuddhass' upasampadâpêkkhassa vatthussa byañjanapāripūriṁ katvā vācētuṁ samatthānam ācariyānañ ca labbhamānattā vatthuññatyânusāvana-sampattiyō samvijjamānârahā bhaveyyuṁ; simāparisa-sampattīnaṁ pana vijjamānâbhāvaṁ kathaṁ jānituṁ labbhēyyan ti?"

Tatō rājā: Vinayapāḷiñca; Vinay'aṭṭhakathañ ca; Sāratthadipanīṁ nāma Vinayaṭīkañ ca; Vimativinōdaniṁ nāma Vinayaṭīkañ ca; Vijīrabuddhithērēna kataṁ Vinayaṭīkañ ca; Kaṅkhāvitaraniṁ nāma Mātīk' aṭṭhakathañ ca taṭṭīkañ ca; Vinayavinicchayapakaraṇañ ca taṭṭīkañ ca; Vinayasaṅgahapakaraṇañ ca; Simâlaṅkārapakaraṇañ ca; Simâlaṅkārasaṅgahañ ca — byañjanatō ca atthatō ca samannāharitvā tad anusārēna Pāḷiyā c'aṭṭhakathaṁ, aṭṭhakathāya ca ṭīkaṁ, pakaraṇēna ca pakaraṇaṁ, pubbēna câparaṁ saṁsanditvā, samānayitvā, **kidisō nu khō Bhagavatō ajjhāsayânurūpō** aṭṭhakathâkāra-ṭīkâkāra-pakaraṇâkārâcariyânulōmatō **simâdhikāre Vinayavinicchayō ti sammad ēva punnappunam upaparikkhati, punappunam anuvicinati.** Tass' ēvaṁ punappunam upaparikkhantassa punappunaṁ vicinantass' **ēvarūpō Vinayavinicchayō paṭibhāti:**

"Yasmiṁ hi naranārīnaṁ gamanâgamanaṭṭhānâbhava-catu-iriyāpathapavattanabhāva-saddaniccharaṇaṭṭhānâbhāva-bhuñjitabbâyuppatiṭṭhānabhāva-saṅkhāta-lakkhaṇasahite karaggāhaparicchinne pakatigāmakhēttē vā, visuṁgāmakhēttē vā, yaṁ kiñci yathārucitakaṁ padēsaṁ gahētvā, simam kattum icchanti. Tassa pakatigāmakhēttassa vā visuṁgāmakhēttassa vā aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham avacchinditvā, yassa simābandhanaṭṭhānabhūtassa yathārucitakassa padēsassa samantato dubiññēyya-simā-maggāyaṁ mahatiyaṁ simāyaṁ saṇṭhānabhādâbhāvē pi bahūni nimittēni ṭhapētvā, suviññēyya-simā-maggāyaṁ pana khuddakasimāyaṁ siṅghāṭakasaṇṭhānaṁ kattum icchāyaṁ, tīṇi nimittāni, samacaturassaṇṭhānaṁ vā dīghacaturassasaṇṭhānaṁ vā kattum iccahāyaṁ, cattāri nimittāni, nānāsaṇṭhānabhēdaṁ kattum icchāyaṁ, pancâdīni nimittāni ṭhapētvā, antō-nimitta-bahi-nimitta-bhūtānaṁ padēsānaṁ rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham api byavacchijja simāmaggaṁ dassētvā, nimittēnam antō ca bahica yāvatikā tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē bhikkhū, tē sabbē hatthapāsânayanârahē hatthapāsāgatē katvā, chandârahānaṁ vā chandē āhatē, avasēsē gāmkhēttatō bahi nīharāpētvē, disācārikabhikkhūnaṁ sañcārâpanayanatthaṁ tassa gāmakhēttassa samantatō ārakkhakamanussē ṭhapētvā, saññānakaraṇatthaṁ tēsu tēsu ṭhānāsu dhajaṁ vā paṭākaṁ vā ussāpētvā, bhērisaṅkhâdīni vā ṭhapētvā, tikkhattuṁ nimittēni kittēvā, byañjanasampattiyuttāya kammavācāya simā bandhitabbā. Ēvarūpēna vidhinā katā simāsammuti akuppā hōti ṭhānârahā. Tassan ca simāyaṁ katam upasampadâdikammam akuppaṁ hōti ṭhānârahaṁ.

Api ca vassānassa catūsu māsēsu aḍḍhamāsē aḍḍhamāsē sammādhārâpacchēdavasēna, ēkavāravassanaṁ vā, pancâhē pancâhē sammādhārâpacchēdavasēna ēkavāravassanaṁ vā samavuṭṭhilakkhaṇaṁ. Aḍḍhamāsatō pana param ēkavāravassanaṁ dubbuṭṭhilakkhaṇaṁ. Pancâhatō ūnē caturahē. caturahē va, tîhē tîhē vā, dvîhē dvîhē vā, dinē dinē vā, vassanaṁ, panâtivuṭṭhilakkhaṇaṁ.

Sāmavuṭṭhikē ca kālē yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci titthē vā atitthē vā uttarantiyē bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō ēka-dv'aṅgulamattaṁ pi tēmiyati; ayaṁ nadīsaṅkhaṁ gacchati. Aḍḍhamāsē aḍḍhamāsē hi ēkavāravassanalakkhaṇēna samavuṭṭhikē kālē yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō tēmiyati; ayaṁ mahānadīsaṅkhaṁ gacchati. Dasâhē dasâhē ēkavāravassanalakkhaṇēna samavuṭṭhikē kālē yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassânassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō tēmiyati; ayaṁ majjimanadīsaṅkhaṁ gacchati. Pañcâhē pañcâhē ēkavāravassanalakkhaṇēna samavuṭṭhikē kālē yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō tēmiyati; ayaṁ khuddakanadīsaṅkhaṁ gacchati.

Samavuṭṭhikē ca kālē yassaṁ nadiyaṁ vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyē antaravāsakō' tēmiyati; dubbuṭṭhikē kālē tu na tēmiyati; sā nadīsaṅkhaṁ na gacchatîti na vattabbā: dubbuṭṭhiyā apamāṇattā. Samavuṭṭhikē pana kālē vassānassa catūsu māsesu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō na tēmiyati; ativuṭṭhikē pana kālē vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakō tēmiyati; sā tu nadīsankhaṁ gacchatîti na vattabbā: ativuṭṭhiyā pi apamāṇattā.

Jātassarō pana sayam ēva jātō. Na yēna kēnaci khatō; samantatō āgatēna udakēna paripūritō. Tādisē ca yasmiṁ jātassarē samavuṭṭhikē kālē vassānassa catūsu māsēsu pivituṁ vā hatthapēdē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ hōti: ayaṁ jātassarō ti saṅkhaṁ gacchati. Yasmiṁ samavuṭṭhikē kālē pahōnakajātassarē dubbuṭṭhikālē vā hēmantagimhēsu vā pātuṁ vā hatthapādē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ na hōti: ayaṁ jātassarō ti saṅkhaṁ na gacchatîti na vattabbō. Samavuṭṭhikē pana kālē yasmiṁ jātassarē vassānassa catūsu māsēsu pivituṁ vā hatthapādē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ na hōti; ativuṭṭhikē tu udakaṁ hōti: ayañ jātassarō ti saṅkhaṁ na gacchati.

Ayañ ca Rāmaññadēsō sabbavuṭṭhikō va: kathaṁ pan' ētassâtivuṭṭhikattaṁ ñāyatîti? 'Yasmā hi vassānassa catūsu māsēsu ti' iminā vassānassa catumāsikattam aṭṭhakathāyaṁ vuttaṁ. Imasmiṁ pana Rāmaññadēsē vassēnakālō chamāsikō hōti. Pañcâhē pañcâh' ēkavāravassanaṁ samavuṭṭhilakkhaṇan ti ca vuttattā; caturahē caturahē va, tîhē tîhē va, dvîhē dvîhē va, dinē dinē vā, vassanam ativuṭṭhilakkhaṇan ti manyaṁ.

Imasmiṁ pana Rāmaññadēsē kadāci caturahē, kadāci tîhē, kadāci dvîhē, kadāci dinē dinē, kadāci sattâhamattaṁ pi vā, dasāhamattaṁ pi vā, suriyappabhāya pi ōkasam adatvā, ākulam api ghanam andhakārikaṁ viya katvā, sammādhārâpacchēdanēna dēvō vassati. Tasmā Rāmaññadēsassâtivuṭṭhikattaṁ viññāyati.

Tasmā imasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē yādisāyaṁ nadiyaṁ samavuṭṭhikē kālē yathāvuttēna vassanappakārēna dēvē vassantē pi vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakatēmanaṁ sambhavēyya; tādisāyaṁ mahānadiyam udakukkhēpaṁ karitvā, katam upasampadakammam akuppaṁ ṭhānâraham bhavēyya. Yādisē pana jātassarē samavuṭṭhikē kālē yathāvuttēna vassanappakārēna dēvē vassantē pi vassānassa catūsu māsēsu pivituṁ vā hatthapādē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ bhavēyya; tādisē mahājātassarē udakukkhēpam katvā, katam upasaṁpadakammam akuppaṁ ṭhānârahaṁ hōtîti."

Tass' ēvam paṭibhāyamānasimāvinicchayassa **Rāmādhipatinō pan' ēvam cētaso parivitakkō udapādi:** "Yē hi kēci thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ bandhitum icchanti; tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē ṭhitānaṁ sabbēsam ēva bhikkhūnaṁ hatthapāsânayanâdivasēna sōdhanam akatvā antōnimittâgatē yēva hatthapāsâgatē katvā simaṁ sammannanti. Tēsaṁ simāsammutikammaṁ parisavipattitō yēva kuppaṁ hōti.

Yasmiṁ hi pakatigāmakhētt 'ekadēsaṁ yaṁ kiñci karaggāhaparicchinnaṭṭhānaṁ karabhāgaṁ dātum icchāyaṁ, rājâdīhi paricchinditvā, dinnaṁ taṁ yēva visuṁgāmasaṅkhaṁ gacchati. Baddhasimattañ ca kammavācāpariyōsānē yēva hōti: na nimittakittanamattēna. Tasmā ayaṁ antōnimittabhūtō padēsō niyatāya bhūtagāmasimatō visuṁgāmasaṅkhaṁ pi na gacchati; baddhasimattam pi na pāpuṇâtîti: antō-nimitta-padēsa-bahi-nimitta-padēsānam ēkagāmasimabhāvatō. Tassam ēkagāmasimāyaṁ ṭhitē sabbē pi bhikkhū hatthapāsânayanârahē hatthapāsâgatē akatvā, chandârahānaṁ pi chandam anāharitvā, bahi nīharāpētabbē anīharāpētvā, antōnimittâgatē yēva bhikkhū hatthapāsâgatē katvā, kataṁ simāsammutikammaṁ vaggaṁ hōti adhammikakamman ti. Tassañ ca simāyaṁ katam upasampadâdikammaṁ simāsammutikammassa kuppattā simāvippattitō kuppati.

Yē vā pana thērā gāmalakkhaṇarahitaṁ yaṁ kiñci yathārucitakaṁ ṭhānam rājâdīhi paricchindāpētvā, visuṁgāmakhēttaṁ hōtîti saññāya vā, tasmiṁ yathārucitakaṭṭhānē yēva ṭhit bhikkhū hatthapāsâgatē katvā, simaṁ sammannanti; na sabbasmiṁ pakatigāmakhēttē. Tēsaṁ pi taṁ simāsammutikammaṁ parisavippattitō kuppaṁ hōti. Tasmā tassaṁ pi simāyaṁ katam upasampadâdikammaṁ simāvippattitō kuppati.

Yō câparē thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ sammannitum icchanti; tassa gāmakhēttass' aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi rukkhasākhâdisambandhâvacchēdam akatvā, tasmiṁ yēva gāmakhēttē ṭhitānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ hatthapāsânayanâdivasēna sōdhanaṁ katvā simaṁ sammannanti. Tēsam pi simāsammutikammaṁ parisavippattitō kuppaṁ hōti; yasmā hi:

## OBVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

Yathā dvinnaṁ baddhasimānaṁ rukkhasākhâdi-sambandhēn' aññamaññaṁ saṅkarabhāvō hōti; tathā baddhasima-gāmasimānaṁ pi vā, dvinnaṁ gāmasimānaṁ pi vā. rukkhasākhâdi-sambandhēna saṅkarabhāvō hōti yēvâti. Tassañ ca simāyaṁ katam upasampadâdikammaṁ pi simāvippattitō kuppaṁ hōti.

Yē pan' aññē thērā ativuṭṭhikasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē nadīlakkhaṇa-jātassaralakkhaṇa-virahitēsu pi nadījātassarēsu sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampadâdikammaṁ karōnti. Tēsam upasampadâdikammaṁ pi simāvippattitō kuppati. Ativuṭṭhikē hi Rāmaññadēsē yādisāyaṁ nadiyaṁ samavuṭṭhikē kālē yathāvuttēna vassanappakārēna dēvē vassantē, vassānassa catūsu māsēsu yatthakatthaci uttarantiyā bhikkhuniyā antaravāsakatēmanaṁ na sambhavēyya. Ativuṭṭhikattā pan' imassa padēsass' antaravāsakatēmanaṁ sambhavēyya. Tādisâpi nadī samavuṭṭhikālē yathāvuttaṁ antaravāsakatēmanam atthaṁ gahētvā, nadisaṅkhaṁ gacchatî ti vattuṁ kathaṁ yujjēyya? Yādisē pana jātassarē samavutthikālē yathāvuttēna vassanappakarēna dēvē vassantē, vassānassa catūsu māsēsu pivituṁ vā hatthapādē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ na bhavēyya. Ativuṭṭhikattā pan' imassa padēsassa vassānassa catūsu māsēsu pivituṁ vā hatthapādē dhōvituṁ vā udakaṁ bhavēyya. Tādisō pi jātassarō samavuṭṭhikālē yathāvuttaṁ pivana-hattha-pāda-dhōvana-pahōnak' udakassa vijjamānam atthaṁ gahētvā, jātassarō ti saṅkham gacchatî ti vattuṁ kathaṁ yujjēyyâ ti?

Appē kaccē pana thērā yasmiṁ gāmakhēttē simaṁ bandhitum icchanti; tass' aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham avacchinditvā, tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē antōnimittâgatānañ ca bahinimittâgatānañ ca sabbēsaṁ pi bhikkhūnaṁ hatthapāsânayanâdiṁ katvā simaṁ bandhanti. Tassam simāyam upasampadâdikammakaraṇakālē pana tassā ca gāmasimāya rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham aviyōjētvā upasampadâdikammaṁ karōnti. Tēsam upasampadâdikammaṁ parisavipattito kuppati. Tassā baddhasimāya ca gāmasimāya c' aññamaññaṁ saṅkarabhāvapattitō. Yadi vā pan' ētē thērā parisuddhāya baddhasimāya vā, gāmalakkhaṇasahitē pakatigāmakhēttē vā, visuṁgāmakhēttē vā, nadīlakkhaṇapattāya mahānadiyā vā, jatassaralakkhaṇapattē jātassarē va, samuddalakkhaṇapattē samuddē vā, upasampadâdikammaṁ karōnti. Yē pana tasmiṁ upasampadâdikammē gaṇā hōnti. Tē vuttanayēna vippannasimāya vā, gāmalakkhaṇarahitē visuṁgāmakhēttē vā, nadīlakkhaṇamapattāya khuddakanadiyā vā, jātassaralakkhaṇamapattē khuddakajātassarē vā, upasampannā bhikkhū yēva hōntîti. Tēsam upasampadâdikammaṁ pi parisavipattitō kuppaṁ yēvâti."

**Atha khō Rāmādhipatirājā** Rāmaññadēsē upasampadâdikammassa simāvippatti-parisavippattīnaṁ vijjamānabhāvaṁ **ñatvā**: "Mayhaṁ pi iminā vuttappakārēna upasampadâdikammassa simāvippattiparisavippattiyō khāyanti. Rāmaññadēsē ca Haṁsavatīnagarē bahū tēpiṭakā byattā paṭibalā. Tēsaṁ pi upasampadâdikammassa simāvippatti-parisavippattiyō khāyēyyuṁ vā nō vā. Appēva nāmâhaṁ tē pi sabbē s'aṭṭhakathā-ṭikaṁ Vinayapāḷiṁ byañjanatō ca atthatō côpaparikkhāpētvā, Pāḷiyā c'aṭṭhakathaṁ, aṭṭhakathāya ca ṭikaṁ, pubbēna câparaṁ saṁsandāpētvā, samānayāpētva, simâdhikārē Vinayavinicchayaṁ kārāpēyyan ti" **cintētvā**, tē sabbē pi tipiṭakadharē bhikkhū simâdhikārē Vinayavinicchayaṁ kārāpēsi.

Tatō Rāmādhipatirājēn' ajjhēsitā sabbē pi tipiṭakadharā bhikkhū s'aṭṭhakathā-ṭikaṁ Vinayapāḷiṁ byañjanatō c' atthatō c' upaparikkhitvā, punappunaṁ sammad ēva saṁsandētvā, samānayitvā, simāvippatti-parisavippattīnaṁ vijjamānabhāvaṁ disvā, yathādiṭṭhaṁ raññō Vinayavinicchayam ārōcēsuṁ.

**Tatō rājā**: "ahō vata! 'Buddhasāsanaṁ pañcavassasahassaparimāṇaṁ kālaṁ ṭhassatîti' aṭṭhakathâcariyâsabhēhi vuttaṁ; idāni pana Buddhassa Saṁbōdhipattatō sattacattālīsâdhikaṁ [1] dvisahassamattam ēvâti; idañ ca khō dāni yēva sāsanaṁ samalaṁ sakaṇṭakaṁ **s'abbudaṁ**

[1] Catusaṭṭhâdhikaṁ in MS. B.

sâsaṅk'upasampadaṁ jātaṁ. Kathañ ca rahi yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyanta-pavattanasamatthaṁ bhavēyyâti?" cintētvā, puna cintēsi: "Yajjâham īdisaṁ sāsanē uppannaṁ malakaṇṭak' abbudaṁ disvā va, yathā sāsanē nirāsank'uppsampadabhāvâpajjanēna parisuddhaṁ pariyōdātaṁ hutvā, yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyanta-pavattanasamatthaṁ bhavēyya. Yāthā byāpāram anāpajjitvā v'upēkkhakō viharēyya; tathā sati Bhagavati Sammāsambuddhē pi sukarapēmâbhipasādēnâsamannāgatō gāravacittikārēnâsamaṅgībhūtō va bhavissaṁ. Appēva nāma mayā sāsanaṁ visōdhētabbam ēva. Kutō nu khvâham āditō parisuddh'upasampadaṁ samāharitvā, imasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē patiṭṭhāpētō? Yē tē saddhāsampannā kulaputtā tad upasampadâpēkkhā; tē tad upasampadam gāhāpētvā nirāsaṅk' upasampadabhāvēna sāsanaṁ parisuddhaṁ bhavēyyâti." Ath' ēvam cintēntassa Rāmādhipatirājass' ēvarūpō parivitakkō udapādi.

Sammāsambuddhaparinibbānatō kira **dvinnaṁ vassasatānam upari chattiṁsatimē vassē vītivattē, Mōggāgaliputtatissamahāthērēna pēsitō Mahāmahindathērō Tambapaṇṇidīpaṁ gantvā,** sāsanaṁ patiṭṭhāpēsi. Tatō **Dēvānaṁpiyatissō Sīhaḷindō** thērē pasīditvā Mahāvihāraṁ patiṭṭhāpēsi. **Mahāvihārapatiṭṭhānatō** pana paṭṭhāya **aṭṭhārasâdhikāni dvēvassasatāni** parisuddhaṁ sāsanaṁ; ēkō yēva Mahāvihāravāsinikāyō jātō. Yadā pana **Vattagāmaṇi-Abhayō rājā Dādhiyan nāma Damiḷarājānaṁ jinitvā, Lankādīpē rajjaṁ pattō. Abhayagirivihāraṁ kārāpētvā,** sattahi Damiḷēhi parājitvā, palāyitvā, cuddasavassāni nilīyitvā, vasanakālē niccaṁ pubb'upakariṁ Mahātissaṁ nāma thēram ānētvā tassâdāsi. Taṁ pana kulasaṁsaṭṭhaṁ **Mahātissathēraṁ** kulasaṁsaṭṭhadōsēna Mahāvihāravāsibhikkhusaṅghō Mahāvihāratō nīhari. **Tatō pabhuti Mahāvihāravāsikā bhikkhū ca Abhayagirivihāravāsikā bhikkhū ca: dvēdhā bhinnā dvē nikāyā jātā.**

**Tatō Abhayagirivihārapatiṭṭhānatō pana sattapaññāsavassâdhikēsu tīsu vassasatēsu vītivattēsu, Mahāsēnō nāma rājā Lankādīpē sattavīsativassāni rajjaṁ kārēsi. Tasmiṁ kālē sō rājā Jētavanavihāraṁ katvā, Dakkhiṇavihāravāsissa** jimhantarassa asaññatassa pāpamittassa **Tissathērassa** pasīditvā adāsi. Tatō paṭṭhāya Jētavanavihāravāsikē bhikkhū Mahāvihāravāsikēhi bhikkhūhi Abhayagirivāsikēhi bhikkhūhi ca bhinditvā, Jētavanavihāravāsinikāyō nām' ēkō nikāyō jātō.

*(To be continued.)*

## FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

### No. 3.—*The Three-eyed King.*[1]

**Sûlaṫànbawà was succeeded in 442 B. C. by Duttabaung, the son of Mahâṫànbawà by Bêdayî.**[2] The advent of this king, who had three eyes, the third being between the other two, was prophesied by Gautama Buddha himself according to the following tradition.[3]

[1] There is a similar tradition among the Talaings, from whom the Burmans appear to have adapted their own version after the conquest of the maritime provinces by Alompra in 1757 A. D. The Talaing name for the king is Mutpirêjê and not Duttabaung. The following is extracted from Haswell's *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language*, p. xv.: "The Peguan name of Maulmain is Môt-mooa-lûm (Mut-mwê-lêm) or One-eye-destroyed. The legend is, that an ancient king had three eyes, two in the usual places, and one in the centre of the forehead. With this third eye he could see what was going on in the surrounding kingdoms. The King of Siam was at war with him, and, finding his plans continually thwarted, suspected there were traitors in his camp, and called a council to find out who gave information concerning his plans to the enemy. His officers told him that there was no traitor, but that the King of Maulmain was able with his third eye to see all that was going on in the Siamese Camp. It was suggested that the King of Siam should give his daughter to the King of Maulmain, so that when she had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the king, she might manage to put out his third eye. This counsel was followed and proved successful, and the third eye was destroyed. Hence the name of the city. It is often called Môt-lûm-lûm (Mut-lêm-lêm), or Eye-destroyed-destroyed." These traditions about Duttabaung and Mut-pirêjê are, I believe, traceable to the worship of Śiva, which prevailed in Burma in ancient times.

[2] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 448, 439. [Observe the line of royal descent. Father, then elder-son, then younger-son (childless), then elder-son's son. Compare *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 287ff.—ED.]

[3] This tradition, with slight variations, is gravely recorded in the *Mahâyâzawin* (= *Mahârâjavaṁsa*) or Chronicle of the Burmese Kings.

**Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers Mahâpuṇṇa and Chûḷapuṇṇa with a sandal-wood monastery situated at Vâṇij-jagâma, otherwise called Lègaing,**[4] **in Sunâparanta.** The sage accepted the gift and occupied the monastery for seven days. On his return he walked along the Yôma range fringing the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and from the top of the **Pôsûsdaung** hill[5] to the north of Prome, he saw a piece of cow-dung floating in the sea,[6] which stretched to the range of hills on the east. At the same time a male mole came and paid him homage by offering him some burrowings. On seeing these two omens the Master smiled, and being asked by Ânanda the cause of his doing so, he replied: "My beloved Ânanda, after I have attained Parinirvâṇa, and after the religion has flourished for 101 years, yonder sea will dry up and the kingdom of Ɣarêk'êttarâ will be founded. The mole before us will be incarnated as Duttabaung, the founder of that kingdom, from whose reign will date the establishment of my religion in the country of the **Mrànmâs.**"[7]

The mole had been asked by his wife to wake her up when Gautama approached their home, so that she might participate in the merit that would accrue to them both by making some suitable offering. As it was rather early in the morning when Buddha arrived, the husband thought that he would not disturb the slumbers of his wife. But when she got up and found out that the sage had come and gone, and that her husband had made an offering of his burrowings, she became irate at his remissness of duty, and lost no time in following Gautama and crying out to him, at the top of her voice, to stop and receive her offering. In compliance with her entreaty, he stopped at a hill, called, in after times, the **Dàngyîdaung,**[8] and duly received her proffered burrowings. This done, **the female mole** thought that she would have revenge on her husband for his extreme recklessness for her spiritual welfare, and **took an oath** thus:

"By the efficacy of the merit I have just acquired, may I, in my next birth, be a person capable of wreaking a singular vengeance on my husband in his next birth!"

**The male mole was duly incarnated in the womb of Bêdayî, the Queen of MahâƔàn-bawà, while his wife became Princess PêkƔanô**[9] **in the country of Pandwâ.**[10] The princess was beautiful, accomplished, and clever, and many were the princes that sought her hand. Her father determined that high birth, if not uninterrupted descent from the race of Sakya[11] kings of Northern India, should be the *sine quâ non* of his future son-in-law, and he accordingly **wedded his daughter to Duttabaung, king of Ɣarêk'êttarâ.**

Duttabaung was a puissant prince, who wielded the sceptre of an extensive empire. His dominions included the whole of Jambûdîpa[12] and his influence was felt even in the land of

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[4] Lègaing is in the Minbu district. It is still a famous place of pilgrimage.

[5] Burmans derive Pôsûs from Pawâsûs (Sole-head) because, according to tradition, Gautama Buddha *turned the soles of his feet* on the top of this hill and pronounced an oracle regarding the foundation of Ɣarêk'êttarâ (Śrîkshêtra). See, *ante*, p. 6.

[6] That the sea washed the shore as far as Prome appears to be supported by the marine shells found on the hills in the neighbourhood, but the exact or approximate period when it dried up has not, as yet, been determined.

[7] The exact derivation of *Mrànmâ* (pron. *Bamâ*), the national appellation, by which the Burmans are known to themselves, has not been definitely settled. Sir Arthur Phayre says that it is derived from *Brahmâ*, the progenitor of the human race according to Buddhist tradition; while Bishop Bigandet derives it from *Mien*, the appellation by which the Burmans are known to the Chinese (*Mràn-mâ* = *Myin-mâ* according to one method of phonetics). Hodgson, on the other hand, maintains that it is derived from a word signifying 'man.'

[8] The Dàngyîdaung hill is nearly opposite Prome. There is another of the same name opposite Pagan. The local derivation of *Dàngyîdaung* is *tàn*, to stop, abruptly; *kyî*, to see; and *taung*, a hill.

[9] [*PêkƔanô* is spelt *Pissanô* = (?) Piśunâ.—ED.]

[10] Pandwâ is identified with Taungdwingyî in the Magwê district. For the story of Bêdayî, see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 437 ff.

[11] Burmese historians take a delight in tracing the descent of their kings from the Sakya race of Northern India, to which Gautama Buddha belonged.

[12] Burma is included by native writers in Jambûdîpa. Their idea of geography is extremely hazy.

the Nâgas and Asuras. His might and power was such that even Indra,[13] the Lord of the thirty-three gods of Tâvatimsa, had to lend[14] his celestial aid to the consummation of his wishes. When Ꝺarêk'êttarâ was built both Śakra and the Nâgas rendered valuable assistance, and on its completion Duttabaung was inducted to his throne by Śakra,[13] who conferred on him celestial weapons. One of these was a wonderful spear, which carried royal messages to the king's tributaries. Śakra also presented Duttabaung with a wonderful drum, which, when beaten, could be heard on the utmost confines of the empire, thereby indicating that the time for paying tribute had come.

Duttabaung ruled with justice tempered by mercy, and great was the amount of tribute received by him. He was loved by his subjects and feared by his tributary chiefs, and was, in short, blessed in all respects except one. That was, although he was extremely fond of his wife Pêk'Ꝺanô, he was treated by her with coldness, haughty disdain, and inveterate hatred, dissimulated under the cloak of feigned obedience and respect. Her one object in life appeared to be to foil his designs wherever possible, to effect the reduction of his power and influence, and to bring ignominy and shame upon him in all that he undertook. But so long as the king observed the precepts inculcated by Gautama Buddha, supported the monks, and looked after the interests of the religion, the designs of this malicious queen were frustrated by the occult power of the *nàts* (spirits).

One day, however, in an evil hour, the king, without due investigation directed the confiscation of a piece of rice-land measuring 5 *pès* (a *pè* is a measure of land which may be taken for the purposes of the story at an acre), which a widowed sweet-meat seller had presented to her preceptor. Henceforth, owing to this sinful deed committed against the religion, the king's power declined.[15] His satraps and governors grew refractory and eventually threw off their allegiance: tribute was withheld: the wonderful spear would no longer go on its wonted errands: and the drum would sound no more. To add to this long series of misfortunes Queen Pêk'Ꝺanô hit upon a plan, which was doomed to be successful in fulfilling her evil desire. She had an old skirt[16] of hers washed clean, and obtained some rags from a cemetery, and then had a towel woven with these materials for the use of the king. Duttabaung placed too much confidence in the love and fidelity of his wife, and not suspecting anything wiped his face with it, when lo! on account of the extreme uncleanliness of the towel, his third or middle eye became blind! Simultaneously with his blindness his celestial spear and drum disappeared! Not convinced that his power had diminished, the foolish king in his dotage set out on a progress through his dominions with the object of re-establishing his government on its former basis. He was cruising near **Cape Negrais,**[17] when by spitting into the sea he excited the wrath of the Nâgas, who carried him and his brazen boat to their country under the earth.

Thus perished the three-eyed king, Duttabaung, and the oath of his wife Pêk'Ꝺanô, in her previous birth, was fulfilled.

[13] Śakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, is known to the Burmans as Ꝺagyâ-min. *Min* is pure Burmese, signifying an important personage: for *Ꝺagyâ* ( = *Śakra*), see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 422.

[14] Burmans have a saying that, when a king is powerful, even rulers of *nàts* (spirits) have to render him assistance.

[15] Native histories are mostly the work of Buddhist monks, or of monks who have turned laymen; and every opportunity is seized upon to improve their position, and to impress on the secular rulers the unwisdom of interfering with the Buddhist Religion, as inculcated by the monkish brotherhood. The *Mahâyôzawin* was put into its present shape by a body of learned monks and ex-monks after the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824 A. D.).

[16] Skirts of women and clothes from a cemetery are regarded by the Burmans to be specially unclean for men. [In the uncleanness of the former we have a most interesting survival of a custom of *tabu*.—ED.]

[17] The Burmese name for *Negrais* is *Nâgayit* = Nâga-coiling. [The symbols for *yit* may, however, be *rach*, *ras* or *ris* according to the phonetics adopted. The usual Pâḷi form of the word is Nâgarâsi.—ED.]

# MISCELLANEA.

## SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

### A REPLY.

I shall proceed to deal with Mr. Houghton's criticisms seriatim.[1]

Mr. Houghton disagrees with me in thinking that any of the words given in my list relate to social life or are in common use. In refutation of his statement I may say that **the following Sanskṛit derivatives are in very common use among the Burmese:** — (7) *chaṅkram* in the sense of walking about for exercise; (8) *drap* as a synonym for *gôn* (Pâḷi *guṇa*), meaning primarily to be possessed of a certain status in society, and secondarily to be proud; (10) *kambhâ*, a world or a cycle of existence; (12) *parissad*, an assembly or audience, a congregation of people meeting together for purposes of religious devotion or festivity; (14) *prakatê, in statu quo*, or in a state of nature; (15) *prassad*, a turret, or a building with a number of roofs overtopping one another.[2]

**Adhvan.**—Mr. Houghton says: "The word is, however, an extremely rare one, and its meaning would probably not be understood by nine educated Burmans out of ten." With all due deference, I must say again that this word is in very common use. When a Burman wishes to express the incalculable duration of his repeated existences before he can enter Nirvâṇa, he would always employ this word in connexion with *saṁsâra*. Again, in Burmese histories, as well as in conversation, the word is commonly employed to signify the long succession of kings subsequent to the reigning ruler.

**Amṛita.**—The Sanskṛit derivative is pronounced *amraik* or *amyaik*, as pointed out by Mr. Houghton. The substitution of *t* for *k*, in my former article (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 94) is, as admitted by the Editor, a misprint. The truth of Mr. Houghton's remark that, "the application of the epithet *amraik* (*amṛita*) to the Buddhist Nirvâṇa is obviously modern and needs no discussion here," can, I must confess, be hardly admitted by any scholar who knows anything of Pâḷi and Buddhism. There can be no doubt that North Indian influence is responsible for the transformation of the word, the various stages of which appear to be as follows: *amṛita=amṛit=amṛôt=amṛôk*, which, according to the Burmese system of phonetics, would be pronounced *amraik*.

**Abhishêka.**—No doubt in the "corrected spelling" issued under the authority of the Text-book Committee of Burma, of which I was a member, the Sanskṛit derivative *bhissik* was changed to *bhisik* on the advice of the native *sayâs* or *paṇḍits*, who were in the majority, and whose evident desire was to disclaim any relationship of Burmese with Sanskṛit, and, in spite of ancient usage, to try and derive all Sanskṛit derivatives from Pâḷi, the sacred language of the Southern School of Buddhism. I do not at all see how "the fact of the penultimate vowel in the Burmese form being *i* and not *ê* is a proof of its late introduction." In the first place this statement is inconsistent with the assertion made in Mr. Houghton's first paragraph that "from very ancient times, indeed, the kings of Burma kept Brâhmaṇ astrologers at their courts for the purpose of making forecasts, fixing dates, and what not" (I suppose the vague "what not" would include the duty of performing the coronation ceremony of Burmese kings). In the second place, in dealing with Indo-Chinese languages, which have borrowed their alphabet from India, it is hardly safe to base one's conclusion on the mere morphology of words. The genius of such languages is so different from either Sanskṛit or Pâḷi that it would be much safer to take also into consideration the phonetic forms of such words. Although the derivative from Sanskṛit, which we are now discussing, is written *bhissik* or *bhisik*, the combination *ik* is always pronounced *êk*, thus establishing its affinity to the vowel *ê* in *abhishêka*.

**Chakra.**—I must again point out the very common use of the derivative from this Sanskṛit word. The Pâḷi expression *dhammachakka* is always rendered into Burmese as *dhammachakrâ*, thus showing the partiality of the Burmese language for derivatives from Sanskṛit and rebutting Mr. Houghton's contention: — "the former, or Pâḷi, word (*chakka*) was that originally used, and that the Sanskṛit word has been introduced subsequently by some courtly scholar." One of the titles of the Burmese king was "the Lord of the *chakrâ* weapon (or disc);" and in common conversation the notion of a supernatural element is always conveyed by the word *chakrâ* in such expressions as *yat'â*ะ *chakrâ*, supernatural or flying chariots; *nâ*ะ *chakrâ*, supernatural faculty of hearing.

**Chakravâla.**—The cosmogony of the Burmese is not derived "from the Brâhmaṇ astrologers at the Court," but was introduced with Buddhism.

**Chakravartin.**—I cannot at all agree with Mr. Houghton's statement as to the manner of

[1] See *ante*, p. 24 ff.

[2] The numbers refer to the words in my former list, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 95.

the introduction of the derivative from this word. No Burmese king has ever arrogated to himself such a title, and the condemnation of the Burmese courtiers is hardly justifiable. Nor can I subscribe to his expression the "old speakers of Pâḷi."

**Chaṅkram.**—Childers, in his *Pâḷi Dictionary* (page 99), identifies the Pâḷi word *caṅkamo*, meaning "a covered walk, arcade, portico, cloister," with the Sanskṛit चङ्क्रम् + अ. The word चङ्क्रम as meaning "walk (abstract and concrete)" is given at page 165 of Cappeller's *Sanskṛit-English Dictionary*.

**Dravya.**—The exceedingly common use of the word *drap*, which is derived from *dravya*, has already been pointed out above.

**Kalpa.—Mr. Houghton contends that, where a Pâḷi and a Sanskṛit derivative having the same signification exist in Burmese, greater antiquity should be attached to the former.** With all due deference to his scholarship **I would beg leave to differ from this view.** I would select only a few instances to show that this contention is not warranted by facts. The Pâḷi words *dhammachakka* and *Sâriputta* always assume in Burmese partially Sanskṛitic forms as *dhammachakrâ* and *Sâriputtarâ*. Again, in a Burmese inscription, dated 1198 A. D., which was found at Pagan, the word *Nirpan* occurs, which has closer affinity to the Sanskṛit *Nirvâṇa* than to the Pâḷi *Nibbâna*; and the Pâḷi *Vissakamma* is always rendered in Burmese as *Visakrôm* (Sanskṛit *Viśvakarman*). How would Mr. Houghton explain this remarkable phenomenon? Could he explain it in any way other than by saying that the Sanskṛit derivatives in the Burmese language are of more ancient date than the corresponding Pâḷi derivatives?

As regards the pronunciation of the conjunct consonant *l* as *anusvâra* in such words as *allâpa* and *sallâpa*, it is hardly justifiable to adopt the standard obtaining in Arakan, though it is undoubtedly not nowadays a centre of native learning. Since the fall of Arakan in 1785 A. D. the capitals of Burma have been the seats of learning and the centres of literary activity for the whole of the Burmese Empire.

**Mṛigasiras and Pushya.**—The point to which I would desire to draw attention in connexion with these words is that **in Burmese works, such as the translations of Jâtakas, preference is always shewn to the employment of Sanskṛit derivatives.** If the Pâḷi derivatives were already in existence, and were therefore, better and more widely understood, how could we account for such preference? Surely terms, which had attained some popular fixity, would have been employed in translating astrological works, which, according to Mr. Houghton, were a later importation.

**Parissad.**—In the *Revised Vocabulary of Burmese Spelling* issued by the Text-book Committee, this word is, no doubt, as pointed by Mr. Houghton, spelt *parisat*. At the sitting of the Committee, when the spelling of this word was discussed, the reason given by one of the *sayâs* for the adoption of the form as it now stands was, that it was derived from *parisâti*, which is but another form of *parisâ* + *iti*! This was no doubt an attempt made with a vengeance to disclaim all connexion with Sanskṛit. The word used to be spelt until a few years ago *parissad*, but the modern school of Burmese writers, who know nothing about the obligations of Burmese to Sanskṛit, desire to eliminate all Sanskṛitic elements, which they do not understand and cannot appreciate. परिषद् in Sanskṛit means "sitting around, besetting; assembly, congregation." The corresponding Pâḷi form *parisâ* is primarily employed in the Buddhistic sense of the various classes of Buddha's disciples as monks, nuns, lay disciples, female devotees, &c., &c. (See Childers' *Pâḷi Dictionary*, page 346). Mr. Houghton's 'violent assumption' that 'the original Sanskṛit word means rather a council, as in a court, or an assembly of ministers,' and that 'it was so first used by the Brâhmaṇs in the king's court, the use of the word becoming afterwards more generally extended,' is scarcely warranted by the circumstances of the case. The supposition that the word was first introduced in a political, and not a religious, sense, and that it then permeated to the masses is not reasonably justified by the absence of means for the dissemination of ideas from a centre of political activity among the masses of the people, by the difficulty of communication and intercourse, and by the attitude of indifference generally assumed by native rulers towards their subjects. There can be no doubt that the word *parissad* was introduced into Burma with the Buddhist Religion.

**Prakṛiti.**—My acknowledgments are due to Mr. Houghton for rectifying this error. The Sanskṛit derivative is now being superseded by the Pâḷi derivative, for the reasons explained above.

**Prâsâda.** Burmese architecture is, at present, almost a *terra incognita*; and it is hard to refute arguments in the shape of vague surmises.

**Prêta.**—See my remarks on *abhishêka* above. The derivative *prittâ* is in very common use among the Burmese. That the Buddhistic sense of the

word is at one with the Sanskritic sense is clearly shewn at page 378 of Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*.

**Rishi.**—The derivative from this word is not now used as a title of respect when addressing Buddhist monks, the word now in use being *rahanȘ* (Pâḷi. *araham̐*). The modern signification attached in Burmese to *rassê* is an anchorite, who is beyond the pale of the Order of Buddhist Monks. The imputation of pride and conceit to Burmese monks, as implied by Mr. Houghton's remarks, is, I think, uncalled for and unjustifiable. In spite of the high authority of Dr. Judson, who is, by the way, *not* an authority on Pâḷi or Sanskṛit, the Pâḷi form *isi* of the word *rishi* is never found in Burmese as a naturalized word. In translating *isi* its equivalent *rassê* is invariably used. In this connexion it may be interesting to note that **Sanskṛit and Pâḷi derivatives are by the Burmese sometimes coupled together, as if the object is to explain one by the other:**

> **kam̐ krammâ** = *kamma* Pâḷi + *karman* (Sanskṛit)
>
> kap kambhâ = *kappa* (Pâḷi) + kalpa (Sanskṛit)
>
> **Rassê RahanȘ** = *Ṛishi* (Sanskṛit) + *Araham̐* (Pâḷi)
>
> **AmêȘ pucchâ prassanâ** = *AmêȘ* (Burmese) + *pucchâ* (Pâḷi) + *praśna* (Sanskṛit)

**The above combinations are frequently met with in Burmese prose.**

**Samudra.**—In Burmese books, so far as I have read them, the word *samuddarâ* is always used, in a literal and not a metaphorical sense, in preference to the vernacular word *pinlè*. In Burmese poetry the two words are sometimes found joined together. I should be glad to know the grounds of Mr. Houghton's statement: — "It was therefore probably introduced at a late period by some philosophical writer."

**Sâriputra.**—The form *Sâriputtarâ* as well as that of *amraik* (Sanskṛit *amṛita*, Pâḷi *amata*) are found, in the *Pâramîgàn*, the "*Paradise Lost*" of the Burmese. This work was compiled by **Sîlavam̐sa**, a learned monk of Taungdwingyî in the Magwê District of Upper Burma, in the latter half of the 15th Century A. D.

**Sattva.**—Here, again, Mr. Houghton has been misled by Dr. Judson, who says that *sattavâ* means a 'rational being' in Burmese, which is not a complete definition. The sense in which this word is used in Sanskṛit, Pâḷi, and Burmese is nearly identical. In Burmese we speak of *lû sattavâ*, mankind, *kônȘ sattavâ*, animals of the land, *yê sattavâ*, fishes of the sea. Mr. Houghton's explanation about the possible confusion of the two Pâḷi words *sattô*, a "being, creature, animal, sentient being, man," and *satta*, seven, is highly ingenious, but cannot bear any criticism, because surely when a Burman with some knowledge of Pâḷi reads a book in that language, he would have common sense enough to construe according to the context, and not take the meaning of each detached word without any reference to the other words in the same sentence. Mr. Houghton says: — "It seems probable that the Sanskṛit form of this word (which is mainly used in philosophical works) was adopted in Burmese . . . ." This Sanskṛit derivative occurs as *sattvâ*, in an ancient inscription of Pagan, dated 585 B. E. (1223 A. D.).

Here, again, we have an instance where the word is derived from the Sanskṛit *sattva*, and not from the Pâḷi *satta*.

**Śakra.**—Mr. Houghton accuses me of allowing my religious zeal to overstep my discretion in giving "this personage" the title of the "Recording Angel of Buddhism:" "A very little enquiry would have shown him" that Childers makes use of this very title in his *Dictionary* (page 419), and that the Burmese notions regarding this god are more in conformity with Buddhist than with Hindu ideas.

**The point at issue, therefore, between Mr. Houghton and myself is, whether Sanskṛit or Pâḷi derivatives were first introduced into the Burmese language. His remarks appear to shew that he is in favour of the theory which accords priority to the latter class of derivatives. I venture to hold the opposite view and to base my conclusion on the following statements of fact:—**

In the Buddhist literature of the Burmese we meet with the remarkable phenomenon of translating Pâḷi words by means of Sanskṛit derivatives; *e. g.*

| Pâḷi word. | Sanskrit derivative. | Original form of the derivative in Sanskrit. |
|---|---|---|
| Amata. | Amraik. | Amṛita. |
| Dhammachakka. | Dhammachakrâ | Dharmachakra. |
| Kamma. | Krammâ. | Karman. |
| Sakka. | SakrâȘ[1] | Śakra. |
| Samudda. | Samuddarâ. | Samudra. |
| Sangaha. | Sangroh. | Sangraha. |
| Sâriputta. | Sâriputtarâ. | Sâriputra. |
| Satta. | Sattavâ. | Sattva. |
| Vissakamma. | Visakrôm. | Viśvakarman. |

[1] Spelt phonetically.

Again, in the ancient inscriptions of Pagan dating from the 11th and 12th centuries we meet with the Sanskṛit form of invocation *Śrî Namô Buddhâya* instead of the customary Pâḷi form *Namô Tassa Bhagavatô Arahatô Sammâsambuddhassa*. Also in some inscriptions, as the Pôḥuḥ daung Inscription (see *ante*, p. 2) traces of the influence of the Mahâyâna, or Northern School of Buddhism, still exist in the expression of the wish of the donor to attain Buddhahood, and not Arahatship (see Hibbert Lectures, 1881, pp. 254-5). Lastly, that Sanskṛit studies were much cultivated among the Burmese in ancient times is clearly proved by the Tet-hnwègyaung Inscription at Pagan, dated 804 B. E. or 1442 A. D., which records a list not only of works belonging to the Buddhist Canon, but also of medical, astrological, grammatical, and poetical works translated from the Sanskṛit language.

These facts appear to indicate:—

**(i) That the form of Buddhism first introduced into Burma Proper was that of the Mahâyâna or Northern School;**

**(ii) that the Buddhist scriptures when first introduced were written in Sanskṛit, which is the language of the Northern School;**

**(iii) that the Southern School or Hînayâna, the language of whose scriptures is Pâḷi, subsequently absorbed and assimilated, by its stronger vitality, the Northern School, which, through the cessation of intercourse with Northern India, had fallen into corruption and decay.**

These inferences are further supported by the evolution of the Burmese pagoda, in which are combined the *stûpa* type of Northern India and the *chaitya* type of Ceylon, as pointed out by the Editor of this *Journal* in his lecture on the subject before the Anthropological Institute in October 1892.

I am glad that my short note on the existence of Sanskṛit derivatives in the Burmese language has been criticised by Mr. Houghton. The controversy will, I hope, excite some interest in the subject. At present there is a lamentable dearth of scholars in Burma, and Burmese history, Burmese literature, and Burmese antiquities are fields in which the labourers are exceedingly few, though the harvest should be plentiful and rich.

TAW SEIN-KO.

*Christ's College, Cambridge, March 8th,* 1893.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### WISHING STONES IN BURMA.

On the platform of the Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon there are two **Wishing Stones**. There is also one on Mandalay Hill, and one in the Kògun Cave in the Amherst District. There are probably others scattered about the country.

**The custom is to formulate a wish in the mind and then try and lift the stone,** *e.g.*, "I want so and so: may the stone be heavy (or light, as the case may be) if my prayer is heard!" The stone is then lifted and if it proves heavy or light, according as wished, the prayer is heard.

The Burmese are very fond of testing things twice, but not oftener. Accordingly the wish is usually repeated twice, reversing the desired weight of the stone: *i.e.*, it is wished to be light and then heavy, or *vice versâ*. If the prayer is answered to the same effect twice well and good, but if the prayer is answered differently at the two trials it is neither granted nor denied. The first trial in such a case is considered the better of the two.

At Rangoon the stones are chiefly used by old women and maidens. The old women to ascertain the health of relatives, and the girls with regard to their love affairs.

R. C. TEMPLE.

### BAO, INDO-EUROPEAN FOR MONASTERY.

Sangermano in his *Description of the Burmese Empire*, written 1780-1808 A.D., uses throughout the book the word **bao** to mean a Buddhist monastery. At p. 90, (reprint 1885) he says, "there is not any village, however small, which has not one or more large wooden houses, which are a species of convent, by the Portuguese in India called **Bao**." He means clearly what is called a *kyaung* by the Burmese and a *vihâra* in the classics.

Again in the *Life of Monsignor Percoto* by Quirini on page 125 occurs:—

"egli sembra dissi, che i Talapoini non siano che un' avanzo, e rampollo di cotali filosofi Indiani, menando una vita a quelli somigliante in certi loro Monisterj, con vocabolo Egizio, e nell' Egitto usato, **Baò** chiamati."

Lastly in Haswell's *Peguan Language, s.v.*, there occurs **Bha**, a monastery. This seems to settle the derivation of this word, which puzzled Yule; see *Hobson-Jobson, s.v., Kyoung,* in Supplement.

R. C. TEMPLE.

## BOOK NOTICE.

A SANSKṚIT-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, being a practical Handbook, with Transliteration, Accentuation, and Etymological Analysis throughout. Compiled by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D., Corpus Christi College, (Deputy) Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.

I cannot do better than commence by quoting the first words of the preface of this excellent book. "The aim of the present work is to satisfy, within the compass of a comparatively handy volume, all the practical wants not only of learners of Sanskṛit, but also of scholars for purposes of ordinary reading." It will appear from what follows that this modest aim has been completely arrived at.

Dr. Macdonell has followed the newer school of Sanskritists, of whom Professor Whitney is the most prominent leader, in abandoning native authorities, and confining himself to words which can be quoted from actual literature. There is much to be said for this standpoint, and no doubt it supplies a convenient hard and fast principle for the selection of words,—a principle, too, which, in a work like the present, meant more for Sanskṛit students than for comparative philologists, stands the test of practical usefulness. At the same time, with every respect for the learned scholars who have adopted it, I feel bound to protest against it, as being based on a false assumption. Even assuming that the principle is a sound one, it is impossible to carry it out thoroughly at the present day. For until every Sanskṛit work in existence has been made accessible to scholars, and has been indexed, it is imposeible to say whether any word suggested for insertion in a dictionary, or any form suggested for insertion in a grammar is quotable or not. But putting that point to one side,—it is a fallacy to assume that the portion of Sanskṛit literature of which we have existing remains contains the *omne scibile* of the language. I believe that the greatest European Sanskṛit scholar will be the first to confess that in many particulars his knowledge of Sanskṛit is very small beside that of scholars like Hêmachandra or the authors of the *Dhâtupâṭha*. The latter may, no doubt, be sometimes mistaken, but I should not dream of doubting the existence of a word mentioned by them, merely because it did not occur in known literature, unless some cogent argument were advanced for showing that they were wrong. Besides, only a small portion of the whole of Sanskṛit literature has survived, and what right have we to assume that the part which has not survived contains no words which do not occur in the part which has? For this reason, though I fully admit its practical convenience in a work like the present, I feel compelled to utter a protest against a fashion, if I may so term it, which is coming to the front, of treating with too much distrust the works of the oldest Indian Lexicographers and Grammarians. I maintain that a *complete* Sanskṛit dictionary should contain all words given in native dictionaries, whether found in literature or not, for one never knows when a certain word will not be required by the student. Moreover, many of these unquotable words may be found most useful to the comparative philologist, whether he compare Sanskṛit with other Aryan languages, or with modern Indian languages, and even when he endeavours to study the life history of Sanskṛit itself. To take an example from the field of comparative philology with which I am most familiar. There is a Hindî word *agârî*, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts," the derivation of which would be a mystery to the student, who had only a lexicon based on the theory of the new school to guide him. The preservation of the *g* shows that the word must have come through a Prâkṛit form containing either a double *gg* or a *g* protected by a nasal.[1] This would refer us to a Sanskṛit form *aṅgârikâ*, but no such word is to be found in Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, as it is not quotable from literature. A reference, however, to the older dictionaries, shows that the Indian lexicographers did give a word *aṅgârikâ*, meaning "sugar-cane sprouts." Here we have a direct proof that the old lexicographers were right, and that the writer of a complete Sanskṛit dictionary would not err in including it. But this word is not only a help to the student of modern Indian languages. It is a help to the student of Sanskṛit itself. It is one of the many instances of false etymologies which occur in that language, and is a valuable example of the way in which the founders of Sanskṛit (as distinct from the Vedic language) helped out the paucity of a traditional priests' language of the schools, and made it available for the use of the forum, by borrowing words from the vernaculars current at the time of the birth of profane Sanskṛit learning. They took these Prâkṛit (I use the word for want of a better term) words and worked back from them to what they considered must have been the original word as

[1] For reasons which it is unnecessary to quote here, there is no doubt that the Prâkṛit word was *aggaaḍiâ* (*i. e.*, *agra*, with pleonastic *aḍa* and *ikâ*). This is, as a matter of letters, a possible corruption of *aṅgârikâ*, but is certainly not derived from that word.

used in Vedic times, and adopted the word thus formed as Sanskṛit. Sometimes, as in the case of *aṅgârikâ*, their etymology, was at fault, but this does not prevent the word being Sanskṛit.

It is therefore well to recognize at once the limits of Dr. Macdonell's work. For the purpose of the student of Sanskṛit literature it is admirable and complete, but it does not supply the wants of the comparative philologist nor does it pretend to do so.

Having said so much about what the dictionary does not contain, it is time to say what it does. Briefly speaking, it is mainly a dictionary of Classical (or as some call it, "Profane") Sanskṛit and only contains such Vedic words as occur in those portions of Vedic literature which are readily accessible in good selections. Out-of-the-way technical terms are, as a rule, excluded, but a special feature of the work is the large number of grammatical and rhetorical terms so necessary for the adequate comprehension of native glosses, and which have hitherto not been found in any dictionary. Chancing to have had a good deal to do with rhetorical terms lately, I have been able to test this feature of the work pretty thoroughly, and have found that Dr. Macdonell's claims to usefulness in this respect are amply borne out. Even when the meaning of a rhetorical term is clear, it is not always easy to hit readily upon the exact English accepted equivalent. The translation of the *Sâhitya Darpana* has hitherto been the only guide to the student, but it is inconvenient to use, and only deals with the main stems of the many-branching tree of Hindu rhetoric. For the purposes of a future edition I may refer Dr. Macdonell to a useful little Hindî book,—*Bihârî-Tulasî-Bhûshaṇa-Bôdha*, by Paṇḍit Bihârî Lâl Chaubê, which gives an alphabetical list of some hundred and fifty rhetorical terms, each of which is fully explained, together with examples from Hindî literature.[2]

Dr. Macdonell, in his preface, gives a list of the books to which the dictionary specially refers. It contains some forty names, principally of the high classical period of Sanskṛit literature. It includes such difficult works as the *Kâdambarî*, the *Kirâtârjunîya*, and the *Śiśupâlavadha*. Curiously enough the *Râmâyaṇa* is not mentioned, though no doubt every word in that not very extensive epic will be found duly explained. The only work which I should have been glad to see represented, and which has been left out, is the *Nalôdaya*. This difficult poem has to be read at some time or other by every serious student of Sanskṛit, and it has the advantage of having been excellently edited many years ago by Yates. There are many words in it with meanings which I have not seen in any dictionary.[3] Such are (to quote a couple of instances from the first few verses) √*râj*, to be happy (I. 5), *adhirâja* = *râjânam adhikṛitya* (I. 7).

None of the *purâṇas* are included in the list, nor are any of the *tantras*. The omission of the first is immaterial, for the language of these works is usually of the most simple description. There are, however, a few words occurring in *mâhâtmyas* and *tantras* which the reader will miss. Such are *śrî-sûkta*[4] (though *purusha-sûkta* is given), and *bîja*, in the sense of 'mystic-formula,'[5] a word of frequent occurrence in the *tantras*. Each mystic formula has a name such as *mâyâ-bîja*, and so forth, and they can all be found, as well as I remember, in a work called the *Tantra-sâra*, which has been printed in Calcutta.

The arrangement of the dictionary is as compact as is compatible with clearness. Compounds are arranged in convenient groups under a leading word. Before consulting the dictionary, the reader must be warned to master thoroughly the system of punctuation, on which the whole system of each group of articles depends. For instance, *ânushaṅgika*, occurs under the group headed by *ânu-kul-ika*, and unless the meaning of the preceding semi-colon is understood, a learner may be tempted to read the "*-shaṅgika*," as *ânu-kul-shaṅgika*. The system is, however, simplicity itself, and, what is wanted in a dictionary, aids compactness, without sacrificing in any way the readiness with which a word can be found. On one point I must congratulate Dr. Macdonell on having the courage to revert to Benfey's system of giving verbal prepositions in alphabetical order after the last form of the simple verb with which they are used.

Although references are not given, all that is really necessary to the ordinary student is to be found, *viz.* the literary period to which each word or meaning belongs, and the frequency or rarity of its occurrence. Another point of importance

2 Printed at the Kharg Bilâs Press, Bankipur. The book deals ostensibly with Hindî rhetoric, but it is equally useful for Sanskrit students, the technical terms being all borrowed from Sanskṛit. I may mention that the study of rhetoric has been carried to astonishing lengths by Hindî writers, commencing with Kêśava Dâsa, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century. After the death of Tulasî Dâsa (1623 A. D.), poetry disappeared from India, and during the latter half of the 17th Century and the whole of the 18th nearly the only celebrated authors (always excepting the incomparable Bihârî Lâl) were men who taught people how to write poetry, but who could not write it themselves.

3 I omit from consideration the larger Petersburg Dictionary which I am not just now able to consult.

4 Given in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.

5 Not in the smaller Petersburg Dictionary.

is that wherever the accent is known from Vedic texts it has been indicated in the transliteration.

The etymological portion of the dictionary is, so far as it goes, complete. As already mentioned, it does not aim at comparative philology, outside the bounds of the Sanskṛit language. All words, — except the small number which defy analysis, have been broken up into their component parts in the transliteration. When these means failed, the derivation is concisely added in brackets. I only regret that Dr. Macdonell did not take advantage of the opportunity to point out how much Sanskṛit, and especially Classical Sanskṛit, is indebted to words borrowed from vernaculars in a state of much greater phonetic decay than that at which the main portion of the language had been arrested. This is a wide field, hardly touched upon as yet, save by Prof. Zachariæ; and is one which promises with little labour to yield a bounteous fruit. Words like *aṅgâra* already mentioned, the possible connection between verbal bases such as *ichchha*,[6] and *îpsa*, (both Vedic) parallel forms such as *kapâṭa* and *kawâṭa*, *kshurikâ* and *chhurikâ*, *gêha* and *gṛiha* (both Vedic), *pattra* and *paṭṭa*, and hundreds of others, point to one of two things, either the existence of dialects at the time the Vedic hymns were composed (if not when they were compiled), or else to the borrowing, by a language already stereotyped, of words from vernaculars in a later stage of phonetical growth. Both of these facts fall well within the province of the etymological lexicographer: and a correct appreciation of both is absolutely necessary to comprehend the relationship between Profane and Vedic Sanskṛit, and between the former and the Vernaculars of India from the time of Aśôka to the present day. One word I miss from Dr. Macdonell's dictionary, which well illustrates what I mean, — *akupya*. The word is not quotable, and hence it is quite rightly omitted, but still I should have been glad to know what a skilled etymologist such as he is, would have said about it. The word has two meanings 'not (*a*) base metal (*kupya*),' and 'base metal.' Other dictionaries explain the second meaning by declaring the *a* to be expletive, that is to say *ignotum per ignotius*. Paṇḍits give the *a* its negative force, and say the word means 'that metal with reference to which all other metals are not base,' *i.e.*, 'metal which is very base.'[7] I believe that a reference to the despised vernaculars and Prâkṛits will clear up the difficulty. In the former this *a* prefix is by no means uncommon,[8] and can always be referred through Prâkṛit either to a Sanskṛit *â*, or to a Sanskṛit *ati* (*a-i*, *ê*, *a*). Hence I believe that this second meaning of *akupya* is to be referred to a Prâkṛit form of *âkupya* or *atikupya*.

In order to test the vocabulary of this dictionary, I have gone through the first sixty pages of the *Kâdambarî*, and compared it with the dictionary hitherto available to English scholars, that of Sir Monier Williams. In these sixty pages there are about eighteen words which I have failed to find in the older work, all of which, with a few unimportant exceptions, are duly registered in that under consideration. The exceptions are of no moment, and cause no trouble to the reader. Those I have noticed in my edition of the *Kâdambarî*, are *aklishṭatâ* (*aklishṭa* is given), *âshâḍhin* (*âshâḍha*, a *palâśa*-staff, is given), *utsâda* (*utsâdana* is given), *raśita* (*rasita* is given) *rûpa* (*rûpâ mṛigâḥ svabhâvavantaḥ lôkâścha*, comm.), *śakuni-jñâna* (*śakuna-jñâna*, is given). This will show the thoroughness with which the work has been done, and of how far it supersedes previous similar books. Of the above omitted words, only one (*utsâda*) is found in the smaller St. Petersburg Dictionary.

I have already drawn attention to the compact and convenient arrangement of the articles. A word of praise must also be given to the beautifully clear type, and to the freedom from misprints, — an accuracy which makes an Anglo-Indian condemned to hard labour at the hands of Calcutta compositors sigh with envy.

In conclusion, I must congratulate Prof. Macdonell on being the first to produce a scientifically arranged Sanskṛit dictionary, of convenient size and moderate cost. Measured by its aim it is a complete and brilliant success, and if here and there I have appeared to be a *chhidrânvêshin*, I have referred not to the execution of what has been done, but have only expressed my regrets that his aim has not been a higher one. But then, if it had been as I wish it, and if Dr. Macdonell had given us still more gifts from the storehouse of his learning, the size of his book would not have been convenient, nor would its cost have been moderate. Things are better as they are, and we may hope for, at some future time, a lexicon embracing the whole Sanskṛit language, and dealing with it in all its aspects from his competent pen.

G. A. GRIERSON.

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[6] I am, of course, aware of the σκω theory regarding these *chchha* bases. But whether *ichchha* is an original Sanskṛit base or not, the fact that the Prâkṛit form of *îpsa*, to wish to obtain, to desire, is also *ichchha*, cannot be overlooked by the student of Sanskṛit etymology.

[7] So also they talk of a word *a-vara* (not *ava-ra*), 'very excellent': 'that with reference to which all other things are not excellent.'

[8] *e.g.* Hindî *achapala* = *chapala*.

# THE TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE BRIHAT-SAMHITA.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., PH.D., C.I.E.

THE topographical information contained in the Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ of Varâhamihira is to be found chiefly in chapter xiv., entitled *kûrma-vibhâga* or "the Division of the Globe;" the special object of which, in conformity with the astrological nature of the whole work, is to provide an arrangement from which it may be determined what countries and peoples suffer calamity when particular *nakshatras* or lunar mansions are vexed by the planets. For this purpose, the twenty-seven *nakshatras*, commencing with Kṛittikâḥ (the Pleiades), are divided into nine groups, of three each; and the globe, into a corresponding numbers of nine divisions, starting with the Madhyadêśa or middle country, as the central part of Bhâratavarsha or the inhabitable world, and then running round the compass from east to north-east. And an application of the distribution,— though not a very careful one, unless it can be improved or corrected by any emendation of the present text,— is given in verses 32, 33, of the same chapter; where we learn that, as the groups of *nakshatras* are vexed, commencing with that of which the first *nakshatra* is Âgnêya or Kṛittikâḥ, so, in due order, destruction and death come upon the kings of the Pâñchâlas (middle-country), of Magadha (eastern division), of Kaliṅga (south-east division), of Avanti (southern division), of Ânarta (south-west division), of the Sindhu-Sauvîras (again the south-west division), of the Harahauras or Hârahauras (not mentioned elsewhere), of the Madras (north-west division), and of the Kauṇindas (north-east division).

The first part of my catalogue, the divisional list, gives all the names thus mentioned in chapter xiv., as it runs in Dr. Kern's edition, arranged alphabetically under the divisions of the country adopted by Varâhamihira. As has been indicated, the primary division is the Madhyadêśa or middle country. I do not find any definition of this term in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*. And there seem to be differences in respect of its limits. Thus, Prof. H. H. Wilson[1] has spoken of it as being "the country along the Narmadâ;" and Albêrûnî,[2] from the information given to him, has explained it as being "the country all around Kanauj, which is also called Âryâvarta." Sir Monier Monier-Williams, however, in his Sanskṛit Dictionary, gives it a considerably more ample extent; defining it as "the country lying between the Himâlayas on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Vinaśana on the west," *i.e.* apparently the place where the river Sarasvatî was supposed to lose itself in the sand, "Prayâga on the east, and comprising the modern provinces of Allahâbâd, Âgrâ, Dehli, Oude, &c." And this seems to be more in consonance with Varâhamihira's view: since we find him including in it, on the east, Sâkêta (Oude),[3] and on the west, the Maru country (Mârwâḍ), and the Sârasvatas or people living on the banks of the Sarasvatî which rises in Mount Âbû, and, running almost due south, flows into the Ran of Cutch; while, on the other hand, the Yâmunas or people living on the banks of the Jamnâ, which rises in the Himâlayas, are placed by him partly in the middle country and partly in the northern division, and the Vindhya mountains, which run across the peninsula and constitute the northern boundary of the valley of the Narmadâ, are excluded by him from the middle country altogether, though, in connecting them only with the south-east division, he fails to represent fully their extent.

In presenting this divisional list, I do not mean to suggest that it furnishes materials for preparing an accurate map of ancient India; or that the cities, rivers, mountains, tribes, &c.,— and especially the tribes,— belong actually and only to the divisions to which they are allotted by Varâhamihira. Mistakes in his details can easily be shewn: for instance, though he places Kachchha and Girinagara both in the southern division, he locates Raivataka in the south-west; whereas this mountain is quite close to Girinagara (Junâgaḍh) and the Girnâr mountain,

1 *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 64, note 2.

2 *Albêrûnî's India*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 173; also see p. 198.

3 So also the *Matsya-Purâṇa* places Ayôdhâ (Oude) in the Madhyadêśa; see *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 168, note 11.

and is considerably to the south of Cutch. My object is to make a start, in order that, when the lists of other books have been treated in the same way and all have been compared, we may then be in a position to put all the materials together, and arrive at some consolidated and satisfactory results.

In addition to the divisional list of chapter xiv., **the astrological statements** that run through the whole book, and in particular verses 1 to 39 of chapter xvi., which define "the countries, peoples, and things belonging to the domain of each planet," add a variety of other names which are not mentioned at all in chapter xiv. All these names I have included, with those taken from chapter xiv., in the general **alphabetical list.**[4] And here I have inserted notes on some of the names, chiefly in the direction of quoting the earliest epigraphic references to them; but without attempting to give all that might be said about them, or about the others that I have passed over without comment. Little, if anything, in a topographical direction, is to be learnt from these astrological references; which simply tell us, for instance, that (chap. xviii. verse 6) "should the Moon leave Saturn at her right, then sovereigns keeping the town will "triumph, and the Śakas, Bâhlikas, (the people of) Sindhu, Pahlavas and Yavanas, be joyful." They are of value only as tending to indicate the comparative importance or notability of the different tribes and places, as judged by the number of different allusions to each of them. To apply them in any other way, *e. g.* to assume that the names mentioned in one and the same passage are to be referred to much about one and the same locality, would only be conducive to error. Thus, such a rule might be applied in respect of the verse just mentioned, without going far wrong. But chapter iv. verse 25, and chapter xvi. verse 22, give clear instances to the contrary. The former couples the Ârjunâyanas and the Yaudhêyas, who belong to the northern division, and the Kauravas, who, as the people of Kuru-land, may perhaps be referred to the northern division, with the Prâgîśas or kings of the eastern country. And the latter couples the Ârjunâyanas, Yaudhêyas, Traigartas, Pauravas, and Vâṭadhanas, of the northern division, with the Ambashṭhas of the east or south-west, the Pâratas of the west, and the Sârasvatas and Matsyas of the middle country. But little, therefore, if anything at all, could be gained, in this or any similar list, by noting the way in which different names are connected with each other in the astrological passages.

## DIVISIONAL LIST.

**The Madhyadêśa or middle country** includes (xiv. 2, 3, 4) Gajapura (see under Gajâhvaya), Kâlakôṭe, Kapishṭhala, [Mathurâ],[5] and Sâkêta;—

the Maru and [Udumbara] **countries;**—

the Dharmâraṇya **forest;**—

[the **rivers** Sarasvatî and Yamunâ];—

and the following **tribes or peoples;** the Arimêdas, Aśvatthas, Audumbaras, Bhadras, Gauragrîvas, Ghôshas, Guḍas, Kaṅkas, Kukuras, Kurus, Mâdhyamikas, Mâṇḍavyas, Mâthurakas, Matsyas, Nîpas, Pâñchâlas, Pâṇḍus, Sâlvas or Śâlvas, Saṁkhyâtas, Sârasvatas, Śûrasênas, Uddêhikas, Ujjihânas, Upajyôtishas, Vatsas, and Yâmunas.

**The eastern division** includes (xiv. 5, 6, 7,) [Chandrapura], Kâśi, Mêkala, the milky sea (*kshîrôda*), the (eastern) ocean (*samudra*), [Tâmaliptî], and Vardhamâna;—

the [Kôsala], Magadha, Mithila, [Puṇḍra], Samataṭa, and Uḍra **countries;**—

the **mountains** Añjana, Mâlyavat, Padma, Śibira, Udayagiri, and Vṛishabhadhvaja;—

the **river** Lauhitya;—

and the following **tribes or peoples;** the Ambashṭhas, Bhadras, Châdrapuras, Dantura-

[4] As far as the end of chapter lxxxv., of course I have utilised Dr. Kern's translation. It is to be found in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IV. pp. 430-479 (chap. i. to vii.); Vol. V. pp. 45-90 (chap. viii. to xv.), and pp. 231-288 (chap. xvi. to xxxv.); Vol. VI. pp. 36-91 (chap. xxxvi. to li.), and pp. 279-338 (chap. liii. to lxiv.; chap. lii., on boils and their consequences, is left untranslated, as being of no interest whatever); and Vol. VII. pp. 81-134 (chap. lxv. to lxxxv.). I have glanced through the remaining nineteen chapters, without actually reading them: here, the Dêvanâgarî characters, with their absence of capitals, may possibly have caused me to pass over a point or two which otherwise I might have noted; but I think that I have not omitted anything of importance.

[5] Names in square brackets are supplied from the tribal appellations; thus, in the present instance, Mathurâ, from the mention of the Mâthurakas.

kas, Gauḍakas, Karvaṭas, Kauśalakas, Khasas, Pauṇḍras, Prâgjyôtishas, Suhmas, Tâmaliptikas, and Utkalas; also the cannibals (*purushâda*), the horse-faced people (*aśvavadana*), the one-footed people (*êkapada*), the people with ears shaped like a sickle (*śûrpakarṇa*), and the tiger-faced people (*vyâghramukha*).

**The south-east division** includes (xiv. 8, 9, 10) Hêmakûṇḍya, the islands of bark, of bulls, andof cocoanuts, Kaṇṭakasthala, Kishkindha, and Tripurî;—

the Andhra, Aṅga, [Chêdi], Kaliṅga, Kôśala, Upavaṅga, Vaṅga, and Vidarbha **countries**;—

the Vindhya **mountains**;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Chêdikas, Daśârṇas, Jaṭharas, Maulikas (or 'Saulikas), Nishâdas, Purikas, 'Sabaras (specified as the leaf-clad 'Sabaras and the naked 'Sabaras), 'Saulikas (or Maulikas), 'Smaśrudharas, and Vatsas; also the great-necked people (*mahâgrîva*), the high-throated people (*ûrdhvakaṇṭha*), and the snake-necked people (*vyâlagrîva*).

**The southern division** includes (xiv. 11-16) Âkara, Atri's hermitage, [Avanti], Baladêvapaṭṭana, the beryl-mines (*vaidûrya*), Bharukachchha, Chitrakûṭa, (the places for obtaining) conch-shells (*śaṅkha*), Daśapura, Dharmapaṭṭana, the elephants' glen (*kuñjaradarî*), Gaṇarâjya, Girinagara, the hermitages (*tâpasâśrama*), the islands (*dvîpa*), Kâñchî, [Kârmaṇêya], Kollagiri, Krauñchadvîpa, Laṅkâ, Maruchîpattana, Nâsikya, the southern ocean (*yâmyôdadhi*), (the places for obtaining) pearls (*muktâ*), Simhala, Tâlikaṭa, Vanavâsi, and Vellûra:—

the [Chêra], Chôla, Kachchha, Karṇâṭa, [Kêrala], Koṅkaṇa, and Taṅkaṇa **countries**;—

the Daṇḍakâvana and Tumbavana **forests**, and the great forest (*mahâṭavî*);—

the **mountains** Dardura, Kusuma, Mahêndra, Malaya, Mâlindya, Ṛishyamûka, and 'Sûrpa;—

the **rivers** Kâvêrî, Kṛishṇa, Tâmraparṇin, and Vêṇâ;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Âbhîras, Âryakas, Âvantakas, Bhadras, Chêryas, Gônardas, Kairalakas, Kâlâjinas, Kaṅkaṭas, Kârmaṇêyakas, Kîrṇas, Phaṇikâras, Piśikas, Ṛishabhas, Ṛishikas, Sauris, and 'Sibikas; also, the mariners (*vârichara*), the people with thick matted hair (*jaṭâdhara*), and the eaters of whales (*timiṅgilâśana*)

**The south-west division** includes (xvi. 17, 18, 19) the great ocean (*mahârṇava*), and Vaḍavâmukha;—

the Ânarta, Draviḍa, [Kâmbôja], Pâraśava, and Surâshtra **countries**;—

the **mountains** Hêmagiri, Phêṇagiri, and [Rêvataka];—

the **river** (or country) Sindhu;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Âbhîras, Ambashṭhas, Âravas, Bâdaras, Barbaras, Chañchûkas, Kâlakas, Kapilas, Karṇaprâvêyas, Khaṇḍas, Kirâtas, Mâkaras, Pahlavas, Raivatakas, Sindhu-Sauvîras, 'Sûdras, and Yavanas; also the eaters of (raw) flesh (*kravyâśin*), and the people with the faces of women (*nârîmukha*).

**The western division** includes (xiv. 20, 21) the region of gold (*kanaka*), and Târakshiti;—

the Pañchanada and Ramaṭha **countries**;—

the collection of **forests** (*vanaugha*);—

the **mountains** Astagiri, Kshurârpaṇa, Maṇimat, Mêghavat, and Praśasta;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Aparântakas, Haihayas, Jṛiṅgas, Mlêchchhas, Pâratas, 'Sakas, 'Sântikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkâṇas.

**The north-west division** includes (xiv. 22, 23) the kingdom of the amazons (*strîrâjya*);—

the Aśmaka, Kulûta, and Lahaḍa or Laḍaha **countries**;—

the **forest** of the man-lions (*nṛisiṁhavana*);—

the **rivers** Garuhâ or Guruhâ, Phalgulukâ, and Vêṇumatî;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Charmaraṅgas, Halas or Lahas, Madras, Mâṇḍavyas, Marukuchchas, 'Sûlikas (or Mûlikas), Tâlas, and Tukhâras; also the dwellers in the sky (*khastha*), the one-eyed people (*êkavilôchana*), the long-faced people (*dîrghâsya*), the long-haired people (*dîrghakêśa*), and the people with long-necks (*dîrghagrîva*).

**The northern diivsion** includes (xiv. 24-28) Bhôgaprastha, the city of spirits (*bhûtapura*), [Pushkalâvatî], [Takshásilâ], Vasâti, and Yaśôvatî;—

the Âdarśa, Antardvîpin, Gândhâra, [Mâlava], Trigarta, and [Uttara-Kuru] **countries**;—

the **mountains** Dhanushmat, Himavat (Himâlaya) Kailâsa, Krauñcha, Mêru, and Vasumat;—

the **river** [Yamunâ];—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Agnîdhras or Agnîtyas, Ambaras, Ârjunâyanas, Daṇḍapiṅgalakas, Dâsamêyas, Dasêrakas, Gavyas, Hêmatâlas, Hûṇas, Kachchâras, Kaikayas, Kailâvatas, Kaṇṭhadhânas, Kôhalas, Kshatriyas (under the name of *râjanya*), Kshêmadhûrtas, Kshudramînas, Madrakas, Mâlavas, Mâṇahalas, Mâṇḍavyas, Pauravas, Pushkalâvatas, Śâradhanas, Śîtakas (or Śâtakas), Syâmâkas, Takshaśilas, Udîchyas, Uttara-Kurus, Vâṭadhanas, Yâmunas, and Yaudhêyas; also the flat-nosed people (*chipiṭanâsika*) the thick-haired people (*kêśadhara*), the roamers in the sky (*khachara*), the dog-faced people (*śvamukha*), and the horse-faced people (*turagânana*).

**The north-east division** includes (xiv. 29, 30, 31) Brahmapura, the kingdom of the dead (*nashṭarâjya*), the gold-region (*suvarṇabhû*), and the marshes or swamps (*palôla*);—

the [Kaśmîra] and Kulûta **countries**;—

the **forest** of Vasus or spirits (*vasuvana*), the forest-kingdom (*vanarâjya*), and the forest-territory (*vanarâshṭra*);—

the **mountains** Mêruka and Muñja;—

and the following **tribes or peoples**; the Abhisâras, Anuviśvas, Bhallas, Chînas, Ḍâmaras, Daradas, Dârvas, Gandharvas, Ghôshas, Kâśmîras, Kauṇindas, Khashas, Kîras, Kirâtas, Kuchikas, Kuṇathas, Pauravas, Sairindhas, and Taṅgaṇas; also the nomads (*paśupâla*), the wearers of bark (*chîranivasana*), the dwellers in the sky (*divishṭha*), the demons with matted hair or elf-locks (*jaṭâsura*), the one-footed people (*êkacharaṇa*), and the three-eyed people (*trinêtra*).

## ALPHABETICAL LIST.

Abhîra, or Âbhîra, the name of a people placed in the southern division, xiv. 12, and in the south-west division, xiv. 18; miscellaneous astrological references, v. 38, 42; ix. 19; xvi. 31. One of the Nâsik inscriptions mentions an Abhîra king (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 104). And the Abhîras are named among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Abhisâra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., xxxii. 19. The Abhisâra country is supposed to be the modern Hazâra, in the Pañjâb (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 69, note 3).

Âdarśa, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Agnîdhra, or Âgnîdhra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25. In his text, Kern reads *Bhôgaprasth-Ârjunâyan-Âgnîdhrâḥ*; and in his various readings he notes that one MS. gives *Agrîvyâ*, but all the others, except the one from which the word in his text is taken, *Agnîtyâḥ*. In his translation he gives "Âgnîdhras (or Agnîtyas)." Albêrûnî has given the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* divisional list (*India*, Translation, Vol. I. pp. 300-303); and here he gives "Agnîtya."

Âkara, a place in the southern division, xiv. 12. Kern, who translates the word by "the mines," considers that it denotes the modern Khândêsh. The name apparently occurs in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262; the text has *Âkar-Âvanty-*).

Alaka, apparently a city; the lord of Alaka (*Alaka-nâtha*), misc. ref., xi. 58. Kern in his translation gives the feminine form, Alakâ; which, however, does not suit the metre. The published text is *Ikshvâku-Ralakanâthau*, "the Ikshvâkus and the lord of Ralaka;" with the various readings of *kukula* and *rulaka*, for *ralaka*. But, in a note to his translation, Kern prefers *Ikshvâkur=Alakanâthô*; which is the reading of the commentary, and is supported by the remark *Alakâ-nagarî tan-nâthô râjâ*. The only other Alakâ that is known, is the city of Kubêra. The name of Ralaka is not otherwise known at all.

amazons, the kingdom of the (denoted by *strîrâjya*), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. Albêrûnî says, "Strîrâjya, *i. e.* women among whom no man dwells longer than half a year."

Ambara, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Ambashṭha, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7; also in the south-west, xiv. 17; misc.

ref., xi. 19; xvi. 22. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Ambashṭhas of the eastern division are the *Ambastæ* of Ptolemy, vii. 1, 66 *seq.*; and that they are not to be confounded with their namesakes in the south-west.

Ânarta, a country in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 80; xiv. 33; xvi. 31. This country is mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 262, 263).

Andhra, or Ândhra, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., xvi. 11; xvii. 25; — the lord of Andhra, or of the Andhras (*Andhra-pati*), misc. ref., xi. 59. The Andhras are carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247, 248). Other early epigraphic references are to be found in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 230, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 127.

Aṅga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72; ix. 10; x. 14; xi. 56; xxxii. 15. See under 'Jaṭhara.'

Añjana, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Antardvîpa, or Antardvîpin, a region in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Antargiri, a mountain region; misc. ref., v. 42. In a note to his translation Kern remarks—"I am not able to say which part of the Himâlayan hill country was called Antargiri; it may be Kumaon, or a still more eastern district. Cf. ch. xvi. 2, and Mahâbhâr. II. ch. xxvii. 3." In xvi. 2, the original has *bahir-antaḥ-śaila-jâḥ*, "the people beyond and within the mountains;" note, "*i. e.* a part of the Himâlaya."

Antarvêdî, a region; misc. ref., v. 65. Kern translates by "the Doab." The name may apply to any Doab: but it usually denotes the country lying between the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, which is mentioned as *Gaṅgâ-Yamun-ântarâla*, in lxix. 26, misc. ref.; and it is used in that sense in the Indôr grant of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 69).

Anuviśva, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Aparântaka (*v. l.* Aparantika), "the people of the western marches," a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., v. 70. See also 'Aparântya.' Mention is made of the Aparânta people or country in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262). And one of the Aśôka edicts classes the Yavanas, Kambôjas, and Gandhâras as *âparânta* (*id.* Vol. XX. pp. 240, 241). Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has said that there are reasons for thinking that Sôpârâ, in the Thâṇa District (see under 'Saurpâraka'), was the chief place in the Aparânta country *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 274, and note 3).

Aparântya, a people, evidently identical with Aparântaka, *q. v.*; misc. ref., v. 40, ix. 15.

Ârava, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Arbuda (the modern Mount Abû), misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; xxxii. 19.

Arimêda, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Ârjunâyana, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., iv. 25; xi. 59; xvi. 22; xvii. 19. The Ârjunâyanas are named among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14). An early coin of the Ârjunâyanas is figured in *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II. p. 223, Plate xliv. No. 22.

Ârya, a people; misc. ref., v. 42, where Kern takes the word as meaning "the inhabitants of Âryâvarta," *q. v.*

Âryaka, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Âryavârta, the inhabitants of Âryavârta (the text uses the nom. plur.), which is a customary name for Northern India; misc. ref., v. 67. See also '*uttarâpatha*.' The word Âryâvarta means 'the abode of the Âryas, or excellent or noble people.' It is used to denote Northern India in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13). In the *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, ii. 22 (Burnell's Translation, p. 18) Âryâvarta is defined as the land between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, extending to the eastern and to the western seas. But a more precise division between Northern and Southern India is given by the poet Râjaśêkhara, who, in the *Bâlarâmâyaṇa*, Act 6 (see V. Sh. Apte's *Râjaśêkhara: his Life and Writings*, p. 21), speaks of the river

Narmadâ (the 'Nerbudda'), which rises in, and runs along close to the south of, the Vindhya range, as "the dividing line of Âryâvarta and the *dakshiṇâpatha.*"

Asika, a people; misc. ref., xi. 56. Mention is made of the Asika people or country in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109).

Aśmaka, a country, and the people of it, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., v. 39, 73, 74; ix. 18, 27; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15;—the lord of Aśmaka (*Aśmaka-pa, -nâtha, -narêndra*) misc. ref., xi. 54, 55; xvii. 15. Below his translation of xiv. 22, Kern adds the note— "the Assakanoi of the Greeks." Mention is made of the Aśmaka people or country in one of the Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. p. 131).

*astagiri*, 'the mountain behind which the sun sets,' in the western division, xiv. 20.

Aśvattha, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

*aśvamukha*, 'horse-faced people;' misc. ref., xvi. 35. See also '*aśvavadana*' and '*turagânana*.'

*aśvavadana*, 'horse-faced people,' in the eastern division, xiv. 6; identified by Kern with the *Hippoprosôpoi* of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi.* See also '*aśvamukha*' and '*turagânana*.'

Atri (the hermitage of), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Auḍra or Ôḍra, a country (the modern Orissa), and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 74. See also 'Uḍra.'

Audumbara, the people of the Udumbara country, in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also 'Udumbara.'

Aujjayanika, the people of Ujjayanî, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 56.

Auśînara, 'a king of the Uśînaras,' *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 55.

Avagâṇa, or Âvagâṇa a people or country; misc. ref., xi. 61; xvi. 38. Kern translates the word by 'Afghans,' in both places. In xi. 61, among other various readings there are *Chôl-Âbakâṇa*, *Chôl-Âṁvaṁgaṇa*, and *Chôla-Vaṁga-Kauṁkana*; and in xvi. 38, *Chôl-Âvagâna*, and *Chôl-Âbakâṇa*.

Avanta, a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantî, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xiv. 33. See also 'Âvantaka' and 'Âvantika.'

Âvantaka, the inhabitants of Avanti or Avantî, *q. v.*, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., v. 73. See also 'Âvanta' and 'Âvantika.'

Avanti, a city (better known as Ujjayanî, *q. v.*, or Ujjayinî), misc. ref., v. 40; ix. 17; also an inhabitant of the same, misc. ref., ix. 18, 21. See also 'Avantî, Âvanta, Âvantaka, and Âvantika.' The name Avanti occurs in inscriptions at Nâsik and Ajaṇṭâ (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 109, 127), and in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262; the text has *Âkar-Âvanty-*).

Avantî, a city, the same as Avanti, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 35.

Âvantika, 'a king or other inhabitant of Avanti or Avantî,' *q. v.*, misc. ref., v. 64; lxxxvi. 2. See also 'Âvanta' and Âvantaka.'

Âyôdhyaka, the inhabitants of Ayôdhyâ, which is the modern Ajôdhyâ, Audh, Awadh, or 'Oude;' misc. ref., iv. 24. See also 'Sâkêta.' The name Ayôdhyâ occurs in the spurious grant of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 257).

Bâdara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Bâhlika, a country, and the inhabitants of it; misc. ref., v. 37; xviii. 6. See also 'Bâhlîka, Vâhlika, and Vâhlîka.'

Bâhlîka, the same as Bahlîka, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 7; xvi. 1; xvii. 13, 25; xxxii. 15. In xvi. 1, Kern translates by "Balkh."

Bahugiri, rendered by Kern by "hill-districts," but perhaps the name of some particular mountainous country; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Baladêvapaṭṭana, a city in the southern division; xiv. 16. Below his translation Kern gives the note— "the *Balaipatna* of Ptolemy, so that the reading *Palaipatna*, preferred by Lassen, is proved to be a false form."

Barbara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. ref., v. 42.

bark, the island of (*charmadvîpa*), in the south-east division, xiv. 9;— wearers of bark (*chîra-nivasana*), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

beryl-mines (*vaidûrya*), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Bhadra, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and in

the southern division, xiv. 16. In a note to his translation of xiv. 7, Kern explains the name by "the Blessed," and suggests that the Bhadras are probably the same with the Bhadrâśvas, *q. v.*

Bhadrâśva, a people, to be placed in the middle country if identified with the Bhadras; the king of the Bhadrâśvas (*Bhadrâśva-nṛipa*), misc. ref., ix. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks— "The Bhadrâśvas are a mythical people, fabled to live in the remote East, or, according to the phrase of the astronomical Siddhântas, at 90° E. from Laṅkâ, in the region where Yavakôṭi, "Java Point," is situated. (The reading *Yamakôṭi* is erroneous; for Yama's kingdom is in the South, not in the East; and, besides, the compound Yamakôṭi is devoid of sense.) The origin of the Bhadrâśvas living near the Udayagiri may be traced, I think, to Ṛigvêda, i. 115, 2, *seq.*"

Bhalla, (*v. l.* Bhilla), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Bharata, a people; misc. ref. xvi. 21.

Bhâratavarsha, xiv. 1. The word occurs in other works as Bharatavarsha. In the latter form, it means 'the country of Bharata;' and in the other, 'the country of the Bhâratas or descendants of Bharata.' And it is a name for the whole of India, the first king of which is held to have been Bharata, son of Dushyanta.

Bharukachchha, the modern Bharuch or Barôch, *i. e.* 'Broach,' a city in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 6; lxix. 11; — the rulers of Bharukachchha (*Bharukachchha-pâḥ*), v. 40. The name Bharukachchha occurs in inscriptions at Junnar and Nâsik (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 96, 100); and perhaps in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262, where, however, "Maru and Kachchha" is preferred by the editors). Sometimes the Sanskṛit or Sanskṛitised form Bhṛigukachchha is met with (*e. g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 189; Vol. XIX. p. 175). By the Greeks it was called *Barygaza.*

Bhâsâpura (?), a town (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. The published text has *Bhâsâpura*, with the various readings of *Bhâsapura*, *Bhâsâpâra*, *Bhâshâparaṁ*, and *Dâsapura*. In his translation, however, Kern gives "the Bhâsâparas;" with the note "or *Bhâsâpura* or *Bhâsâvaras.* "May be, *Bhâsâparas* (= *Bhâsâvaras*) means "those who live on this side of Mount "Bhâsa." Utpala gives no explanation.

Bhîmarathâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9. The published text has *Bhîmarathâyâḥ*, which Kern rendered by "(the inhabitants of the western half of the district) of the Bhîmarathâ." A various reading is *Bhîmarathyâyâḥ*, which gives the name of Bhîmarathyâ. A grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana I. gives the name as Bhîmarathî (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 304, 310). The river is undoubtedly the modern Bhîma, which rises in the Sahyâdri range, and flows into the Kṛishṇa near Raichûr.

Bhṛiṅgi (?), a people (?); misc. ref., iv. 22. There are the various readings of *Bhṛigi*, *Jṛiṅgi*, and *Vaṅga*; and in his translation Kern stamps the word as "very doubtful."

Bhôgaprastha, a (?) people, in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Bhôgavardhana, a (?) city or country; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12.

*bhûtapura*, 'the city of spirits,' in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Brahmapura, a city, in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

bulls, the island of (*vṛishadvîpa*), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

cannibals (*purushâda*, *pûrushâda*), in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22. In a note to the translation, Kern remarks — "the cannibals, being always placed in the far East, must denote either the inhabitants of the Andamans and Nicobars, or the cannibal tribes of the Indian Archipelago, or both." See also '*kravyâśin.*'

castes. The work does not mention the Brâhmaṇs with any topographical reference: but it locates the Kshatriyas (mentioned by the term *râjanya*) in the northern division, xiv. 28; the Vaiśyas in the western division, xiv. 21; and the Śûdras in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Chaidya, the people of Chêdi, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 59. See also 'Chêdika.'

Champâ, a (?) town or country; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Chañchûka (*v. l.* Champûka), a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Chandrabhâga river, supposed to be the Chenab, one of the five rivers of the Pañjâb; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Chândrapuras, the inhabitants of the city of Chandrapura, in the eastern division, xiv. 5. A town named Chandrâpura is mentioned in the Indôr grant of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 71).

*charmadvîpa*, the island of bark, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Charmaraṅga, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Chârudêvî, a (?) town or country, misc. ref., ix. 18; the word occurs in the plural, as if denoting the inhabitants.

Chêdi, a country, misc. ref., xvi. 3; xxxii. 22; — the ruler of Chêdi (*Chêdi-pa*), xliii. 8. See also 'Chaidya and Chêdika.' The Kalachuris of Central India were kings of Chêdi.

Chêdika (*v. l.* Chaidika), the people of Chêdi, *q. v.*, in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also 'Chaidya.'

Chêrya, a people, evidently of the Chêra country, in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Chîna, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 77, 78, 80; x. 7, 11; xi. 61; xvi. 1, 38. Kern translates the word by "Chinese;" *e. g.* v. 77, 78, 80.

*chipiṭanâsika*, 'flat-nosed people,' in the northern division, xiv. 26.

*chîranivasana*, 'wearers of bark,' a people in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Chitrakûṭa, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., xvi. 17. It is the modern Chitrakôt or Chatarkôt hill or district, near Kampta in Bundêlkhaṇḍ. The name occurs in the Sirûr inscription of A. D. 866 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218).

Chôla, a country, and the people of it, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., v. 40; xi. 61; xvi. 10, 38. In southern inscriptions, the name appears in the forms of Chôḻa, Chôḷa, and Chôḍa; and it is taken back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).

cocoa-nuts, the island of (*nâlikêra-dvîpa*), in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

conch-shells, the places for obtaining, are placed in the southern division, xiv. 14.

*dakshiṇâpatha*, 'the region of the south,' *i. e.* Southern India, below the Narmadâ, misc. ref., ix. 40; xlvii. 8. See under 'Âryâvarta.' The term *dakshiṇâpatha* occurs in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262); in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13); and apparently in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 110).

Ḍâmara (*v. l.* Dâmara), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Daṇḍaka, a country or people, misc. ref., xvi. 11;—the king of Daṇḍaka (*Daṇḍak-âdhipati*), misc. ref., xi. 56.

Daṇḍakâvana, in the southern division, xiv. 16. This is, I suppose, another form of the name of the Daṇḍakâraṇya, or Daṇḍaka forest, which lay between the rivers Narmadâ and Gôdâvarî.

Daṇḍapiṅgalaka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Danturaka, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6. Albêrûnî says "Dantura, *i. e.* people with long teeth."

Darada, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., v. 42, 79, xiii. 9. Albêrûnî omits them; or, rather, he gives Abhisârada, instead of Abhisâra and Darada.

Dardura, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Dârva, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Dâsamêya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Daśapura, a city in the southern division, xiv. 12. It is the modern Mandasôr, or more properly Dasôr, in Mâlwa. It is mentioned in inscriptions at Nâsik (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 100, 114), and in inscriptions at Mandasôr itself (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 79, note 2, and 84, 86).

Daśârṇa, a variant of Dâśârna, *q. v.*; misc. ref., v. 40; x. 15; xxxii. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks that the Daśârṇas are the *Dosarene* or *Desarene* of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi.*

Dâśârṇa, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10; misc. ref., xvi. 26. See also 'Dáśârṇa.'

Daśêraka, a variant of Dâśêraka, *q. v.*; misc. ref., v. 67.

Dâsêraka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26. See also 'Dasêraka.'

dead, the kingdom of the (*nashta-râjya*), in the north-east, xiv. 29. See under 'Mêruka.'

demons with elf-locks (*jaṭ-âsura*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Dêvikâ, a river; misc. ref., xi. 35.

Dhanushmat, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24. The text distinctly stamps Dhanushmat as a mountain. But Albêrûnî says "Dhanushman (!), *i. e.* the people with bows."

Dharmapaṭṭana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern translates the name by "Yama's city."

Dharmâraṇya, a forest region, in the middle country, xiv. 3.

diamonds are found in the Himavat mountains, in Kaliṅga, Kôsala, Mataṅga (?), Puṇḍra, and Saurâshṭra, at Surpâra (see under 'Aparânta' and 'Saurpâraka'), and on the banks of the Vêṇâ, lxxx. 6, 7.

*dîrghagrîva*, 'people with long necks,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

*dîrghakêśa*, 'long-haired people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

*dîrghâsya*, 'long-faced people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

*divishṭha*, "the inhabitants of heaven," dwellers in the sky, a people, in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

dog-faced people (*śva-mukha*), in the northern division, xiv. 25.

Ḍomba, the Gipsies; misc. ref., lxxxvii. 33. Also, in liii. 84 the text has *śvapach-âdayaḥ*, 'those who cook (and eat) dogs, and others like them;' and the commentary says *śva-pachâ Ḍombâḥ*, 'the cookers of dogs are the Ḍombas.' The name is doubtless identical with the *Ḍomma* that occurs elsewhere; *e. g.* in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 17). And the Ḍommas or Ḍôms were the Gipsies (*id.* Vol. XV. p. 15).

Draviḍa, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; misc. ref., ix. 15, 19; xvi. 11; xxxii. 15; — the rulers of Draviḍa, or of the Draviḍas (*Draviḍ-âdhipâḥ*) misc. ref., iv. 23; — the eastern half of the Draviḍa countries (*Draviḍânâṁ prâg-ardha*), misc. ref. xvi. 2. In his translation of xvi. 11 and xxxii. 15, Kern gives "Draviḍas (or Dramiḍas)." In xiv. 19, Albêrûnî gives "Dramiḍa." See also 'Drâviḍa.'

Drâviḍa, 'of or belonging to Draviḍa,' *q. v.*; misc. ref., lviii. 4, where Kern renders *Drâviḍam* by "(a measure) for Draviḍas (barbarians)."

ears; people with ears like a winnowing fan (*śûrpa-karṇa*), in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

elephants, the glen of (*kuñjara-darî*), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

*êkacharaṇa*, 'one-footed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31. See also '*êkapada*.'

*êkapada*, 'one-footed people, in the eastern division, xiv. 7. See also '*êkacharaṇa*.'

*êkavilôchana*, 'one-eyed people,' in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

elephants; the elephant's cave, or the glen of elephants (*kuñjara-darî*), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

eyes; one-eyed people (*êka-vilôchana*) in the north-west division, xiv. 23;— three-eyed people (*tri-nêtra*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

faces; 'dog-faced people' (*śva-mukha*), in the northern division, xiv. 25;— 'horse-faced people' (*aśva-vadana*) in the eastern division, xiv. 6, and (*turag ânana*) in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref. (*aśva-mukha*), xvi. 35;— 'long-faced people' (*dîrgh-âsya*), in the north-west division, xiv. 23;— 'tiger-faced people' (*vyâghra-mukha*), in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

feet; 'one-footed people' (*êka-pada*), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; and (*êka-charaṇa*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

'flesh, eaters of raw' (*kravy-âśin*), in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals.' The word is, however, rather doubtful; the readings are *kravyâdânâbhîra*, and *kravyakhyâbhîra*, for which Dr. Kern adopted, by conjecture, *kravyâśy-âbhîra*.

forests; the Dharmâraṇya, in the middle country, xiv. 3;— the great forest (*mah-âṭavî*), in the southern division, xiv. 13;— the Daṇḍakâvana, in the southern division, xiv. 16;— the collection of forests (*van-aughа*; *v. l. van-auka*, 'the inhabitants of forests'), in the western division, xiv. 20;— the forest of the man-lions (*nṛisiṁha-vana*), in the north-west division, xiv.

22;— the forest-territory (*vana-râshṭra*), in the north-east division, xiv. 29;— the forest-kingdom (*vana-râjya*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30;— the forest of Vasus or spirits (*vasu-vana*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31. The "kings of all the forest countries (*sarv-âṭavika-râja*)" were compelled by Samudragupta to do service to him (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13). The same record mentions also a kingdom named Mahâkântâra, which seems to be a great forest kingdom (*ibid.*). And the hereditary territory of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha included "the eighteen forest kingdoms" (*ashṭâdaś-âṭavî-rajya*; *id.* p. 116).

Gajâhvaya, apparently '(the city) that has the appellation of the elephant,' *i.e.* Gajapura or Hastinâpura, the modern Dehli, in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Gambhîrikâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Gaṇarâjya, a kingdom in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Gândhâra, a country (the modern Kandahâr), and the people of it, in the northern division, xiv. 28; misc ref., iv. 23; v. 77, 78; ix. 21; x. 7; xvi. 26; xvii. 18; lxix. 26. The name is carried back to the third century B C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247).

Gandharva, a class of supernatural beings, in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xiii. 8; lxxxvii. 33.

Gaṅga, the river Ganges, described as constituting, with the Jamnâ, the necklace of the earth, xliii. 32;— reference to the region between the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, lxix. 26;— misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Garuhâ, see Guruhâ.

Gauḍaka, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7. This is the reading in the text; but in his translation Kern gives "Gauras," and adds the note— "*i. e.* 'the Whites,' supposed to live in Śvêtadvîpa, which, according to *Kathâsaritsâgara*, 54, 18, 199, lies near the Cocoa-island" (see 'islands'). Albêrûnî gives "Gauraka."

Gauragrîva, a people in the middle country xiv. 3.

Gavya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Ghôsha, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the north-east division, xiv. 30. In xiv. 2, Kern translates "Ghôsha;" and in xiv. 30, "Ghôshas (stations of herdsmen)."

Girinagara, a city in the southern division, xiv. 11. The name has now passed over to the mountain Girnâr, in Kâṭhiâwâḍ; and the ancient city is now represented by Junâgaḍh, at the foot of it. The original name of the Girnâr mountain was Ûrjayat (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 64, 65).

Girivraja, 'the inhabitants of the district of Girivraja,' as rendered by Kern, — in accordance with the commentary, I presume; misc. ref., x. 14. H. H. Wilson (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 15, note 3), said that Girivraja is "in the mountainous part of Magadha;" and further on (*id.* p. 180, note 1) he identified it with Râjagṛiha in Bihâr.

Gôdâvarî, the river of that name in Southern India; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Gôlâṅgûla, a (?) mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

gold, the region of (*kanaka*), in the western division, xiv. 21, and (*suvarṇa-bhû*) in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Gômanta, a mountain; misc. ref., v. 68, xvi. 17.

Gômatî, a river; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. It seems to be the modern Gômti or Gumti, which rises in the Shâhjahânpur District and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghâzîpur; at any rate, it is somewhere in that neighbourhood that we have to locate the place Gômatikoṭṭaka, which is mentioned in the Dêô-Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvitagupta II. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 217). But there is also a river Gômatî in the Kângra District in the Pañjâb.

Gônarda, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., ix. 13; xxxii. 22.

Guḍa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. Albêrûnî says "Guḍa Tânêshar."

Guruhâ, or Garuhâ, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23. There are the various readings of *Gulahâ*, *Guluhâ*, and *Gurûha*. Below his translation, Kern remarks — "Guruhâ (also Garuhâ) is, to my apprehension, the *Garoigas* of the Greeks; the river district they called *Goryaia*. Lassen, in his Altert. iii. p. 127 and 136, identifies the Greek name with Gaurî. It need not be pointed out how exactly both forms coincide with Garuhâ and Guruhâ."

Haihaya, a people in the western division, xiv. 20. The Kalachuris of Central India were Haihayas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 253, 268). And the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. (A. D. 733-34 to 746-47) married two Haihaya princesses.

hair; people with thick matted hair (*jaṭâdhara*), in the southern division, xiv. 13; — long-haired people (*dîrgha-kêśa*) in the north-west division, xiv. 23; — thick-haired people (*kêśa-dhara*) in the northern division, xiv. 26; — demons with matted hair or elf-locks (*jaṭ-âsûra*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Hala (*v. l.* Laha), a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6; xxxii. 19.

Hârahaura, 'a king of the Harahauras or Hârahauras;' misc. ref., xiv. 34.

Hêmagiri, a mountain in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Hêmakuṇḍya, a place in the south-east division, xiv. 9. There are the various readings of *Hêma-kûṭa*, *-kuṭyâ*, *-kuḍya*, and *-kuḍyâ*. In his text, Kern gave the name as Hêmakûṭya; but in his translation he preferred Hêmakuṇḍya, because Parâśara exhibits the same form. Albêrûni gives "Hêmakûṭya."

Hêmatâla, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

hermitages (*tâpas-âśrama*), in the southern divison, xiv. 15;—the hermitage of Atri (*atri*), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Himavat, the Himâlaya mountains, in the northern division, xiv. 24;— spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the Vindhya mountain, xliii. 35;— diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 7;— and pearls, lxxxi. 2, 5;— misc. ref., xvi. 2 (*bahir-antaḥ-śaila-jâḥ*, see 'Antargiri'); xvi. 17 (*Himavat*); lxxii. 1 (*Hima-kshmâdhara*).

horse-faced people (*aśva-vadana*) in the eastern division, xiv. 6, and (*turaṅg-ânana*) in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref. (*aśva-mukha*), xvi. 35.

Hûṇa, (*v. l.* Hûna), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27; misc. ref., xi. 61; xvi. 38. In xi. 61, Kern translates *Chôl-Âvagâṇa-sita-Hûṇa* by "Chôlas, Afghans, (and) White Hûṇas;" but in xvi. 38 he translates *Pahlava-śvêta-Hûṇa* by "Pahlavas, Śvêtas, (and) Hûṇas," though *śvêta* here is exactly synonymous with *sita* in the other passage. The Hûṇas are mentioned in the Bhitarî inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 56), in the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman (*id.* p. 148), in the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna (*id.* p. 206), and in many later records; but I do not know of any epigraphic passage which specifies "the White Hûṇas."

Ikshumatî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 4.

Ikshvâku, a (?) people; misc. ref., v. 75; ix. 17; xi. 58. Mâḍhariputra-Purushadatta, a hero of the Ikshvâkus, is mentioned in one of the early inscriptions at the Jaggayyapêṭa *stûpa* (*Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 110, 111).

Irâvatî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

islands of bulls (*vṛisha-dvîpa*), of cocoanuts (*nâlikêra-dvîpa*), and of bark (*charma-dvîpa*), in the south-east division, xiv. 9;— "the islands (*dvîpa*)," suggested by Kern, below his translation, to be the Maldives, in the southern division, xiv. 14;— the islands of the great ocean (*mahârṇava-dvîpa*), misc. ref., xvi. 6.

jackal-eaters (*gômâyu-bhaksha*); misc. ref., xvi. 35.

*jaṭâdhara*, 'people with thick matted hair,' in the southern division, xiv. 13.

*jaṭâsura*, 'demons with matted hair or elf-locks,' in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Jathara, or perhaps Jathara-Aṅga, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8. The text is *Vaṅg-Ôpavaṅga-Jaṭhar-Âṅgaḥ*; which Kern translates by "Vaṅga, Vaṅga minor, (and) the Jaṭhara-Aṅgas." But the same combination, *Jaṭhara-Âṅga*, does not occur anywhere else. Albêrunî separates the names, and says "Jaṭhara, Aṅga."

Jriṅga, a people in the western division, xiv. 21.

Kachchha, a country in the southern division, xiv. 16. It is evidently the modern Kachh, *vulgo* Cutch, to the north of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

Kachchhâra, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Kaikaya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., iv. 22, v. 67, 74; xvi. 26, xvii. 18; — the lord of the Kaikayas (*Kaikaya-nâtha*), misc. ref. xi. 60.

Kailâsa, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24. It is peculiarly sacred as being the paradise of the god 'Siva. It belongs to the Himâlayan range, and constitutes the watershed from which the Indus, Satlej, and Brahmaputra take their rise; but it appears to be really in Tibet (Hunter's *Indian Empire*, pp. 43, 45). It is mentioned in the Gaṅgdhâr inscription of Viśvavarman and the Mandasôr inscription of Bandhuvarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 78, 85, 86); and in the last passage it is called one of the breasts of the earth, — the other being Sumêru.

Kailâvata, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Kairalaka, the people of Kêrala, *q.v.*, in the southern division, xiv. 12. The text gives the reading Kêralaka; but this is a mistake for Kairalaka, or still more correctly Kairaḷaka, which occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7, line 19).

Kâlâjina (*v. l.* Kâlañjana), a people or place in the southern division, xiv. 11. Can it be really intended for 'Kâlañjara,' — a city of the Kalachuris of Central India, now represented by the Kâlañjar hill fort, — the name of which is sometimes wrongly given in inscriptions as 'Kâlâñjana'?

Kâlaka, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 19.

Kâlakôṭi, a fortress or city in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Kaliṅga, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — diamonds are found there, lxxx. 7; — other misc. ref., v. 35, 75, 79; ix. 10, 26; x. 16; xvi. 1, 3; xvii. 13, 22; xxxii. 15; — the king of the Kaliṅga country (*Kaliṅga-dêśa-nripati*), misc. ref., v. 69; — the lord of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅgêśa*), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also 'Kâliṅga.' The name of the Kaliṅga country is carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 247).

Kâliṅga, a king or other inhabitant of the Kaliṅga country, *q. v.*; misc. ref. xiv. 32.

Kalmâsha, a people; misc. ref., v. 69.

Kâmbôja, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 35, 78, 80; xi. 57; xiii. 9; xvi. 1, 16. With the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, who are mentioned in the same verse, the Kâmbôjas must be located far more to the north than is done by Varâhamihira. The name is carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka. And Senart allots the tribe to the tract of the river Kâbul (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247).

*kanaka*, the region of gold, in the western division, xiv. 21. The text is *Jriṅga-Vaiśya-kanaka-Śakâḥ*; which Kern translates by "the Jriṅgas, Vaiśyas, (and) Gold-Scythians." But he adds the note that the commentary explains differently; *viz.* "the region of gold, and the 'Sakas." Albêrûnî also separates the words, and gives "Vaiśya, Kanaka, 'Saka." See also 'gold.'

Kâñchî, a city, in the southern division, xiv. 15. It is the modern Conjeveram. Vishṇugôpa of Kâñchî is named among the kings whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13). Burnell held that the Sanskrit 'Kâñchî' is a mis-translation of the Drâviḍian 'Kañji' (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. x., note 2).

Kaṅka, a people in the middle country, xiv. 4.

Kaṅkaṭa, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12.

Kaṇṭakasthala, a locality in the south-east division, xiv. 10.

Kaṇṭhadhâna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Kântipura, a city; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kapila, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Kâpishṭhala, (*v. l.* Kapishṭhaka), a people or locality in the middle country, xiv. 4. Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, compares the *Kambistholoi* of the Greeks.

Kârmaṇêyaka, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15. The place whence the name is derived, is mentioned in inscriptions as Kârmaṇêya, Kamaṇîya, and Kammaṇijja; and it is the modern Kamrêj in the Barôda territory (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. pp. 184 and note 5, and 198).

Karṇaprâvêya, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18. There are the various readings of *Karṇapradêya* and *Karṇaprâvaraṇa*. The latter form, Karṇaprâvaraṇa, which would equally well suit the metre here, occurs in the Râmâyaṇa, *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*, xl. 26 (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 161, note ||). Below his trans-

lation Kern remarks "Synonymous with Karṇaprâvêya is Karṇaprâvaraṇa. Now, *prâvaraṇa* is synonymous with *prâvêṇi*, so that *prâvêya* either stands for *prâvêṇya*, or *pravêṇi* and *prâvêṇya* are derived from the same base with *prâvêya*. The Mârkaṇḍêya-Purâṇa, 58; 31, has Karṇaprâdhêya, in which *dh* is misread *v*."

Karṇâṭa, the Kanarese country, in the southern division, xiv. 13. In the Sâmângaḍ grant of Dantidurga, the Western Chalukya forces are called "the boundless army of the Karṇâṭaka" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114).

Karvaṭa, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., xvi. 13.

Kâśi, a city in the eastern division, better known as Benares, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 72; x. 4, 13; xxxii. 19;— the lord or king of Kâśi (*Kâś-îśvara, Kâśi-pa, Kâśi-râja*), misc. ref., ix. 19; xi. 59; lxxviii. 1;—the country of Kâśi (*Kâśi-dêśa*), misc. ref., xvii. 25. In the plural (*Kâśayaḥ*), the word is used to denote the people of Kâśi; misc. ref., v. 69. The city of Kâśi is mentioned in the Sârnâth inscription of Prakaṭâditya (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 286).

Kâśmîra, a people, in the north-east division (the inhabitants of the Kaśmîr country), xiv. 29; misc. ref., v. 77, 78; ix. 18; x. 12. Also see 'Kâśmîraka.'

Kâśmîraka, the people of Kaśmîr; misc. ref., v. 70; xi. 57. See also 'Kâśmira.'

Kauṅkaṇa, the people of the Koṅkaṇa, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xvi. 11.

Kaulinda, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24. There is the various reading *Kauliṁdra*. See also 'Kauṇinda.'

Kaulûta, the people of Kulûta, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 11.

Kauṇinda (*v. l.* Kaulinda), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30;—'a king of the Kauṇindas or Kuṇindas' (*Kauṇinda*), misc. ref., xiv. 33. There are the various readings, *Kauliṁda* (xiv. 30, 33), and *Kauliṁdra* (xiv. 30). See also 'Kaulinda.'

Kaurava, a people, probably the inhabitants of Kuru-land (see 'Kuru'); misc. ref., iv. 25; ix. 30;— the lord of the Kauravas (*Kaurav-âdhipati*), iv. 24.

Kauśala, the people of Kôśala, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 14. See also 'Kauśalaka.'

Kauśalaka, the people of Kôśala, *q. v.*, in the eastern division, xiv. 7 [the text gives here the reading Kôśalaka; but this must be a mistake for Kauśalaka]; misc. ref., v. 70; x. 9. See also 'Kauśala.' The correct spelling (see also under 'Kôśala') appears to be 'Kausalaka,' which occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 7, line 19).

Kauśâmbi, the modern Kôsam on the Ganges; misc. ref., xvi. 3. The name occurs in one of the Aśôka edicts (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309).

Kauśikî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16.

Kâvêrî, the river that still bears this name, in the southern division, xiv. 13 (where the name is given in the plural, *Kâvêryaḥ*); misc. ref., v. 64.

Kêrala, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. See also 'Kairalaka.' Maṇṭarâja of Kêraḷa is named among the kings of Southern India, whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13).

*kêśadhara*, 'long-haired or thick-haired people,' in the northern division, xiv. 26.

*khachara*, 'the inhabitants of the sky, or roamers in the sky,' a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Khaṇḍa, 'dwarfs (?),' a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Khasa, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 12; lxix. 26.

Khasha, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

*khastha*, 'dwellers in the sky,' a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

Kîra, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., iv. 23; xxxii. 19. In the Chambâ grant, the Kîras are mentioned as being conquered by Sâhilladêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kirâta, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18, and in the north-east division, xiv. 30; misc. ref., v. 35, 80; ix. 35; xi. 60; xvi. 2; xxxii. 19, 22;— the prince of the Kirâtas (*Kirâta-bhartṛi, -pârthiva*), misc. ref., ix. 17; xi. 54.

Kîrṇa, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Kishkindha, a mountain, in the south-east division, xiv. 10. Monier-Williams defines it as "in Ôḍra, containing a cave, the residence of the monkey-prince Bâlin."

Albêrunî says, "Kishkindha, the country of the monkeys."

Kôhala, (*v. l.* Kôśala), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Kollagiri, in the southern division, xiv. 13. It is, in all probability, the modern Kôlhâpur (properly Kôlâpur), the chief town of the Native State in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, which is mentioned as Kollagira in an inscription at Têrdâḷ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 23).

Koṅkaṇa, (*v. l.* Kauṅkaṇa), a country (usually known as the Seven Koṅkaṇas) in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also 'Kauṅkaṇa.' Albêrunî says "Koṅkaṇa near the sea."

Kôśala, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — diamonds are found there, lxxx. 6; — other misc. ref., v. 69; ix. 26; x. 4, 13; xvi. 6; xvii. 22. See also 'Kauśalaka.' The correct spelling (see also under 'Kauśalaka') appears to be 'Kôsala,' which occurs in one of the Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 127), and in the Râjim grant of Tîvaradêva (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296). Mahêndra of Kôsala is named among the kings whom Samudragupta is said to have captured (*id.* p. 13).

Kôṭivarsha, apparently a country; the king of Kôṭivarsha (*Kôṭivarsha-nṛipa*), misc. ref., ix. 11.

Krauñcha, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24. See also under 'Kraunchadvîpa.'

Krauñchadvîpa, a country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., x. 18. Monier-Williams gives the word as equivalent to 'Krauñcha,' which, he says, is the name of a mountain, part of the Himâlayan range, situated in the eastern part of the chain, on the north of Assam, and is also the name of one of the *dvîpas* or principal divisions of the world, surrounded by the sea of curds.

*kravyâśin*, 'eaters of raw flesh,' in the south-west division, xiv. 18. See also 'cannibals,' and under 'flesh.'

Kṛishṇa, a river (the 'Kistna') in the southern division, xiv. 14. Kern took this word, with the one that follows it in the text, to give the name of a place, — Kṛishṇavellûra. But Varâhamihira has undoubtedly mentioned the river Kṛishṇa and the town of Vellûra (*q. v.*).

Kshatriyas, under the term *râjanya*, placed in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kshêmadhûrta, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Kshudramîna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 24.

Kshurârpaṇa, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Kuchika, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Kukura, a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 71; xxxii. 22. Mention is made of the Kukura people or country in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109), and in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262).

Kulûta, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22, and in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., x. 12; xvii. 18. See also 'Kulûtaka.' Kulûta is mentioned in the Chambâ grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 8).

Kulûtaka, the people of Kulûta, *q. v.*; misc. ref., iv. 22.

Kunaṭha (*v. l.* Kunaṭa, Kunaha, and Kuṇapa), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

*kuñjaradarî*, the elephant's cave, or the glen of elephants, in the southern division, xiv. 16.

Kuntala, a country; misc. ref., xvi. 11. It is mentioned in one of the Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions, under circumstances which imply, I think, that Ajaṇṭâ itself was in Kuntala (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 126, 127); and it is, I consider, the country of which Nâsik was the capital (see page 115 above). It is also mentioned in numerous later records. And the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi are constantly described emphatically as "the lords of Kuntala."

Kuntibhôja, a people; misc. ref., x. 15.

Kuru, a people. The Kurus consisted of two branches, the northern and the southern; and the land of the northern Kurus is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern part of the Himâlayan range, and is described as a country of everlasting happiness. Varâhamihira mentions (1) the Kurus, without any qualification, as a people in the middle country, xiv. 4; and (2) the

northern Kurus (*uttarâḥ Kuravaḥ*) as a people in the northern division (xiv. 24; here Kern translates by "the Hyperboreans"). It is doubtless in connection with (1) only, that we have to take Albêrûnî's remark "Kuru = Tânêshar," and Kern's note on his translation of xvi. 32, in which he specifies Kurukshêtra as being "the country about Thânêsar (Skr. Sthâṇvîśvara.)" There are the following miscellaneous references; the Kurus, v. 383; xxxii. 11; — the people of Kuru-land (*Kurukshêtraka*), v. 78; (*Kurubhûmi-ja*) xvi. 32; — the lord of Kuru-land (*Kurukshêtr-âdhipa*), xi. 57; — the forest, or wild, or uninhabited, lands of Kuru (*Kuru-jâṅgala*), ix. 29. See also 'Kaurava.' The land of the northern Kurus is mentioned in the Udayagiri Jain inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 260).

Kusuma, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Laha, *v.l.* for Hala, *q. v.*

Lahaḍa, a country in the north-west division, xiv. 22. There are the various readings of *Lahara*, *Laḍaha*, and *Kalaha*. In his translation, Kern gives "Lahaḍa (or Laḍaha)." And he adds the note — "this seems to be Lahara, so frequently mentioned in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, *e.g.* vii. 912, 1373 (*Lâhara*, "Laharian," 1173). It is a border-land between Kashmîr and Dardistân; to this identification of Lahara and Lahaḍa, it will not be objected that our author, committing the grave blunder of placing Kashmîr and Dardistân in the North-east, should needs have assigned a wrong situation to Lahaḍa too."

Laṅkâ, in the southern division, xiv. 11. As Siṁhala is mentioned in the same passage, xiv. 15, Laṅkâ would seem to denote here, not the island of Ceylon, but its capital city, which it was perhaps thought necessary to mention separately, because it provides the Hindu prime meridian. Albêrûnî says "Laṅkâ, *i.e.* the cupola of the earth." The island of Laṅkâ is mentioned in the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 277, 278).

Lâṭa, a country; misc. ref., lxix. 11. It corresponds to what might now be called central and southern Gujarât, — to the country between the river Mahî and the Koṅkaṇ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 145). It is mentioned in one of the Mandasôr inscriptions (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 84), in the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikêśin II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 244), in one of the Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 127), and in various later records.

Lauhitya (the river Brahmaputra), in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., xvi. 16. In a note to his translation Kern adds that one MS. of the commentary has *Lôhitô nadaḥ*; and another *Lauhityô nadaḥ*. The form 'Lauhitya' occurs in the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 148); and the form 'Lôhitya' in the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna (*id.* p. 206).

lions; the forest of the man-lions (*nṛisiṁha-vana*), in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

Madhyadêsa, the middle country; the tribes, &c., contained in it, xiv. 2, 3, 4; misc. ref., v. 78, 90; viii. 46; x. 5; xiv. 1; xvii. 19, 20, 22; xviii. 4; xlvii. 7. The country is perhaps mentioned in the Sârnâth inscription of Prakaṭâditya (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 286).

Mâdhyamika, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Madra, a people in the north-west division. xiv. 22; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 40; x. 4; xvii. 18; xxxii. 19; — the lord of the Madras (*Madr-êśa*), misc. ref., xiv. 33. See also 'Madraka.'

Madraka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27; — the lord of the Madrakas (*Madraka-pati*) misc. ref., xi. 59. See also 'Madra.' A tribe named Mâdraka is mentioned as subjugated by Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Magadha, a country, and the people of it, in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22, 26; v. 69, 79; x. 14; xvi. 1; xxxii. 11; — the lord of Magadha (*Magadh-êśa*), misc. ref., x. 16; — the ruler of Magadha (*Magadh-âdhipa*), misc. ref., xi. 55. See also 'Mâgadhika.' In iv. 26, Kern translates *Magadhân* (accus. plur.) by "Behar."

Mâgadhika, the people of Magadha, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xiv. 32.

Mahânadî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It is mentioned in the Sâmângaḍ grant of Danti-

durga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114; for "of the great river Mahî and of the Rêvâ," read "of (the rivers) Mahî, Mahânadî, and Rêvâ").

*mahâgrîva*, 'great-necked people,' in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Mahârâshṭra, the Mahârâshṭra countries, or the people of them (the word occurs in the nom. pl., *mahârâshṭrâḥ*); misc. ref., x. 8. According to the Aihoḷe inscription, which speaks of three divisions of the country, each called Mahârâshṭraka, in the seventh century A. D. the country included, or was traditionally held to include, ninety-nine thousand villages (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 244).

*mahârṇava*, 'the great ocean,' in the south-west division, *i.e.* the Indian Ocean, xiv. 19. See also 'ocean' and 'islands.'

*mahâṭavi*, 'the great forest,' in the southern division, xiv. 13. See also 'forests.'

Mahêndra, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 10. The reference is probably to the Mahêndra mountain in the Gañjâm District, among the Eastern Ghauts, which is mentioned in the records of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 121, 123; Vol. XVIII. pp. 145, 164, 170, 175). But there may have been also a mountain of the same name in the Western Ghauts (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109; *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 146 and note 1, 148; see also p. 7, note 2).

Mahî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 32. It is mentioned in the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114).

Mahisha, a country; misc. ref., ix. 10. It has been considered to be the modern Mysore. See also 'Mahishaka.'

Mahishaka, the people of Mahisha, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xvii. 26. There may perhaps also be the form 'Mâhishaka;' see under 'Mâtrishika.'

Mâkara, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Mâlatî, a river, misc. ref., xvi. 10.

Mâlava, a country, and the people of it, in the northern division, xiv. 27; misc. ref., iv. 24; xvi. 26; xxxii. 19; lxix. 11. The Mâlavas are mentioned among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14). Varâhamihira places them too much to the north; as they are undoubtedly the people of Mâlwa, from whom (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 404) the Vikrama era derived its original appellation.

Malaya, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11; misc. ref., xvi. 10; xxvii. 2. It is mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109).

Mâlindya, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 11.

Malla, a people, unless the word simply denotes 'wrestlers or boxers;' misc. ref., v. 38, 41. To his translation of v. 38, where he gives "Mallas" as a people, Kern adds the note — "the Scholiast takes *mallân* here as an appellative noun, *bâhuyuddha-jñân*, 'boxers.' In v. 41 he translates *malla* by 'boxers,' and adds the note — "or, 'the Mallas;' may be the expression applies both to these and to boxers."

Mâlyavat, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Mâṇahala, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Mandâkinî, the river Ganges, or an arm of it, misc. ref., xvi. 10. The name occurs in the Alîṇâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 184).

Mâṇḍavya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the north-west division, xiv. 22; and in the north, xiv. 27.

Maṇimat, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

mariners (*vâri-chara*), a people in the southern division, xiv. 14. Below his translation Kern suggests that "these may be the Pirates of Greek sources."

marshes or swamps (*palôla*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Mârttikâvata, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Maru, a region in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 38. It is the modern Mârwâḍ. The Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman seems to mention the desert of Maru (*Maru-dhanvan*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 260, line 8, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 129).

Maruchîpaṭṭana, a city in the southern division, xiv. 15. Below his translation Kern gives the note — "Maruchî, or Murachî, Marîchî, seems to be the *Muziris* (transposed from *Murizis*) of the Greeks)."

Marukuchcha, or Murukuchcha, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23. There are the various readings of 'Marukachcha, Murukuchcha, Murûku, Marûhaturukacha, Bharukachha, Nuruka, Marukastha, Purukutsa, Gurukutsa, and Paramuchcha;' also (Parâśara) 'Marukuchcha,' which is the form used by Kern in his text. The possibility of Bharukachchha is excluded, by this town being allotted in xiv. 11 to the southern division: nor can Maru and Kachchha be intended; since they are allotted respectively to the middle country, xiv. 2, and the southern division, xiv. 16. In iv. 22, misc. ref., where the various readings are *Tarukachha*, and *Maruvachha*, Kern gives *Maru-Kachchha* in the text; but in the translation he rectifies this, and adopts *Marukuchcha*; and he adds the note — "the Marukuchchas, or Murukuchchas, were a people in the modern Kaferistan, or thereabouts."

Matañga, a (?) place where diamonds are found, lxxx. 7.

Mathurâ, a city; misc. ref., iv. 26; xvi. 17, 21. It is the so-called 'Muttra' in the North-West Provinces. See also 'Mâthuraka.'

Mâthuraka, the inhabitants of Mathurâ, *q. v.*, in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Matrishika (?), a people (?); misc. ref., xvi. 11. In his text Kern gives the reading as *sa-Mantrishikâḥ*; and notes the various readings of *sa-Mamtriśikhâḥ*, *-Matrishikâḥ*, *-Mâhishakâh*, *-Pâraśikâḥ*, and *-Mamyushikâḥ*. In his translation he gives "Matrishika; and adds the note — "perhaps an error of the copyists, or of the copies of some works consulted by the author, for *sah-Âtry-Ṛishikâḥ*, "with Atri's hermitage and the Ṛishikas;" ch. xix. 14 and 15." I think it very likely that the intended reading was *sa-Mâhishakâḥ*, which would give another form of the name of the people of Mahisha, *q. v.*

Matsya, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 37, 38; ix. 18; xvi. 22; xvii. 22; xxxii. 11; — the lord of the Matsyas (*Matsy-âdhipati*), iv. 24.

Maulika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is 'Saulika. See also 'Mûlika.'

Mêghavat, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mêkala, a mountain, or a people, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 39, 73; xvi. 2.

Mêru, a mountain in the northern division, xiv. 24; misc. ref., xxvii. 7. In his Sanskrit Dictionary Monier-Williams describes it as a fabulous mountain, regarded as the Olympus of Hindû mythology; and says that, when not looked at from that point of view, it appears to mean the highland of Tartary, north of the Himâlayas. It is mentioned in inciptions as Mêru (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 77, 163), and as Sumêru (*id.* pp. 86, 147, 278); and in two of the latter passages it is spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being the mountain Kailâsa), and as the abode of the god Indra.

Mêruka, a people, country, or mountain, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But there does not seem any other authority for the name. And the text, *Mêrukanashṭarâjya*, suggests to me just the possibility of the original reading being *Mêru-Kanishkarâjya*.

milky ocean (*kshîr-ôda*), in the eastern division, xiv. 6.

mines, the (*âkara*), a place in the southern division, supposed by Kern to be the modern Khândêsh, xiv. 12; see 'Âkara;'— mines of beryl-stone, (*vaidûrya*), in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Mithila, a country in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., x. 14.

Mlêchchha, a people, characterised as 'lawless,' or 'without moral customs' (*nirmaryâda*), in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 79; ix. 13; xvi. 11, 35; xvii. 14, 16, 20; — the Yavanas spoken of as Mlêchchhas (*Mlêchchhâ hi Yavanâḥ*), ii. 15. Kern translates *Mlêchchha* in ii. 15, by "foreigners;" and in the other passages by "barbarians." In xiv. 21 the translation is "all the lawless hordes of barbarians living in the west" (*nirmaryâdâ Mlêchchhâ yê paśchima-dik-sthitâs tê cha*). Albêrûnî says, "Mlêchchha, *i. e.* the Arabs." There is a passage in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* (Book IV. chap. III.; Wilson's Translation, Vol. III. p. 294 f.), which seems worth quoting here; it tells us that Sagara "made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Sakas he compelled to shave (the upper) half of their heads; the Pâradas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience

to his commands. Them, also, and other Kshattriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vêdas; and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brâhmaṇs, these different tribes became Mlêchchhas." The Mlêchchhas are mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 62).

mountain of sunrise (*udaya-giri*), in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xxviii. 3; — mountain of sunset (*asta-giri*), in the western division, xiv. 20.

Mûlika, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; but perhaps the correct reading is Sûlika. See also 'Maulika.'

Muñja (*v. l.* Puñja), a mountain in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Albêrûnî gives the name as "Puñjâdri."

Murukuchcha, a people; see Marukuchcha.

Naimisha, a people; the king of the Naimishas (*Naimisha-nṛipa*), misc. ref., xi. 60.

*nâlikêradvîpa*, the island of cocoanuts, in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

*nârîmukha*, a people with the faces of women, in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Narmadâ, the river 'Nerbudda;' misc. ref., v. 64; xvi. 1, 9. See also 'Rêvâ.' The name Narmadâ occurs in the Ēraṇ inscription of Budhagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 90).

Nâsikya, a town or country, in the southern division, xiv. 13; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. It is the modern Näsik. The form 'Nâsika' appears to be established by inscriptions at Bêdsa and at Nâsik itself (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 89, 98).

*nashṭarâjya*, the kingdom of the dead, in the north-east division, xiv. 29. But see under 'Mêruka.'

necks; great-necked people (*mahâ-grîva*) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; snake-necked people (*vyâla-grîva*) in the south-east division, xiv. 9; long-necked people (*dîrgha-grîva*) in the north-west division, xiv. 23. Also see 'throats.'

Nêpâla, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 65. It is the modern Nêpâl. The name occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Nîpa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Nirvindhyâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Nishâda, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10; misc. ref. v. 76. Kern translates, in xiv. 10, *Nishâda-râshṭrâṇi*, by "the territory of the Aborigines;" and in v. 76, *Nishâda-saṁghâḥ*, by "the savage tribes." The Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman mentions the Nishâda people or country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262).

nomads (*paśu-pâla*), in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

noses; flat-nosed people (*chipiṭa-nâsika*) in the northern division, xiv. 26.

*nṛisiṁha-vana*, 'the forest of the man-lions,' in the north-west division, xiv. 22.

oceans; the ocean (*samudra*) in the eastern division, *i.e.* the Bay of Bengal, xiv. 6; — the ocean of milk (*kshîr-ôda*) in the eastern division, xiv. 6; — the southern ocean (*yâmy-ôdadhi*) in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the great ocean (*mah-ârṇava*) in the south-west division, *i. e.* the Indian Ocean, xiv. 19; — the eastern ocean (*pûrva-sâgara*), misc. ref., v. 65; — the ocean mentioned as the gone or girdle of the earth, xliii. 32. For some other interesting references, see the index of *Gupta Inscriptions.*

Ôḍra, or Auḍra, a country, the modern Orissa, and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 74. See also 'Uḍra.'

Padma, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

Pahlava, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., v. 38; xvi. 38; xviii. 6. See also under 'Mlêchchha.' The Pahlavas are mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109. And a Pahlava minister of Rudradâman is mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 263).

*palôla*, the marshes or swamps, in the north-east division, xiv. 30. Below his translation, Kern remarks that "*palôla* must be the vulgar pronunciation for the Skr. *palvala*, 'swamp, marsh.' The modern name is Terai, the eastern part of which, near Kuch-Behâr, seems to be meant by *palôla* in our list."

Pâñchâla, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 35, 38, 41; ix. 29, 34; x. 4, 13; xiv. 32.

Pañchanada, '(the country) of the five rivers,' the Pañjâb, in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 6. See also 'Pâñchanada.'

Pâñchanada, a king or other inhabitant of Pañchanada, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Pâṇḍu, a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. The Râjim grant allots Indrabala, Nannadêva, and Tîvararâja, to the Pâṇḍu-vaṁśa or lineage of Pâṇḍu (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 298).

Pâṇḍya, a country, and the people of it; northern Pâṇḍya (*uttara-Pâṇḍya*), misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the Pâṇḍya king (*Pâṇḍya-narêśvara, Pâṇḍya-nâtha, Pâṇḍya-nṛipa*), misc. ref., iv. 10; vi. 8, xi. 56. The Pâṇḍyas are carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).

Pâṇḍyavâṭa, a place or country where pearls are found, lxxxi. 2, 6.

Pârâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. It may perhaps be the same with the Pârâdâ of one of the Nâsik inscriptions, which has been identified with the river Pâr or Pâraḍî in the Surat District (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 100, and note 2).

Paralôka, a place where pearls are found, lxxxi. 2, 4.

Pâraśava, a country, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 18; — pearls are found there, lxxxi. 2, 5; — misc. ref., liii. 15. Albêrûnî says, "Pâraśava, *i.e.* the Persians."

Pârata, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., x. 5, 7; xiii. 9; xvi. 4, 13, 22. The Pâratas may possibly be identical with the Pâradas; see under 'Mlechchha.'

Pâriyâtra, (*v.l.* Paripâtra), a mountain in the middle country, xiv. 4; misc. ref., v. 68; vi. 10; lxix. 11. The form 'Paripâtra' is deduced from one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109). 'Pariyâtra' occurs in one of the Mandasôr inscriptions (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 157). See also 'Pariyâtrika.'

Pâriyâtrika, the people of the Pâriyâtra mountain, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 15.

Pârvatîya, a people; misc. ref., xvii. 16, 23; xviii. 2.

*paśupâla*, nomads, in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

Pauṇḍra, the people of Puṇḍra, *q. v.*, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., v. 74, 80.

Paurava, a people in the northern division, xiv. 27, and in the north-east, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xvi. 22; xxxii. 19.

Payôshṇî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 10. In his translation, Kern notes that "another reading, also in Kâśyapa, is Parôshṇî."

pearls; the places where they are found are located in the southern division, xiv. 14;—in addition to being obtained from oysters, pearls are obtained from or found in mines (*sic*), and in the Himavat mountains, in the northern country (*kaubêra*), and in Pâṇḍyavâṭa, Paralôka, Pâraśava, Siṁhala, Surâshṭra, and Tâmraparṇi, lxxxi. 2.

Phalgulukâ, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23.

Phaṇikâra, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12.

Phêṇagiri (*v. l.* Phênagiri) a mountain in the south-west division, xiv. 18. Monier-Williams says it is near the mouth of the Indus.

Piśika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 14. Albêrûnî repeats "Śibika" here.

Prabhâsa, a place of pilgrimage near Dvârakâ, misc. ref., xvi. 32. It is mentioned in inscriptions at Nâsik and Kârlê (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 100, 101).

Prâchyâdhipa, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., v. 69; — the lords of the eastern and other countries (*Prâchyâdînâṁ patayaḥ*), misc. ref., lxxxvi. 75. See also 'Prâgîśa.'

Prâgîśa, the kings of the eastern country; misc. ref., iv. 25. See also 'Prâchyâdhipa.'

Prâgjyôtisha, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., xvi. 1.

Praśasta, a mountain in the western division, xiv. 20.

Prasthala, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Prayâga, probably the place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnâ; misc. ref., xi. 35. The name occurs in the Aphsaḍ inscription of Adityasêna (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 206).

Pulinda, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 77, 78; ix. 17, 29, 40; xvi. 2, 33; — the Pulinda tribe (*Pulinda-gaṇa*), misc. ref., v. 39. The Pulindas are carried back to the third century A. D. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247, 248).

Puṇḍra, a country, and the people of it;

diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 7; — other misc. ref., v. 70; ix. 15; x. 14; xvi. 3; — the leader of the Puṇḍras (*Puṇḍr-âdhipati*), misc. ref., xi. 58. See also 'Pauṇḍra.'

Purika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 10.

*purushâda, pûrushâda*, 'cannibals,' in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., iv. 22. See also '*kravyâśin*.'

Pushkalâvata, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26. Albêrûnî says, "Pushkalâvatî, *i. e.* Pûkala." Pushkalâvatî, whence Pushkalâvata is formed, appears to be the *Peukelaôtis* of the Greek writers; and the latter has been identified with the modern Hashtnagar, near Peshâwar (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 59, and note 3). See also 'Pushkalâvataka.'

Pushkalâvataka, a people, identical with Pushkalâvata, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Pushkara, probably the modern Pôkhar in Âjmîr, misc. ref., v. 68; xvi. 31; — the forest of Pushkara (*Pushkar-âraṇya*), misc. ref., xi. 35. The Pushkaras (*pôksharâni*, = *pushkarâṇi*) are mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 100).

Raivataka, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; misc. ref., xvi. 31. Raivataka is the hill at Junâgaḍh, opposite to the Girnâr mountain. It is mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta, and in the Jaunpur inscription of Îśvaravarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 64, 230).

*râjanya*, 'Kshatriyas,' placed in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Ramaṭha, a country and the people of it, in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., xvi. 21. Albêrûnî gives "Maṭhara." See also 'Râmaṭha.'

Râmaṭha, the people of Ramaṭha, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 5.

Rathâhvâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 16. In his translation, Kern notes that it is difficult to decide upon the true form, as some of his manuscripts had *Rathasvâ*, *Rathaṁpâ*, and *Rathasyâ* or *Rathaspâ*. With Rathâhvâ, we may compare Gajâhva.

Rêvâ, the river 'Nerbudda;' misc. ref., xii. 6. See also 'Narmâda.' The name Rêvâ occurs in one of the Mandasôr Inscriptions (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 156, 157).

Ṛishabha, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15.

Ṛishika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 15. Can the name have any connection with the 'Ristika' or 'Ristika' of one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 240, 247, 248).

Ṛishyamûka, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 13.

Rômaka, a people or place; misc. ref., xvi. 6. Kern translates by "the Romans." Albêrûnî, speaking of the determination of longitude by the Hindus, from Laṅkâ, says (*India*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 303) — "Their remarks on the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies show that Yamakôṭi and Rûm are distant from each other by half a circle. It seems that they assign the countries of the West (*i. e.* North Africa) to Rûm or the Roman Empire, because the Rûm or Byzantine Greeks occupy the opposite shores of the same sea (the Mediterranean); for the Roman Empire has much northern latitude, and penetrates high into the north. No part of it stretches far southward, and, of course, nowhere does it reach the equator, as the Hindus say with regard to Rômaka." As regards Yamakôṭi mentioned here, see 'under Bhadrâśva.'

'Sabara, a people; misc. ref., v. 38; ix. 15, 29; x. 15, 18; xvi. 1, 33; xxxii. 15; — naked 'Sabaras (*nagna-'Sabara*), and leaf-clad or leaf-eating 'Sabaras (*parṇa-'Sabara*), in the south-east division, xiv. 10; — 'the band of the 'Sabaras, hunters, and thieves' (*'Sabara-vyâdha-chaura-saṁgha*), misc. ref., lxxxvii. 10. In a note to his translation, Kern remarks on the word *parṇa-'Sabara*, "*i. e.* 'leaf-savages,' meaning those that feed upon leaves; they are manifestly the *Phyllitæ* of Ptolemy." The grant of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman mentions a 'Sabara king named Udayana (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 279).

Sahya, a mountain; misc. ref., lxix. 30. It is the Sahyâdri range, in the Western Ghauts. It is mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109). It is sometimes spoken of as one of

the breasts of the earth, — the other being the Vindhya range (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 184).

'Saindhava, the people of the Sindhu country; misc. ref., v. 71. See also 'Sindhu.'

Sairindha, a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29.

'Saka, a people in the western division, xiv. 21; misc. ref., v. 38, 75, 79; ix. 21; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xvii. 26; xviii. 6. In each instance, Kern gives "Scythians" in his translation. See also under '*kanaka*' and 'Mlêchchha.' The 'Sakas, as a people, are mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109); and individual 'Sakas, including Ushavadâta, son-in-law of the *Kshatrapa* Nahapâna, are mentioned in the same series of records (*id.* pp. 101, 104, 114). The 'Sakas are also mentioned among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Sâkêta, the modern Audh, or 'Oude' or 'Oudh,' in the middle country, xiv. 4. See also 'Âyôdhaka.'

Sâlva, (*v. l.* Salva and 'Sâlva), a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., v. 76; xvi. 21; xvii. 13, 18.

Samataṭa, in the eastern division, xiv. 6. The name means 'the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks, of equal height on both sides,' and it denotes Lower Bengal. It occurs in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Saṁkhyâta, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

'Sântika, a people in the western division, xiv. 20.

'Saradhâna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26.

Sârasvata, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; misc. ref., xvi. 22. They seem to be the people dwelling on the banks of the Sarasvatî, *q. v.*

Sarasvatî, a river; misc. ref. to the region where it disappears, xvi. 31. See also 'Sârasvata.'

Sarayû, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 16.

'Satadrû, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Saulika, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 8; but perhaps the correct reading is Maulika. See also ''Sûlika.'

Saurâshṭra, a country, the modern Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and the people of it; diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 6, and pearls, lxxxi. 2, 4; misc. ref., v. 68; ix. 19; xvi. 17, 31. See also 'Saurâshṭraka, and Surâshṭra.'

Saurâshṭraka, the people of Saurâshṭra, *q. v.* misc. ref., xxxii. 11.

Sauri, a people in the southern division, xiv. 11. In a note to his translation, Kern suggests that the Sauris are the *Soræ* of Ptolemy.

Saurpâraka, 'of or belonging to Surpâra,' where, it is said, black diamonds are found, lxxx. 6. Surpâra is the modern Sôpârâ, in the Ṭhâṇa District, Bombay Presidency. For a long note on it, giving all the varieties of the name and epigraphical and literary references, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 273. See also under 'Aparântaka.'

Sauvîra, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 21. See also 'Sauvîraka, and Sindhu-Sauvîra.' The Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman mentions the Sauvîra people or country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262).

Sauvîraka, a people; misc. ref. iv. 23. See also 'Sauvîra, and Sindhu-Sauvîra.'

'Sibi, a people; misc. ref., iv. 24; v. 67; xi. 59; xvi. 26; xvii. 19. See also ''Sibika.'

'Sibika, a people in the southern division, xiv. 12. See also 'Sibi.'

'Sibira, (*v. l.* 'Savara), a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 6.

Siṁhala, Ceylon, in the southern division, xiv. 15; — the ruler of Siṁhala (*Siṁhal-âdhipa*), misc. ref., xi. 60; — pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 3. See also 'Laṅkâ.' The Saiṁhaḷakas, or people of Siṁhaḷa, are mentioned in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14).

Siṁhapuraka, a people; misc. ref., v. 42.

Sindhu, either the river Indus, or the Sindh country, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; — the Sindhu river (*Sindhu-nada*), misc. ref., xvi. 16, 21; — the (river) Sindhu, misc. ref., xvi. 10; — the banks of the Sindhu (*Sindhu-taṭa*), misc. ref., v. 66, 80; — the Sindhu country (*Sindhu-vishaya*), misc. ref., lxix. 11; — other misc. ref. to either the river, or the country, or the people of it, iv. 23; xviii. 6. The Sindhu country is mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262),

And the seven mouths of the river Sindhu are mentioned in the Mêharaulî inscription of the emperor Chandra (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141). See also 'Saindhava.'

Sindhu-Sauvîra, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 17; misc. ref., x. 6; xiv. 34; also Sindhu-Sauvîraka, misc. ref., ix. 19. Albêrûnî says, "Sauvîra, *i. e.* Multân and Jahrâvâr."

Śiprâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

*sita*, a white people, misc. ref., xi. 61. See also '*śvêta*,' and under 'Hûṇa.'

Śîtaka (*v. l.* Śâtaka), a people in the northern division, xiv. 27.

sky; dwellers in the sky (*khastha*), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; roamers in the sky (*khachara*), in the northern division, xiv. 28; dwellers in the sky (*divishṭha*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31. On xiv. 22, Albêrûnî says "Khastha, *i. e.* people who are born from the trees, hanging on them by the navel-strings."

Śmaśrudhara, a people in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

Śôṇa, a river; misc. ref., v. 65; xvi. 1, 9.

spirits, the city of (*bhûta-pura*), in the northern division, xiv. 27.

Śrîparvata, a mountain; misc. ref., xvi. 3.

Srughna, a town or country, misc. ref., xvi. 21. Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified it with the *Su-lu-k'in-na* of Hiuen Tsiang, and the modern Sugh near Thânêsar (*Anc. Geogr. of India*, p. 345).

*strî-râjya*, the kingdom of women, *i. e.* the amazons, in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi. 6. See under 'amazons.'

Śûdras, placed in the south-west division, xiv. 18.

Suhma, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 5; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 1.

Śukti, a place or people; the Śukti lord (*Śukty-adhipa*), misc. ref., iv. 24.

Sûlika, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 23; misc. ref., ix. 15, 21; x. 7; xvi. 35; but perhaps the correct reading is Mûlika. In his text of ix. 15, Kern gives Śûlika, with the palatal aspirate; but in his translation he gives Sûlika, with the dental aspirate, and adds the note that "this seems to be the preferable spelling." See also 'Saulika.'

sunrise, the mountain of (*udaya-giri*), in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

sunset, the mountain of (*asta-giri*), in the western division, xiv. 20.

supernatural people and places; the city of spirits (*bhûta-pura*), in the northern division, xiv. 27;— demons with matted hair (*jaṭ-âsura*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30;— the grove of spirits (*vasu-vana*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31;— Gandharvas, or the heavenly choristers, in the north-east division, xiv. 31; misc. ref., xiii. 8; — dwellers in the sky (*khastha*), in the north-west division, xiv. 22;— dwellers in the sky (*divisṭha*), in the north-east division, xiv. 31;— roamers in the sky (*khachara*), in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Śûrasêna (*v. l.* Sûrasêna), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3; misc. ref., v. 35, 69; ix. 17; xvii. 13, 22; lxix. 26; — the lord of the Śûrasênas (*Śûrasêna-pati*), misc. ref., xi. 54. See also 'Sûrasênaka.' An inscription of the Śûrasênas has been published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 34; the name occurs as Sûrasêna there, and also (as a proper name) in one of the Nêpâl inscriptions (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 180).

Śûrasênaka, a people; the king of the Śûrasênakas (*Śûrasênaka-nṛipa*), misc. ref., ix. 11. See also 'Śûrasêna.'

Surâshṭra, a country, the modern Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and the people of it, in the south-west division, xiv. 19; pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 4; other misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 79; x. 6; lxix. 11. See also 'Saurâshṭra.' The base 'Surâshṭra' occurs in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109); in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262); and in line 9 of the Junâgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 59): but line 8 of the latter record shews that the customary expression was Surashṭrâḥ (nom. pl.), 'the Surâshṭra countries.'

Śûrpa, a mountain in the southern division, xiv. 14.

*suvarṇa-bhû*, the region of gold, in the north-east division, xiv. 31. Below his translation, Kern gives the note — "in all likelihood a mythical land; with Ptolemy it is called *Chryse* (cf. Lassen, Altert. iii. 242), which is not to be confounded with the real

island and peninsula *Chryse*. The latter is held to be Malakka; the Golden Island, however, the existence of which is denied by Lassen (Altert. iii. 247), but sufficiently attested not only by the Greeks, but also in the *Kathâsaritsâgara* (x. 54, 99; 56, 62; 57, 72; xviii. 123, 110), cannot be but Sumatra, including, perhaps, Java. Cf. Râmâyaṇa, 40, 30 (ed. Bombay)."

Suvâstu, a place or country, misc. ref., xxxii. 19. Can it denote the Swât territory?

Suvîra, a people; misc. ref., v. 79. See also 'Sauvîra, Sauvîraka, and Sindhu-Sauvîra.'

*śva-mukha*, a dog-faced people, in the northern division, xiv. 25.

*śvêta*, a white people; misc. ref., xvi. 38. See also '*sita*,' and under 'Hûṇa.'

swamps or marshes (*palôla*), in the north-east division, xiv. 30.

Syâmâka, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28.

Takshaśila, the inhabitants of Takshaśilâ, *q. v.*, in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 26.

Takshaśilâ, a city; misc. ref., x. 8. See also 'Takshaśila.' The place is the well-known *Taxila* of the Greek writers. And it was one of the principal seats of Aśôka's power (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 247). Albêrûnî says "Takshaśila, *i. e.* Mârîkala." Mârîkala seems to be the same with Mârîgala, in connection with which he speaks of "the country between Bardarî and Mârîgala," and of "the country Nîrahara, behind Mârîgala" (*India*, Translation, Vol. II. p. 8).

Tâla, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22. Albêrûnî gives "Tâlahala," — not "Tâlas and Halas," as given by Kern, from the commentary, I suppose. There was an ancient town named Talâpura or Tâlâpura in the neighbourhood of Nirmaṇḍ in the Pañjâb (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 290).

Tâlikaṭa (*v. l.* Tâpitaṭa), in the southern division, xiv. 11. Tâlikôt in the Bijâpur District suggests itself; but it is hardly possible that the place can be so ancient.

Tâmaliptî, a city; misc. ref., x. 14. It seems to be the *Tan-mo-li-ti* of Hiuen Tsiang, which has been identified with Tamluk on the Selai, just above its junction with the Hughli (*Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 200, and note 36). See also 'Tâmaliptika.'

Tâmaliptika, (*v. l.* Tâmalipta and Tâmaliptaka), the inhabitants of Tâmaliptî, *q. v.*, in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Tâmraparṇî, in the southern division, xiv. 16; pearls are obtained there, lxxxi. 2, 3. It is not clear whether the reference is to a river, said to be noted for its pearls, rising in Malaya, or to Ceylon, which was known as Tâmraparṇî (whence 'Taprobane') in the days of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 249).

Taṅgaṇa (*v. l.* Taṅkaṇa, *q. v.*), a people in the north-east division, xiv. 29; misc. ref., ix. 17; x. 12; xvi. 6; xxxii. 15.

Taṅkaṇa, a country in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., xvii. 25. A country named Ṭaṅka is mentioned in the Daśâvatâra cave inscription at Ellôrâ (*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 94, text line 10). See also 'Taṅgaṇa.'

Tâpî, the river Taptî; misc. ref., perhaps an interpolation, xvi. 12. The name occurs in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 100). The *v. l.* for Tâlikaṭa, *q. v.*, would give a reference to the banks of the Tâpî.

Târakshiti, a (?) country, in the western division, xiv. 21.

throats; high-throated people (*ûrdhvakaṇṭha*) in the south-east division, xiv. 8. Also see 'necks.'

*timiṅgilâśana*, 'a whale-eating people,' in the southern division, xiv. 16.

Traigarta, the people of Trigarta, *q. v.*; misc. ref., x. 11; xvi. 22; xvii. 16. Also Traigartaka, misc. ref., iv. 24.

Trigarta, a country in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., ix. 19. See also 'Traigarta.' Trigarta is mentioned in the Chambâ grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 8).

*trinêtra*, 'three-eyed people,' in the north-east division, xiv. 31.

Tripura, a city; misc. ref., v. 39. See also 'Tripurî.'

Tripurî, a city in the south-east division, xiv. 9. See also 'Tripura.' There can be little doubt, if any, that it is the Tripurî, — the modern Têwar near Jabalpur, — of the Kalachuris of Central India.

Tukhâra, a people in the north-west division, xiv. 22; misc. ref., xvi 6. In the latter passage, Kern translates the word by "Tocharians."

Tumbavana, a forest in the southern division, xiv. 15.

*turagânana*, 'horse-faced people,' in the northern division, xiv. 25. See also '*aśvamukha*, and *aśvavadana*.'

*udayagiri*, 'the mountain of sunrise,' in the eastern division, xiv. 7.

Uddêhika, (*v. l.* Audêhika and Auddêhika), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3. Albêrûnî says, "Uddêhika, near Bazâna." Bazâna, which name is marked by the translator, in the index, with a query, is said by Albêrûnî (*India*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 202) to be twenty-eight *farsakhs* (one *farsakh* = four miles, *id.* p. 200) in a south-westerly direction from Kanauj. He also says that Bazâna is the capital of Gujarât, and "is called *Nârâyan* by our people." And he places Aṇhilwâḍ sixty *farsakhs* to the south-west of Bazâna (*id.* p. 205).

Udîchya, the people of the north; misc. ref., xvi. 21. Compare *udîchîpatha* as a name of Northern India, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 312.

Uḍra (*v. l.*, perhaps, Ôḍra or Auḍra), a country, the modern Orissa, and the people of it, in the eastern division, xiv. 6; misc. ref., v. 35; xvi. 1; xvii. 25. Also see 'Auḍra, and Ôḍra.'

Udumbara, a people; misc. ref., v. 40; xvi. 3. See also 'Audumbara.'

Ujjayanî, the modern Ujjain; misc. ref., x. 15; xii. 14; lxix. 30. See also 'Aujjayanika, and Avanti.' In the Prâkrit form of Ujêni, the name appears in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 101), and is also carried back to the third century B. C. by one of the edicts of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. pp. 85, 96).

Ujjihâna, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2.

Upajyôtisha, (*v. l.* Aupajyautisha), a people in the middle country, xiv. 3.

Upavaṅga, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. Kern translates the name by "Vaṅga minor."

*ûrdhvakaṇṭha*, 'high-throated people,' in the south-east division, xiv. 8.

Uśînara, a people; misc. ref., iv. 22; xvi. 26. See also 'Auśînara.'

Utkala, a people in the eastern division, xiv. 7. Utkala is always explained as denoting Orissa.

*uttarâpatha*, a customary name for Northern India, misc. ref., ix. 41. See also 'Âryâvarta;' and contrast '*dakshiṇâpatha*.' Occasionally *udîchîpatha* occurs in place of the more customary and technical *uttarâpatha*. The Western Chalukya records speak of Harshavardhana of Kanauj as "the lord of all the *uttarâpatha* or region of the north" (*e. g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 87).

Vaḍavâmukha, in the south-west division, xiv. 17. The name means 'the mare's mouth,' which is the entrance to the lower regions at the south pole, where the submarine fire is. Below his translation Kern remarks — "in the astronomical Siddhântas Vaḍavâmukha is the supposed abode of the dead at the South Pole."

Vâhlika, Vâhlîka, a country, and an inhabitant of it; misc. ref., v. 80; ix. 10. See also 'Bâhlika, Bâhlîka.' The name of Balkh seems to be derived from this word. But the statement, in the Mêharaulî inscription (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141), that the emperor Chandra crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and then conquered the Vâhlikas, tends to locate the tribe, for that period, far to the south of Balkh.

Vaidarbha, the people of Vidarbha, *q. v.*; misc, ref., ix. 27.

Vaidêha, the people of Vidêha, *q. v.*; misc, ref., xxxii. 22.

Vaidêhaka, the people of Vidêha, *q. v.*; misc, ref., ix. 13, 21; xvi. 16,

*vaidûrya*, the place or places where beryl-stones are found, in the southern division, xiv. 14.

Vaiśyas, placed in the western division, xiv. 21.

Vanavâsi, in the southern division, xiv. 12; misc. ref., ix. 15; xvi. 6. It is the modern Banawâsi in the North Kanara District, above the Ghauts. Albêrûnî says "Vanavâsi on the coast." And Rashîdu-d Dîn (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 58) says "Banawâs on the shore of the sea." It seems to be some similar wrong information that led the Greek writers to speak of *Buzantion*, — which appears to represent Vaijayantî, another ancient name of Banawâsi, — as a sea-side mart.

*vanaugha*, the collection of forests, in the western division, xiv. 20.

Vaṅga, a country, and the people of it, in the south-east division, xiv. 8; misc. ref., v. 72, 73, 79; ix. 10; x. 14; xvi. 1; xvii. 18, 22; xxxii. 15. See also 'Vâṅga, and Upavaṅga.' The Vaṅga countries (*Vaṅgêshu*; loc. plur.) are mentioned in the Mêharaulî inscription of the emperor Chandra (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141).

Vâṅga, a variant of Vaṅga, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 60.

Vardhamâna, a city or country, in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref., xvi. 3; lxxix. 21; xciv. 2. It is the modern Bardwân in Bengâl.

Vasâti (*v. l.* Vaśâti), in the northern division, xiv. 25; misc. ref., xvii. 19.

Vasumat, a mountain, in the northern division, xiv. 24.

*vasuvana*, 'the forest of Vasus or spirits,' in the north-east division; xiv. 31.

Vâṭadhâna, a people in the northern division, xiv. 26; misc. ref., xvi. 22. The text of xvi. 22 shews that the name is Vâṭadhâna. But on xiv. 26 Albêrûnî gives "Dâsêra; Kavâṭadhâna," instead of "Dâsêraka and Vâṭadhâna." Monier-Williams says that, in addition to being the name of a degraded tribe, the word means 'the descendant of an outcaste Brâhmaṇ by a Brâhmaṇ female.'

Vatsa, a people in the middle country, xiv. 2; and in the south-east division, xiv. 8; — misc. ref., x. 5; xvii. 18, 22.

Vêdasmṛitî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 32.

Vellûra, a town in the southern division, xiv. 14. It is, undoubtedly, the well-known Verûḷ, Yeruḷâ, Êlûrâ, or Ellôrâ, in the Nizâm's Dominions, where the cave-temples are. The place is also mentioned, as Vallûra (for Vellûra), in the inscription at the Buddhist *vihâra*, known as the Ghaṭôtkacha cave, near Gulwâḍâ in the neighbourhood of Ajaṇṭâ (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 139, 140); and as Valûraka, or probably more correctly Vallûraka (for Vellûraka), in three Buddhist inscriptions at Kârlê (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 101, 108, 113: as regards the first of these records, I differ from the published translation, and take the record to mean that the village of Karajika was granted to some members of the community of ascetics "whose permanent abode was in the cave-temples at Vallûraka," and who had come to pass the rainy season at Kârlê; the other two records, however, seem to mean that a branch of the *saṅgha* from Vallûraka ultimately settled at Kârlê, and gave its name to one or more of the caves there: there seems no foundation for the suggestion, *ibid.* p. 101, note 1, that Vallûraka was the ancient name of Kârlê itself). Under the Sanskṛitised name of Êlâpura, the place is also mentioned in connection with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa I., for whom the "Kailâsa temple" was constructed there (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 228).

Vêṇâ, a river in the southern division, xiv. 12; — diamonds are obtained there, lxxx. 6; misc. ref. iv. 26; xvi. 9.

Vêṇumatî, a river in the north-west division, xiv. 23. Albêrûnî says, "Vêṇumatî (?), *i. e.* Tirmidh."

Vêtravatî, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 9.

Vidarbha, a country in the south-east division, xiv. 8. See also 'Vaidarbha.' Vidarbha is mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109).

Vidêha, a country, and the people of it; misc. ref., v. 41, 71; xvi. 11. See also 'Vaidêha, and Vaidêhaka.'

Vidiśâ; misc. ref., xvi. 32. Monier-Williams gives the word as denoting (1) the capital of the district of Daśârṇâ, and (2) a river in Mâlwa.

Vidyâdhara, a class of supernatural beings; misc. ref., ix. 27. Kern translates by "the inhabitants of Fairy-land;" and identifies them with the Teutonic "elves."

Vindhya mountains; "the inhabitants of the recesses of the Vindhyas," or the people dwelling near the boundaries or at the end of the Vindhyas (*Vindhy-ânta-vâsinaḥ*), in the south-east division, xiv. 9; — the forests of the Vindhyas (*Vindhy-âṭavî*), xvi. 3; — the range spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the Himavat mountains, xliii. 35; — misc. ref., xii. 6; xvi. 10, 12 (perhaps an interpolation); lxix. 30. The Vindhya mountains are mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109). In other epigraphic passages, they are mentioned as one of

the breasts of the earth, the other being the Sahya range (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 184); as constituting both the breasts (*id.* p. 185); and as extending up to, and including, the Nâgârjunî Hill in the Gayâ District (*id.* pp. 227, 228).

Vipâśâ, a river; misc. ref., xvi. 21.

Virâṭa, a country; misc. ref. (perhaps an interpolation), xvi. 12. Virâṭakoṭe, 'the fort of Virâṭa,' was a name of Hângal in the Dhârwâr District.

Viṭaka, a people; misc. ref., xvi. 2. In his translation Kern adds the note, which perhaps includes the Mêkalas and the Kirâtas, — "These are the same tribes who by a synonymous term are called Lampâkas and Utsavasankêtas; they are said to scorn the institution of matrimony, and to form only temporal engagements, lasting for the time of a festival."

Vitastâ, the river Jhêlam; misc. ref., xvi. 27.

Vokkâṇa, a people in the western division, xiv. 20; misc. ref., xvi. 35.

Vṛishabhadhvaja, a mountain in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

*vṛishadvîpa*, 'the island of bulls,' in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

*vyâghamukha*, 'a tiger-faced people,' in the eastern division, xiv. 5.

*vyâlagrîva*, 'a people with serpents' necks,' in the south-east division, xiv. 9.

whales, eaters of (*timiṅgil-âśana*), in the southern division, xiv. 16.

white people (*gauḍaka*) in the eastern division, xiv. 7; misc. ref. to white people (*śvêta*) or to White Hûṇas (*śvêta-Hûṇa*), xvi. 38, — but see under 'Hûṇa.'

women; the kingdom of women, *i. e.* the country of the amazons (*strî-râjya*), in the north-west division, xiv. 22; — a people with the faces of women (*nârî-mukha*), in the south-west division, xiv. 17.

Yamunâ, the river Jamnâ; misc. ref., v. 37; xvi. 2; — mentioned as the daughter of the sun (*divâkara-sutâ*), xliii. 32; — the region between the Gaṅga and the Yamunâ (*Gaṅgâ-Yamun-ântarâla*), misc. ref., lxix. 26. See also 'Yâmuna.'

Yâmuna, the people living near the Yamunâ, *q. v.*, in the middle country, xiv. 2, and in the northern division, xiv. 25. In xiv. 2, Kern translates "those who dwell along the banks of the Jamnâ;" and in xiv. 25, "those who live near the sources of the Jamnâ." On xiv. 2, Albêrûnî says "the valley of the Yamunâ;" but on xiv. 25, "Yâmuna, *i. e.* a kind of Greeks," — evidently confusing Yâmuna with Yavana.

Yaśôvati, a city in the northern division, xiv. 28. Below his translation, Kern notes that it is "a mythical city of the Elves."

Yaudhêya, a people in the northern division, xiv. 28; misc. ref., iv. 25; v. 40, 67, 75; xvi. 22; xvii. 19. See also 'Yaudhêyaka.' The Yaudhêyas are mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 262), and in the Allahâbâd inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 14); and there is a fragmentary inscription of some leader of the tribe at Bijayagaḍh (*id.* p. 251).

Yaudhêyaka, another form of Yaudhêya, *q. v.*; misc. ref., xi. 59; — the king of the Yaudhêyakas (*Yaudhêyaka-nṛipa*), misc. ref., ix. 11.

Yavana, a people in the south-west division, xiv. 18; misc. ref., iv. 22; v. 78, 80; ix. 21, 35; x. 6, 15, 18; xiii. 9; xvi. 1; xviii. 6; — the Yavanas spoken of as Mlêchchhas (*Mlêchchhâ hi Yavanâḥ*), ii. 15 (see also under 'Mlêchchha'). In ii. 15 and xvi. 1, Kern translates the word *Yavana* by "the Greeks;" and the first of these two passages mentions the flourishing state of astronomy among the Yavanas. On xiv. 18, Albêrûnî says "Yavana, *i. e.* the Greeks." And McCrindle gives the following note (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 122, note 1), to explain the derivation of the word:—"The name of Ion, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians, had originally the digamma, and hence was written as Ivon. The Hebrew transcription of this digammated form is *Javan*, the name by which *Greece* is designated in the Bible. The Sanskrit transcription is *Yavana*, the name applied in Indian works to Ionians or Greeks and foreigners generally." The thirteenth rock edict of Aśôka speaks of the Yônas, *i. e.* Yavanas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 239, 240, 247); and it describes Antiochus II. of Syria, as a Yôna, *i. e.* Yavana, king (*ibid.* pp. 239, 240, 241, 242). The

Yavanas, as a tribe, are mentioned in one of the Nâsik inscriptions (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 109); and several individual Yavanas are mentioned in the same series of records (*ibid.* pp. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 115). And the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman speaks of a Yavana prince or king named Tushaspha, apparently as a contemporary of Aśôka (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 260, text line 8; from an inspection of the original stone, I take the reading to be *Aśôkasya Mauryasy=âṁtê Yavana-râjêna Tushasphên=âdhishṭhâya &c.*) Like the Kâmbôjas and the Pahlavas, the Yavanas are located by Varâhamihira too much towards the south; unless the reference is simply to some large settlement of them in the neighbourhood of Nâsik.

Yugaṁdhara, a people; misc. ref., xxxii. 19.

## MISCELLANEA.

### FOLK-ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE-NAMES IN THE SANDOWAY DISTRICT, BURMA.

Extract from a diary kept by the *Myô$_o$ôk*[1] of Sandoway shewing the popular etymology of place names in the Þadê Circle of the Sandoway townships. In all four cases it can be shewn that the etymology is false:—

In ancient times there lived near the source of the Þadê River a *þuṭ'e*,[2] who had a daughter. The girl was amusing herself by fishing in the stream, when she was suddenly swept down it by a torrent, such as commonly rushes down the hill sides in the rains. There was no one to help, and so she was drowned. Her last words were *amè lè⁚*,[3] and hence the streamlet is thereabouts named Mèwa, whence also a neighbouring village took its name.

Lower down are two villages, Yetþè$_o$ and Palaing⁚. These took their names from the *yetþè*[4] and *palaing⁚*,[5] with which the girl had been fishing, and which were found on the banks at these spots.

B. HOUGHTON.

[1] Township officer.

[2] Merchant, wealthy man.

[3] "My mother!" common expression of astonishment and trouble.

[4] A fishing instrument.

[5] A basket.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### ORDEAL IN MODERN INDIAN LIFE.

Lately a pair of boots belonging to me disappeared in a suspicious manner. The servants had been quarrelling, and it was pretty evident that one of them had made away with the boots in order to spite the man in charge. They decided to take oath among themselves to find out the culprit. The servants implicated were the coachman, the cook, the *bhistî*, the *khâṅsâmân*, the bearer, a *khidmatgâr*, and a *chuprâsî*, all Musalmâns; a *chuprâsî*, a *sais*, two *paṅkhâwâlâs*, all Hindus; and a *mehtar*.

I watched the proceedings. Firstly, real holy water (*gaṅgâjal*) from Hardwâr was produced in a medicine bottle (!) and uncorked. This the Hindus in turn solemnly held in both hands, while they repeated, each in his own fashion, an oath which ran somewhat thus:—"May my eyes go blind, and my body break out, etc., if I stole those boots!" The bottle was then lifted above the head by both hands in the usual form of salutation. There was no doubt as to the holy water. It belonged to one of the *paṅkhâwâlâs*, who was by caste a Ṭhâkur from Faizâbâd in Oudh, and had brought it himself in the medicine bottle from Hardwâr.

The *mehtar* then essayed to take up the holy water, but was not permitted to touch the bottle; so he produced his three children,—a son, a daughter and a child in arms. He successively touched their heads and swore to the above effect.

All the Musalmâns then swore on the *Qur'ân* that none of them were guilty.

In the end the *khâṅsâmân* came to me, and said they had all sworn to innocence. There was no gainsaying that, but one of them was, in their own opinion, guilty nevertheless, and so they had decided to divide the cost of the boots amongst themselves, as a general punishment for failing to detect the culprit between them! In this every one acquiesced, and that ended the matter to every one's satisfaction, except the master's, who lost a comfortable pair of boots.

R. C. TEMPLE.

*Rangoon, March* 1893.

## BOOK NOTICE.

SANTAL FOLKTALES. Translated from the Santâlî by A. Campbell, Free Church of Scotland, Santal Mission, Manbhoom. Santal Mission Press, Pokhuria.

Any fresh collection of Indian folktales is welcome, and in particular one made among primitive isolated races like the Santâls, who may be expected to be in a great measure unaffected by Hindu influence, and among whom we know that some really original folklore undoubtedly exists. There is, for instance, the remarkable legend of their creation from a goose which is probably of a totemistic character.[1]

I must admit, however, that Dr. Campbell's collection is somewhat disappointing. Nor has he, I venture to think, gone quite in the proper way of collecting. Many of these tales display, as may be easily shewn, undoubted traces of foreign influence: and this being the case, before we can satisfactorily classify them, it is absolutely necessary to know by whom and under what circumstances they were told and recorded. It would then be, perhaps, possible to trace the source by which much undoubtedly foreign folklore has come to be included among them. But on this point Dr. Campbell vouchsafes absolutely no information whatever. It would again not have been a difficult task to suggest some of the analogies and parallels to other collections which appear throughout this collection.

The first story, "The Magic Lamp," is an undoubted variant of our old friend Aladdin of the "Arabian Nights," which is not part of the original recension, and has probably reached India in quite recent years from Western sources. In the second tale, "Jhorea and Jhore," we have several of the familiar drolls known in Northern India as "The Wiles of Shêkh Chillî." Many of these, according to Mr. Jacobs, form the basis of our Joe Miller. In the third tale, "The Boy and his Stepmother," we have the familiar type of the cruel stepmother and her stepson, which in India often takes the form of the malicious *saut* or co-wife, who appears later on in "Sit and Bosont." In this third tale it is mixed up with the "Faithful Animal" cycle, which, in this case, is represented by the protecting cow—a legitimate descendant of the Kâmadhênu of Hindu mythology. Here, too, we have a well-known incident of the lover who finds the golden hair of the princess floating down the stream. The common Northern India version of this is given by Mr. Mark Thornhill in the "Princess with the Golden Hair"[2] and in Major Temple's "Wonderful Ring."[3]

In the fifth tale, "Kara and Guja," we have another well-known incident popular all over Northern India of the demon who chews grains of iron and is killed by the hero, while the rascally Ḍôm or Dhôbî takes all the credit. Next follows "The King and His Inquisitive Queen," which corresponds perfectly with the well-known story in the Introduction of the "Arabian Nights," where the *deus ex machinâ*, who warns the merchant, that he is a fool not to thrash his wife, is a cock: here it is a he-goat. Then comes "The Story of Bitarâm." *Bittâ*, Dr. Campbell may be glad to know, is good Hindî, as well as Santâlî, for a span, and the story of Bittarâm, who is known as Bittan all over Northern India, is the Oriental representative of one of the most delightful of Grimm's *Household Tales* (No. 37), "Thumbling." The only difference is that the Santâlî Hop-o'-my-Thumb is more of an imp than the touching creation of the German fancy, in which, too, we find the charming parental tenderness for the dear little creature which we miss in the Eastern form of the tale. "The Story of the Tiger" is our old friend the fox, who acts as arbitrator and induces the tiger to go back to his cage to shew how he managed to come out. In "Lipi and Lapra" we have the well-known idea of the clever youngest son who gets the better of his brothers, and "Gumda the Hero" is of the Munchausen type. In Upper India it appears in the form of the "Wrestler of the East and the West."

Perhaps the most original and characteristic of these stories are those about animals. A good one describes the dilemma of the man who had to arbitrate daily between the tiger and the lizard: and here, too, we come across the stupid old tiger who allows his tail to be fried, who takes people about on his back, and is swindled by the crane who takes one year the root crop and in the next the leaves, of which we have a German version in Grimm. In the "Seven Brothers and their Sister" we have the old superstition of human sacrifice at the foundation of buildings, on which Dr. Campbell might have given an interesting note.

It will thus be seen that, to the student of comparative folklore, there is much of interest in this collection. We can only express the hope that in another series Dr. Campbell will give us more of the really indigenous folktales, and ruthlessly discard those which are obviously of foreign origin: and he would do more justice to his work if he would send it outequipped with analysis, notes and illustrations of parallel plots and incidents, without which any collection of folklore, intended for serious students, is of comparatively little value.

W. CROOKE.

[1] Dalton *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 209 ff.

[2] *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 86.

[3] *Wideawake Stories*, p. 201.

# NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I. C. S.

(*Continued from p.* 129.)

IT may be useful to give a somewhat fuller account of these works than has been given in the *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân.*

(1) **Râm Lalâ Nahachhû.** Twenty verses of four lines each in *Sôhar-chhand,* consisting of 16 syllables and 22 *mâtras.* A short poem, celebrating the ceremonial touching of Râma's nails before his investiture with the sacred thread. This ceremony will be found described in *Bihâr Peasant Life,* § 1314. A good commentary by Paṇḍit Bandan Pâṭhak, which has been printed at the Khaḍg Bilâs Press, Bânkîpur.

The two opening verses may be taken as a sample of the style and metre—

*Âdi Sâradâ, Ganapati, Gauri manâia hô* ।
*Râma-Lalâ kara nahachhû gâi sunâia hô* ॥
*Jehi gâê sidhi hôi parama-nidhi pâia hô* ।
*Kôṭi janama kara pâtaka dûri so jâia hô* ॥ 1 ॥
*Kôṭinha bâjana bâjahiṅ Dasaratha kê gṛiha hô* ।
*Dêva-lôka saba dêkhahiṅ ânaṅda ati hia hô* ॥
*Nagara sohâwana lâgata barani na jâtai hô* ।
*Kausalyâ kê harakha na hṛidaya samâtai hô* ॥ 2 ॥

First revere I Sâradâ, Gaṇêśa and Gaurî, and then sing I the nail-touching of the sweet child[1] Râma. He who singeth it gaineth perfect knowledge and the supreme treasure, and the sins accumulated through countless transmigrations leave him for ever (1).

Myriads of musical instruments sound in Daśaratha's house. The Gods look on rejoicing in their hearts. The city of Oudh seemeth so beautiful that tongue cannot describe it; and the bliss of Kauśalyâ cannot be contained in her heart (2).

(2) **Vairâgya-Sandîpanî** (usually spelled °*dîpinî*) or 'the Kindling of Continence,' or 'of Devotion' (as contrasted with the common expression *kâmâgni-s°,* the kindling the fire of love, exciting sexual desire). In three *prakâśa* or lectures, with an introductory invocation. In verse 7, the poet himself calls the work *Birâga-Sandîpinî.* A good Commentary by Bandan Pâṭhak, with gloss by Mahâdêv Par'sâd, Khaḍg Bilâs Press, Bânkîpur. The contents are described by the names of the various lectures, as follows:—

Invocation I., 1—7.

Prakâśa I., *Sant-Swabhâv-barnan,* an account of the true nature of a holy man. I, 7—33, Metre *Dôhâ, Sôraṭhâ* and *Chaupâî.*

Prakâśa II., *Sant-mahimâ-barnan,* an account of the true greatness of a holy man. II., 1—9. Metre, as above.

Prakâśa III., *Śânti-barnan,* an account of the true Peace. III., 1—20. Metre, as above.

The work is principally composed of short sententious verses. The following may be taken as examples of the language:—

I, 5. *Tulasî, yaha tana khêta hai,*
*Mana vacha karma kisâna* ।
*Pâpa punya dwai bîja haiṅ,*
*Bawai so lawai nidâna* ॥

III, 1. *Raini ko bhûkhana indu hai,*
*Diwasa ko bhûkhana bhâna* ।

[1] *Lalâ* = *lâl,* a darling.

*Dâsa ko bhûkhana bhakti haiṅ,*
*Bhakti ko bhûkhana jñâna* ॥ 1 ॥
*Jñâna ko bhûkhana dhyâna hai,*
*Dhyâna ko bhûkhana tyâga* ।
*Tyâga ko bhûkhana sânti-pada,*
*Tulasî, amala adâga* ॥ 2 ॥

I have noted two verses of the *Vairâgya Sandîpinî*, which are repeated in other works of the poet:—*viz.*, *Bai.* I, I. This occurs in *Dôhâbalî* (1) and *Sat'saî* (I, 2). *Bai.* I, 15. = *Dôhâbal* (38) and *Sat'saî* I, 107.

The poem being a short one, and containing much of interest to the student of comparative religion, I here give a translation of the whole.

*I.—Invocation.*

*Dôhâ*, — On the left of Râma[2] sitteth Sîtâ and on his right Lakshmaṇa : meditation on him thus is ever propitious, and is, O Tul'sî, to thee thy wishing-tree (1). Tul'sî, the darkness of the delusions of this world is not wiped away by the virtue of ten million holy deeds : for the lotus of thy heart will ne'er expand, till the sun of the Lord (himself descended from the sun) shineth upon it (2). He heareth without ears, and seeth without eyes. Without a tongue doth he taste. No nose hath he, and yet he smelleth; and no body hath he, yet he feeleth (3). *Sôraṭhâ* — Unborn is he. He alone existeth; his form cannot be comprehended. Utterly free is he of quality, of Mâyâ (illusion)[3] is he the Lord, and for the sake of his servants did he take unto himself the form of man (4). *Dôhâ*, — Tul'sî, this body of thine suffereth. It ever suffereth the threefold woe.[4] It obtaineth not peace, till, by the Lord's might, it reacheth the stage of peace (5). Thy body is a field, thy mind, thy words, thine actions, are the husbandmen. Two seeds are there, Sin and Holiness. As thou sowest, so wilt thou reap (6). This book, the 'Kindling of Devotion' containeth the marrow of all knowledge. It giveth the teaching of the Vêdas and Purâṇas, and the wisdom of all holy books (7).

*II.—The Nature of the Holy.*

*Dôhâ*, — Simple are his syllables, simple his language. But, though simple, know thou, that they are full of meaning. Tul'sî, simple is the Holy, and thus mayst thou recognize him (8). *Chaupâî*, — Unimpassioned is he, but giving happiness to all. Just and self-restrained ever singing the praises of the Lord. Ever enlightening the souls of the ignorant, and ever for this purpose wandering from place to place (9). *Dôhâ*, — Such men are only here and there. Blessed is the land where many Holy dwell. Ever devoted to helping others, ever devoted to the supreme goal, in love[5] working out their lives (10). Whether he shutteth the door of his mouth, or whether he speaketh the truth,[6] in this world is the Holy man ever discreet[7] (11). When he speaketh, it is with discretion, and full of his own sweet nature : nor ever placeth he his foot on the way which leadeth to pain or angry words (12). He showeth enmity to no man, to no man showeth he over-friendship. Tul'sî! this is the religion of the Holy, ever to speak with even justice (13). *Chaupâî*, — Very true is he to the One, ever keeping his members in subjection. His thoughts dwell on no one but the Lord. For he knoweth in his heart that this world is but a mirage. Tul'sî, by these marks dost thou know him (14),

[2] Râma is, throughout Tul'sî Dâs's philosophy, the equivalent of the Îśvara of Râmânuja's Vêdântic system, I hence translate the word for the future as 'the Lord.' *Vide post*, the remarks on the *Sat'saî*.

[3] Here the poet adopts the language of Śaṅkara Âchârya.

[4] Woe is of three kinds, those from within the body (as disease, &c.), those from God (as a lightning stroke, &c.), and external (as from wild beasts, or serpents). *Cf. Sâṅkhya Kârikâ*, I.

[5] I take the reading *prîti* not *vṛitti*.

[6] *Jathâ artha* equal to *yathârtha*.

[7] *e. g.*, even when speaking the truth, he speaks kindly.

*Dôhâ,* — One trust, one strength, one hope, one faith.[8] As the *châtak*-bird longeth for a rain-cloud in the season of *Swâti,* so longeth he for the Lord (15). He hath no anger nor fault,[9] and is a ship wherein to cross the ocean of existence. He hath abandoned desire, and hath betaken himself to humility and content (16). He betaketh himself to humility; He endureth all things; with heart and mouth, he ever calleth on the name of the Lord. So dwelleth the Holy man, and so doeth he (17). Those who dwell by him, he maketh like unto himself; while the wicked man giveth his soul twofold[10] sorrow. Saith Tul'sî, the Holy man is like Mount Malaya, but without its fault[11] (18). Gentle are the words of the Holy man, falling like nectar on the ear. When the hard heart heareth them, it becometh wax (19). They beget the happiness of comprehending The Supreme;[12] they lift and carry away the errors of this world, and in the heart they are (sharp arrows) piercing sin (20). Cooling are they like unto the beams of the moon. Ten million fevers do they cure in the soul of him on whose ears they fall (21). *Chaupâî,* — They destroy every thorn of sin and sorrow. Like the sun do they clear away the darkness of error. O Tul'sî, so excellent is the pious man that the Scriptures declare that the ocean of his virtue is fathomless (22). *Dôhâ,* — Not by deed, not by thought, not by word doth he ever give pain to any one. Yea, he is such because the Lord dwelleth in him on this earth[13] (23). When thou seest the face of a Holy man, thy sin abandoneth thee. When thou touchest him thy deeds[14] depart. When thou hearest his words the error of thine heart is swept away, and bringest thee to Him from whom thou camest (24). Very gentle is he, and pure even in his desires. In his soul is there no defilement. On his Master alone is his heart ever stayed (25). Him, from whose heart hath departed every worldly longing, doth Tul'sî praise with thought, and word, and deed (26). To him gold is the same as a piece of glass : women are but as wood or stone. Such an Holy man, is a portion of the supreme Deity upon earth (27).

*Chaupâî,* — Gold looketh he upon as clay, woman as but wood or stone. Of these things the flavour hath he forgotten. That man hath the Lord manifest in his flesh (28).

*Dôhâ,* — Free of worldly possessions, his members in subjection, ever devoted to the Lord alone, such an Holy man is rare in this world (29). He hath no egoism, nor maketh any difference between 'I' and 'thou,' (but knoweth that all are but parts of the Lord). No evil thought is ever his. Sorrow doth not make him sorrowful, nor doth happiness make him happy (30). Equal counteth he gold and glass. Equal counteth he friend and foe. Such an one is counted in this world an Holy man (31). Few, few wilt thou meet in this world, Holy men who have freed themselves from all illusion : for in this iron age men's natures are ever lustful and crooked, like the peacock and the crow[15] (32). He who hath wiped out 'I' and 'thou,' and the darkness of error, and in whom hath risen the sun of 'know thyself': know him as Holy, for by this mark, saith Tul'sî, is he known (33).

*III.—The Greatness of the Holy.*

*Sôratha.*—Who, O Tul'sî, can tell with a single mouth, the greatness of the Holy man? For the thousand tongued serpent of eternity, and Siva himself with his fivefold mouth cannot describe his spotless discernment (34). *Dôhâ,* — Were the whole earth the tablet, the ocean the ink, all the trees turned into pens, and Ganêśa himself the learned recorder, that greatness could

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8 Comm. *âsâ man kâ châh'nâ, bharôsâ buddhi kâ, biswâs chitt kâ, bal ahaṁkâr kâ.*

9 Or, if we read *dwêkha*, for *dôkha*, he hath neither love nor hatred.

10 Sorrow for the wicked man's unhappy state, and sorrow caused by the persecution of the wicked.

11 Mt. Malaya is famous for its sandal trees which give their scent to all who approach it, good and bad alike. Its fault is its origin. It was originally a pile of ordure.

12 Comm. *anubhava-sukha brahma-sukha.*

13 Lit., he is Râma's form upon the earth. The corresponding idea in English is that given above.

14 Thy *karma.* The consequences of thy good and bad actions. Every action binding the soul to earth and separating it from the Lord.

15 The peacock, fair without and mean within. The crow, black without and within.

not all be written (35). Blessed, twice blessed, are his mother and his father. Blessed are they that he is their son, who is a true worshipper of the Lord, whatever he be in form or shape (36). Blessed would be the skin of my body, if it but form the sole of the shoe of him from whose mouth cometh the name of the Lord, even though it be by mistake (37). The lowest of the low is blessed, if he worship the Lord day and night; but what availeth the highest caste, if the Lord's name is not heard therein (38). Behold, how on very high mountains are the dwelling places of snakes, but on the lowest low lands grow sweet sugarcane and corn and betel (39). *Chaupaî*, — Tul'sî saith, I have seen the good men of all nations, but none is equal unto him, who is the single-hearted servant of the Lord, and who night and day at every breath reiterateth his name (40). Let the Holy man be ever so vile by birth or station, still no high-born man is equal unto him. For the one day and night uttereth the Name, while the other ever burneth in the fire of pride (41). *Dôhâ*,—The Servant of the Lord is ever devoted but to the one Name. He careth not for bliss or in this world or hereafter. Ever remaining apart from the world, he is not scorched by the fire of its pains (42).

*IV.—Perfect Peace.*

*Dôhâ*, — The adornment of the night is the moon, the adornment of the day is the sun. The adornment of the servant of the Lord is Faith, and the adornment of that faith is Perfect Knowledge (43). The adornment of this knowledge is Meditation, the adornment of meditation is total Self-surrender to the Lord, and the adornment of self-surrender is pure and spotless Peace (44).

*Chaupâî*, — This Peace is altogether pure and spotless, and destroyeth all the troubles mankind endureth. He who can maintain such peace within his heart ever remaineth in an ocean of rapture (45). The sorrows which are born of the threefold sins,[16] the intolerable hoard of grief begotten of faults committed, — all these are wiped away. Him, who remaineth rapt in Perfect Peace, doth no woe e'er approach to pierce (46). O Tul'sî, so cool[17] is the Holy Man, that ever he remaineth free of earthly cares. The wicked are like serpents, but what can they do unto him, for his every limb hath become a sure medicine[18] against their bite (47).

*Dôhâ*, — Very cool is he, and very pure, free from all taint of earthly desire. Count him as free, his whole existence rapt in Peace (48).

*Chaupâî*, — In this world, call thou him cool, who never uttereth words of anger from his mouth, and who, when pierced in front by sharp arrows of words, never feeleth one trace of wrath (49). *Dôhâ*,—Search ye the seven regions,[19] the nine continents,[20] the three worlds,[21] and ye will find no bliss equal to Peace (50). *Chaupâî*,—Where Peace hath been imparted by the True Teacher, there the root of anger is consumed, as if by fire. Earthly lusts and desires fade away, and this is the mark of Peace (51). Peace is a bliss-giving ocean, whose shining actions holy sages have sung. Him, whose body and soul are rapt in it, no fire of self can burn (52).

*Dôhâ*, — In the fire of self, burneth the whole universe, and only the Holy escape, only because that they have Peace (53). Peace is like unto a mighty water, which when a man toucheth he becometh peaceful, and the fire of self consumeth him not, though (the wicked) try with countless efforts (54). His virtues[22] become glorious as the sun, which when the world seeth it marvelleth; but he who hath once become as water, becometh again not as fire (55).

[16] Sin is of three kinds, and it is committed by thought (*mânasa*), by word (*vâchaka*), or by deed (*kâyaka*).

[17] The expression "cool" has a peculiar significance in a hot climate like India. The poet describes what constitutes "coolness" in the following verses.

[18] The *garala sila* is said to be a stone on smelling which a person bitten by a snake recovers.

[19] The *sapta dvîpa*, *Jambu* and the others.

[20] The *nava khaṇḍa*, *Bharata* and the others, named from the nine sons of *Ṛishabhadêva*.

[21] Earth, heaven and the world of the departed.

[22] Virtues in the sense of "qualities," not "good qualities."

Albeit it is cool, and gentle, pleasure giving, and preserving life, still count not Peace as water,[23] for as fire also are its virtues (56).

*Chaupâî*,— Those mortals ne'er have Peace even in a dream, whose way is that they blaze, they burn, they are angry, they make angry, they spend their lives in love and hate alternately (57). *Dôhâ*, — He is learned, he is skilled, he is wise and holy, he is a hero, he is alert, he is a true warrior (58), he is full of wisdom, he is virtuous, he is generous and full of meditation, whose soul is free from passion and from hate (59).

*Chaupâî*, — The fire of Passion and Hate is extinguished. Lust, anger, desire are destroyed. O Tul'sî, when Peace hath taken up its abode within thee, from thy heart of hearts ariseth a loud cry for mercy (60). *Dôhâ*, — There ariseth a loud cry to the Lord for mercy. Lust and its crew are fled, even as the darkness fleeth ashamed before the arising sun (61).

Good man, hear thou with attention this 'Kindling of Devotion,' and where thou meetest an unfit word, correct it (and forgive the poet) (62).

(3) **Barawê or Barawai Râmâyan.** In the *Barawâ* metre ($6 + 4 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 1 = 19$ *mâtrâs*). In 7 *kâṇḍs* or cantos. *Kâṇḍ* I, *Bâl-kâṇḍ* vv. 1-19. *Kâṇḍ* II, *Ayôdhyâ-kâṇḍ* vv. 20-27. *Kâṇḍ* III, *Âraṇya-kâṇḍ*, vv. 28-33. *Kâṇḍ* IV, *Kishkindhya-kâṇḍ*, vv. 34-35. *Kâṇḍ* V, *Sundar-kâṇḍ*, vv. 36-41. *Kâṇḍ* VI, *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ*, v. 42. *Kâṇḍ* VII, *Uttar-kâṇḍ*, vv. 43-69. A good commentary by Bandan Pâṭhak, another by Baij'nâth, published by Nawal Kishôr, Lucknow. Paṇḍit Sudhâkara Dvivêdî is of opinion that this work is incomplete as it stands now. No other work of the poet is without a *mangala*, or introductory invocation.

After three introductory verses in praise of Sîtâ's beauty, the poem follows the story of the *Râmâyan*, in an extremely condensed and often enigmatic form. Thus, the whole narrative of the *Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍ* is given in two verses, and of the *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ* in one verse; as follows:

*Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍ.*

*Syâma gaura dou mûrati Lachhimana Râma* ।
*Ina tê bhai sita kîrati ati abhirâma* ॥ 1 ॥
*Kujana-pâla guna-barajita akula anâtha* ।
*Kahahu kripâ-nidhi râura kasa guna-gâtha* ॥ 2 ॥

(Hanumân points them out to Sugrîva and says): 'These two forms, one dark and the other fair, are Râma and Lakshmaṇa. They have won (lit. from them is sprung up) a spotless glory, very charming (to him who hears the tale).' (When Râma had killed Bâli, and set Sugrîva on the throne. The latter approached him and said), 'Tell me, Abode-of-mercy, how I can sing thy virtues. I am but a lord of *ku-janas* (monkeys), without a single virtue of my own, of mean birth, and with no protector (except thee).'

*Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ.*

*Bibidha vâhanî vilasata sahita ananta* ।
*Jala-dhi sarisa ko kahai Râmâ bhagawanta* ॥

(On hearing about Sîtâ from Hanumân), the holy Râma (started for Laṅkâ) glorious with an army (*vâhanî* for *vâhinî*) of many kinds (of animals), accompanied by the Serpent of Eternity (*i.e.* Lakshmaṇa who was its incarnation). Who dare say that (the army) was like the sea? (For the sea is destructive, but Râma's army was for the benefit of mankind, as with it he conquered Laṅkâ.)

[23] This requires explanation. The poet has in the last few verses compared Peace with water and contrasted it with fire. But, he says, the comparison must not be carried too far, for water, though it assuages thirst, &c., has but temporary effects, and thirst returns, while the effects of Peace are permanent. On the other hand, fire, though a burning destroyer, is also an universal purifier, and as such resembles Peace.

(4) **Pârbatî-mangal.** The marriage song of Pârvatî. Sixteen stanzas. Each composed of sixteen or twenty-four lines in *Aruṇa*[24] *chhand*, followed by four lines in *Harigîti-chhand*, a total of 360 lines or *charans*.

The poem describes the marriage of Umâ, or Pârvatî, to 'Siva,—well known to readers of the *Kumâra Saṁbhava*. It is a favourite subject with Tul'sî Dâs, (*cf. Râm. Bâ*, 75 and ff.), who makes skilful use of the contrast between the snowy purity and grace of the daughter of the Himâlaya, and the terrifying horrors of 'Siva's appearance. The tale may well be described as telling the legend of the marriage of pure Aryan Nature-worship to the degrading demon-worship of the aborigines of India. The following example describes the approach of 'Siva's gruesome marriage procession to Umâ's home :—

*Bibudha bôli Hari kaheu nikaṭa puru âeu* ।
*Âpana âpana sâju sabahiṅ bilagâeu* ॥ 97 ॥
*Pramatha-nâtha kê sâtha Pramatha-gana râjahiṅ* ।
*Bibidha bhâṅti mukha bâhana bêkha birâjahiṅ* ॥ 98 ॥
*Kamaṭha khapara maḍhi khâla nisâna bajâwahiṅ* ।
*Nara-kapâla jala bhari bhari piahiṅ piâwahiṅ* ॥ 99 ॥
*Bara anuharata barâta banî Hari haṅsi kaha* ।
*Suni hia haṅsatu Mahêsu kêli kautuka maha* ॥ 100 ॥
*Baḍa binôdu maga môdu na kachhu kahi âwata* ।
*Jâi nagara niarâni barâta bajâwata* ॥ 101 ॥
*Pura kharubharu ura harakheu Achalu Akhaṇḍalu* ।
*Paraba udadhi umageu janu lakhi bidhu-maṇḍalu* ॥ 102 ॥
*Pramudita gê agawânu bilôki barâtahi* ।
*Bhabharê banai na rahata na banai parâtahi* ॥ 103 ॥
*Chalê bhâji gaja bâji phirahiṅ nahiṅ phêrata* ।
*Bâlaka bhabhari bhulâna phirahiṅ ghara hêrata* ॥ 104 ॥
*Dînha jâi janawâsa supâsa kiê saba* ।
*Ghara ghara bâlaka bâta kahana lâgê taba* ॥ 105 ॥
*Prêta betâla barâtî bhûta bhayânaka* ।
*Barada chaḍhâ bara bhâura sabai kubânaka* ॥ 106 ॥
*Kusala karai karatâra kahahiṅ hama sâṅchia* ।
*Dêkhaba kôṭi biâha jiata jauṅ bâṅchia* ॥ 107 ॥
*Samâchâra suni sôchu bhaeu mana Mainahiṅ* ।
*Nârada kê upadêsa kawana ghara gai nahiṅ* ॥ 108 ॥
*Chhand.* ॥ *Ghara-ghâla-châlaka kalaha-priya kahiata parama paramârathî* ।
*Taisî barêkhî kînha puni muni sâta swâratha sârathî* ।
*Ura lâi Umahiṅ anêka bidhi jalapati janani dukha mânaî* ।
*Himawânu kaheu Isânu-mahimâ agama nigama na jânaî* ॥ 13 ॥

*('Siva, with his retinue of ghosts and goblins attended by all the other gods, approaches the bride's home. The gods, headed by Vishṇu, can hardly conceal their laughter at his strange array).* Hari addressed the gods and said 'The city is now near. Let us each march separately, each with his own retinue.[25] Goblins will look best in attendance on their lord.' (So 'Siva's

[24] *Aruṇa-chhand.* 20 *mâtrâs*, with pause at the 11th. The last two syllables must be one *mâtrâ* each. The metre is not mentioned by Kellogg, or by Colebrooke in his essay on Sanskrit and Prâkṛit Poetry. It is described in the *Gaṇa-Prastâraka-Prakâśa*, of Râm Dâs Udâsî, which gives the first two lines of the *Pârbatî-mangal* as an example. *Harigîti-chhand*, also called *Mahîsharîc-hhand* is well known. Described by Kellogg on p. 20 of his prosody, not mentioned by Colebrooke. It has seven feet in each line $(4 \times 5) + 6 + 2 = 28$ *mâtras*. Pause at the 16th instant, secondary pause at the 9th. The last syllable of each *charan* must be long. This is the standard of the metre, but there are many varieties, which, while having 28 *mâtras*, with the last syllable of each *charan* long, do not follow the orthodox divisions. This is the case in the *Pârbatî-maṅgal*.

[25] This is simply a piece of mischief on Hari's part, to make Śiva's retinue more ghastly by contrast.

retinue assembled), conspicuous with many kinds of faces, vehicles and dresses. They played on kettle drums made of skin stretched over tortoise-shells or skulls, and filling human skulls with water they drink from them, and give each other to drink. Hari laughing cried, 'Like bridegroom, like procession;' and Mahêśa, as he heard his words, also laughed in his heart at the outlandish contortions of his followers. Sporting mightily they went along the road. No tongue could describe their diversions, as, when the procession neared the city, the music began. When the stir rose in the city, the Unscathed Mountain[26] rejoiced in heart, as the ocean swells when it sees the face of the Moon at its change. The heralds joyfully went forward to meet the God, but when they saw his procession, in terror they could neither stand still nor run away. The elephants and horses fled in dismay and the latter refused to answer to their reins, while the children ran for their lives in terror straight back home. (The procession) was led to its lodging place, where all arrangements for their comfort were made, while in every house the children began to tell (their elders) about their adventures. 'The bridegroom's people are demons, goblins, and frightful ghosts. The bridegroom is a maniac riding on a bull, and of terrible exterior. We declare of a truth, that if God saves us, and we do not die of fright, we shall see countless weddings.' When Mainâ heard the news, grief filled her soul. 'What house hath Nârada's counsel not destroyed?[27]

*Chhand.*—A desolater of homes is he, a lover of strife, though he calls himself a seeker after supreme bliss. So also the seven sages, companions of their own selfish ends, have arranged this marriage.' Full of sorrow the mother lamenting took Umâ to her breast, but Himâlaya said: 'Not even do the Scriptures know the full extent of Śiva's greatness.'

(5) **Jânakî-mangal.** The marriage song of Sîtâ. Twenty-four stanzas, with the same metre as in the *Pârbatî-mangal.* Total 480 lines. The poem describes the journey of Râma with Viśvâmitra from Oudh to Mithilâ, the breaking of Śiva's bow, and Râma's marriage to Sîtâ. The following specimen describes the journey of the young princes, with the saint through the the forest:—

*Giri taru bêli sarita sara bipula bilôkahiṅ* ।
*Dhâwahiṅ bâla-subhâwa bihaga mṛiga rôkahiṅ* ॥ 33 ॥
*Sakuchahiṅ munihi sabhîta bahuri phiri âwahiṅ* ।
*Tôri phûla phala kisalaya mûla banâwahiṅ* ॥ 34 ॥
*Dêkhi binôda pramôda prêma Kausika ura* ।
*Karata jâhiṅ ghana chhâṅha sumana barakhahiṅ sura* ॥ 35 ॥
*Badhî Tâḍakâ Râma jâni saba lâyaka* ।
*Bidyâ mantra rahasya diê muni-nâyaka* ॥ 36 ॥
*Maga-lôganha kê karata suphala mana lôchana* ।
*Gae Kausika âśramahiṅ bipra bhaya-môchana* ॥ 37 ॥
*Mâri nisâchara-nikara jajña karawâeu* ।
*Abhaya kiê muni-bṛinda jagata jasu gâeu* ॥ 39 ॥
*Bipra-sâdhu-sura-kâju mahâmuni mana dhari* ।
*Râmahiṅ chalê liwâi dhanukha-makha misu kari* ॥ 40 ॥
*Gautama nâri udhâri paṭhai pati-dhâmahiṅ* ।
*Janaka-nagara lai gaeu mahâmuni Râmahiṅ* ॥ 41 ॥
*Chhand.* ॥ *Lai gaeu Râmahiṅ Gâdhi-suana bilôki pura harakhê hiê* ।
*Muni-râu âgê lêna âeu sachiwa guru bhûsura liê* ॥
*Nṛipa gahê pâṅya asîsa pâî mâna âdara ati kiê* ।
*Abalôki Râmahiṅ anubhavata janu Brahma sukha sau gunawiê* ॥ 5 ॥

[26] So I translate *achalu akhandalu*, in the sense of Umâ's father, the Himâlaya. It may also be translated 'the firm, the unbroken one,' *i.e.*, Śiva.

[27] Nârada was a great stirrer up of dissension and was the author of the ruin of many families.

The princes looked about them at the mountains, trees, creepers, rivers and large lakes, and in their boyish way ran after the birds and deer to try to catch them. Then remembering in awe the saint, they would turn back to him in fear, and, plucking fruit, flowers and tender twigs, would weave them into garlands. Love filled Viśwâmitra's heart as he watched their playful sport. The clouds cast shade, the gods dropped flowers on them. When Râma had slain Tâḍakâ, the mighty saint knew that he was all-fitted for his task, and imparted to him the mystic charm of knowledge. Satisfying the hearts and eyes of the people on the way, driving away the fears of the holy men, they arrived at Kauśika's hermitage. There the boy prince attacked and defeated the demon army, and gave the hermits security for their sacrifices, while the whole world sang his glory. Then the great saint, intent upon the needs of Brâhmaṇas, saints, and gods, induced Râma to accompany him (to Mithilâ) on the pretext of the sacrifice of the bow. On the way the prince wrought salvation for Ahalyâ, Gautama's wife, sending her to her husband's abode, and then, the great saint conducted Râma to Mithilâ, the city of Janaka.

*Chhand.* The son of Gâdhi (Viśwâmitra) conducted Râma, and gazed upon the city with his heart full-filled with joy. Hearing of his arrival, the king (Janaka) with ministers of state and honorable Brâhmaṇas came forth to meet the lord of saints. The king himself clasped his feet and earned his blessing, showing him hospitable reverence: and then, as his eyes fell upon Râma, he felt as if the Almighty had multiplied his happiness a thousand times.

(6). **Srî Râmâjñâ, or Srî Râmâgyâ, or Râm-Sagunâbalî.** The Commands of the Holy Râma, or The Collections of Râma-omens. Metre *Dôhâ*. In seven *adhyâyas* or lectures, of seven *saptakas* or septads, each containing seven pairs of *dôhâs*. Each *adhyâya* forms a sort of running commentary or summary of the corresponding *kâṇḍa* of the *Râmâyaṇa*. Each verse or pair of *dôhâs* is used as a means of foretelling the success or otherwise of anything undertaken. It is a kind of *Sortes Virgilianæ*. The inquirer takes three handfuls of lotus seed. He counts the first handful out by sevens, and whatever number remains over, is called the number of the *adhyâya*. Again he counts out the second handful in the same way, and whatever is over is the number of the *saptaka*; and similarly, whatever number is over from the third handful is the number of the *dôhâ*. Thus if there are 53 seeds in the first heap, the number of the *adhyâya* is 4 (*i. e.* 49 (= 7 × 7) + 4. If there are 108 in the second heap the number of the *saptaka* is 3 (15 × 7 + 3 = 108), and if there are 15 in the third heap, the number of the *dôhâ* is one. In this case the verse which is to be accepted as an omen is the first verse of the third septad of the fourth lecture. If the number of any handful is exactly divisible by seven, then the remainder is considered to be seven. There are other ways of finding out the verse based on the same principle, which need not be detailed here. The following is a specimen of this work. It is the third septad of the third lecture:—

*Mâyâ-mṛigu pahichâni Prabhu chalê Siya-ruchi jâni* ।
*Bañchaka chôra prapañcha-kṛita saguna kahaba hitahâni* ॥ 1 ॥
*Siya haruna-abasara saguna bhaya sansaya santâpa* ।
*Nâri-kâja hita nipaṭa gata pragaṭa parâbhava pâpa* ॥ 2 ॥
*Gîdha-râja Râvana samara ghâyala bîru birâja* ।
*Sûra sujasu saṅgrâma mahi maranu susâhiba kâja* ॥ 3 ॥
*Râma Lakhanu bana bana bikala phirata Siya-sudhi lêta* ।
*Sûchata saguna bikhâdu baḍa asubha arishṭâ achêta* ॥ 4 ॥
*Raghubara bikula bihaṅgu lakhi sô bilôki dou bîra* ।
*Siya-sudhi kahi Siya Râma kahi tajî dêha mati-dhîra* ॥ 5 ॥
*Dasaratha tê dasa-guna bhagati sahita tâsu kari kaju* ।
*Sôchata bandhu samêta Prabhu kṛipâ-sindhu Raghu-râju* ॥ 6 ॥
*Tulasî sahita sanêha nita sumirahu Sîtâ Râma* ।
*Saguna sumangala subha sadâ âdi madhya parinâma* ॥ 7 ॥

Though he saw through (Mârîcha's disguise as) the false deer, the Lord, knowing Sîtâ's longing, went forth. This must be called a disastrous omen of a deceiving thief, produced by illusion.

The omen of the opportunity for the rape of Sîtâ is one of fear, and doubt, and anguish. Especially in reference to a woman's actions, doth it portend defeat and sin.

The Vulture-king fought with Râvaṇa, and, wounded, shone forth as a hero. In the contest (this is the omen of) the glory of the valiant—that is death in cause of the Good Master.

Râma and Lakshmaṇa wander distraught through the forest, seeking for news of Sîtâ. They point to an omen of great sorrow, of unlucky, senseless misfortune.

When Râma saw the bird (Jaṭâyu, the vulture-king) distraught, and he saw the two heroes, he gave him news of Sîtâ, and, crying 'Sîtâ Râma,' with steadfast soul gave up the ghost. (This is an omen of salvation after death.)

The Lord Râma, the Ocean of pity, performs the funeral ceremonies of that (vulture), whose faith was ten times that of Daśaratha, and with his brother, grieves for the loss of his friend. (This is a good omen for those who believe.)

O Tul'sî, ever meditate with love on Sîtâ and Râma,—an omen ever fortunate and lucky, at the beginning, at the middle, at the end.

The following interesting legend about the composition of the *Râmâgyâ* has been communicated to me by Bâbû Râm Dîn Singh. At that time the Râjâ of Kâśî Râj Ghâṭ in Banâras was a Gahawâr Kshattriya (to whose family the Râjâs of Mâṅṛâ and Kantit now belong). His son went out on a hunting expedition with the army, and one of his people was killed by a tiger. This gave rise to a rumour, which reached the king, that it was the prince who had suffered, and full of anxiety he sent to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ to summon a well-known astrologer named Gangâ Râm Jyôtishî. On the astrologer's arrival he asked him to prophesy the exact time at which the prince should return from his hunting expedition. If his prophesy turned out true he would be rewarded with a *lâkh* of rupees, but, if false, his head would be cut off. Dismayed at this peremptory order, Gangâ Râm asked for time till tomorrow morning to calculate out his answer, and under this pretext obtained permission to return to his house at Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, where he spent some very bad quarters of an hour.

His dearest friend was Tul'sî Dâs, who was living close by in the suburb of Asî, and the two holy men were in the habit of meeting constantly and at the time of evening prayer taking the air in a boat on the river Ganges; accordingly, on this evening, Tul'sî Dâs came in his boat to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, and called out for Gangâ Râm' who, however, was too much occupied with his own unhappy thoughts to notice the cry, though it was repeated again and again. At length Tul'sî sent a boatman to see what was the matter, who returned with a message that the Jyôtishî was just then unwell and would not go out that evening. On hearing this, the poet landed and went to his friend's house, and seeing him in tribulation asked him what was the matter. On being told the cause, Tul'sî Dâs smiled and said, 'Come along. What cause for tribulation is this? I will show you a means of extricating yourself, and of giving a correct reply.' Consoled by these words, and trusting fully to Tul'sî Dâs's almost divine knowledge, Gangâ Râm went out with him and, as usual, offered his evening prayer. On their returning together to Pah'lâd Ghâṭ, after nightfall, Tul'sî Dâs asked for writing materials, but no pen or inkstand, only some paper could be found. So the poet took some catechu out of his betel box for ink, and began to write with a piece of ordinary reed (not a reed pen). He wrote on for six hours without stopping, and named what he had written, *Râmâgyâ*. He gave the manuscript to Gangâ Râm, and showing him how to use it for purposes of divination (as previously, explained) went home to Asî. Gangâ Râm then consulted the oracle, and found that the prince would return all well next evening. Early in the morning he went to Tul'sî Dâs, and told him what he had divined from the manuscript. The poet directed him to go and tell the

Râjâ accordingly. He therefore went to Râj Ghâṭ, and declared to the Râjâ that the prince would return all well that evening. The Râjâ asked at what hour, and the astrologer replied 'one *gharî* before sunset.'[28] Thereupon the Râjâ ordered Gangâ Râm to be kept in confinement till further orders. Sure enough, at the very time predicted by the astrologer the prince returned, and the Râjâ, overcome with joy at his arrival, forgot altogether about the former, and his promised reward. Five or six *gharîs* after nightfall, Gangâ Râm sent word to him that the prince had returned, and asked why he was still in prison. Then the Râjâ remembered and hurriedly calling for him, offered him with much respect the promised *lâkh* of rupees. Gangâ Râm at first replied, 'Mahârâj, neither will I take this money, nor will I ever practice prophecy again. It is too dangerous. A moment's inadvertence may cost me my head.' The Râjâ, full of shame, replied, 'What I said, I said when I was not responsible for my words. Show favour to me by forgetting them, forgiving your humble slave, and accepting this money.' The astrologer at first consented to take a small sum, but the Râjâ would hear no excuse, and insisted on sending him and the whole lâkh, to his home in charge of a guard of soldiers. Gangâ Râm, took the money direct to Tul'sî Dâs at Asî, and laid the whole amount at his feet. The poet asked him why he had brought it. 'Because,' replied the astrologer, 'the money is yours, not mine. Why should I not bring it to you? My life has been saved and the money earned by your grace alone. It is for this reason that I am come to you. It is more than enough for me that my life has been saved.' 'Brother,' said the poet, 'the grace was not mine. All grace cometh from the Holy Lord Râma and his blessed spouse Sîtâ. You and I are friends. Without Râma's grace, who can save whom, and who can destroy whom? Take now away this money to your home, where it will be useful. What need have I of this world's goods?' But Gangâ Râm refused to be persuaded, and these two good and holy men spent the whole night arguing as to who was the rightful owner of the money. At dawn, Tul'sî Dâs was persuaded to keep ten thousand rupees, and helped the astrologer to convey the remaining ninety thousand to the latter's house. With the ten thousand rupees, he built ten temples in honour of Hanumân, with an image of the God in each. These ten temples exist to the present day, and may be known by the fact that they all face south.

Tul'sî Dâs is believed to have composed other works to assist divination,[29] but the one which is admitted on all hands to be authentic is the *Râmâgyâ*, of which the copy written by his own hand, with the reed-pen, and the catechu ink, was in existence at Pah'lâd Ghâṭ up to about thirty years ago. As stated above, a large number of verses of the *Râmâgyâ* are repeated in the *Dôhâbalî*.

*(To be continued.)*

## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

### DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

*(Continued from p. 159.)*

**Ēvaṁ Laṅkādīpē sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō chasu vassasatēsu kiñci aparipuṇṇēsu yēva, Laṅkādīpē bhikkhū tidhā bhinnâti** : tayō nikāyā jātā. Tēsu Mahāvihāravāsinikāyō v'accantaparisuddhō dhammavādī; sēsā dvē nikāyā aparisuddhā adhammavādinō. Tatō paṭṭhāya Laṅkādīpē anukkamēna dhammavādinō appatarā dubbalā; adhammavādinō pana bhikkhū bahutarā balavantā. Te vividhā apaṭipattiyō duppaṭipattiyō vā paṭipajjanti. Tēna sāsanaṁ samalaṁ sakaṇṭakaṁ s'abbudaṁ jātaṁ.

**Laṅkādīpē sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō dvēsattâdhikacatusatâdhikē vassasahassē, Satthuparinibbānatō pana aṭṭh 'uttarasattasatâdhikē vassasahassē vītivattē, Sirisaṅghabōdhi-**

[28] Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî justly points out that this sentence marks the whole story as apocryphal. The *Râmâjñâ* cannot be used for such divination as this. It only discloses good or bad omens for commencing a new work. See *dôhâs* 1-3 of the last septad, where this is clearly stated.

[29] The *Râm Salâkâ* is one.

**Parakkamabāhumahārājassa Laṅkādīpē rajjâbhisēkapattatō aṭṭhārasamē vassē,** rājā apaṭipattiduppaṭipattiyō paṭipajjantānaṁ sāsanâvacarikānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ dassanē, sāsanassa uppanna-mala-kaṇṭak'-abbuda-bhāvaṁ ñatvā: "Yadi mādisō sāsanassa uppanna-mala-kaṇṭak'-abbuda-bhāvaṁ jānitvā pi, yathā sāsanaṁ parisuddhaṁ bhavēyya; tathā byāpāram anāpajjitvā v'upēkkhakō viharēyya; tathā sati Sammāsambuddhē sukara-pēmâbhipasāda-gārava-cittikāra-bahulō na bhavēyya. Appēva nāmâhaṁ **Uduṁbaragirivasī Mahākassapathērapamukhassa** sammapaṭipattipaṭipannassa **dhammavādinō Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghass' upatthambhakaṁ katvā,** yath Āsōkō dhammarājā Mōggaliputtatissamahāthēram upanissayaṁ katvā, vibhajjavādī Sammāsambuddhō ti vadantass' accantaparisuddhassa dhammavādinō mahatō bhikkhusaṅghass' upatthambhakaṁ katvā, sassatâdivādi Sammāsambuddhō ti vadantē aparisuddhē saṭṭhisahassamattē pāpabhikkhū uppabbājētvā, sāsanassa visōdhanaṁ karēyyan ti. Evam ēvâham pi apaṭipatti-duppaṭipattiyō paṭipajjantē aparisuddhē adhammavādinō bahū pāpabhikkhū uppabbājētvā, Mahāvihāravāsinikāyam ēkanikāyam avasēsētvā sāsanavisōdhanaṁ karēyyan ti" cintētvā, tathā katvā, sāsanavisōdhanam akāsi. Bhikkhūnañ ca katikavattaṁ kārāpēsi. Pacchâpi ca **Vijayabāhurājā ca, Parakkamabāhurājā ca,** sāsanavisōdhanatthaṁ katikavattaṁ kārāpēsuṁ.

**Tatō paṭṭhāya Laṅkādīpē** accantaparisuddhassa sammāpatipattipatipannassa **dhammavādinō Mahāvihāravāsibhikkhusaṅghassa pavēṇibhūtō ēkanikāyabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghā yāv 'ajjatanā pavattati.**

**"Tasmā byattē paṭibalē bhikkhū sammad ēvâyācanēn 'ajjhēsētvā, Laṅkādīpē suparisuddham upasampadaṁ sammāharāpētvā, imasmiṁ Rāmaññadēsē patiṭṭhāpētvā,** saddhāsampannānam upasampadâpekkhānaṁ kulaputtanaṁ tad upasampadaṁ gāhāpētvā, sāsanaṁ nirāsaṅk 'upasampadabhāvâpajjanēna parisuddhaṁ pariyōdatāṁ hutvā, yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyanta-pavattanasamatthaṁ karēyyan ti." **Tatō Rāmādhipatirājā Mōggalānathērâdayō bāvisatithērē nimantētvā** ēvam āyāci: "amhākam idāni bhantē, Rāmaññadēsē bhikkhūnam upasampadā sāsaṅkā viya khāyati. Tasmā sāsaṅk'upasampadâdhīnaṁ sāsanaṁ kathaṁ yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyantā ṭhassati? Sīhaḷadīpē ca bhantē, sāsanapatiṭṭhānatō paṭṭhāya yāv' ajjatan 'accantaparisuddhō Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghaparaṁparabhūtō bhikkhusaṅghō pavattati. Yadi bhantē, **tumhe Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā,** Mahāvihāravāsisaṅghaparaṁparabhūtasaṅghatō parisuddhaṁ garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇam uccinitvā, **Sammāsambuddha-dēha-sītali-karaṇaṭṭhānabhūtāya Kalyāṇigaṅgāya sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampadaṁ sammāharēyyātha;** tad upasampadaṁ sāsanabījaṁ katvā, rōpētvā, idha Rāmaññadēsē saddhāsampannānaṁ upasampadâpēkkhānaṁ kulaputtānam upasampad 'aṅkuraṁ nippajjāpēyyāma. Tathā sati sāsanam idaṁ parisuddhaṁ hutvā, yāvapañcavassasahassaparimāṇakālapariyantā ṭhassati.

Sīhaḷadīpagamanañ ca bhantē, tumhākaṁ mahapphalaṁ bhavissati, mahânisaṁsaṁ. Sīhaḷadīpaṁ pattā hi bhantē, tumhē tatha Siridāṭhādhātuñ ca, Ḍakkhiṇasākhâdayō Bōdhirukkhē ca, Ratanacētiyâdīni cētiyāni ca, Samantakūṭapabbatamatthakē ṭhitaṁ Bhagavatō Padavalañjacētiyañ ca, vanditum ca pūjituñ ca lacchēyyātha. Tēna bhantē, tumhākam anappakapuññâbhisandō vaḍḍhissati. Tasmā Sīhaḷadīpagamanāya tumhākaṁ santikē varam āsisāmâti."

Atha tē thērā Sāsanavuḍḍhihētukattā: "Mahārāja, dhammikā tē varâsisā. Sīhaḷadīpagamanañ ca nō accantam ēvânappakō puññâbhisandō vaḍḍhissati. Tasmā varan tē damma, Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gacchissāmâti" vatvā paṭiññam adaṁsu.

Atha rājā thērānaṁ paṭisāsanaṁ labhitvā: paññāsaphala-suvaṇṇaviracitaṁ thūpikôparipatiṭṭhāpitaṁ mahaggh' inda-nīla-maṇimayam ēkaṁ sēlapattañ ca; saṭṭhiphala-suvaṇṇâbhisaṅkhataṁ sâdhārakapidhāna-pattañ ca; tiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇaparikataṁ suvaṇṇabhiṅgārañ ca; tiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇa-sajjitaṁ dvādasakōṇa-taṁbūla-pēṭakañ ca; tēttiṁsaphala-suvaṇṇâbhisaṅkhataṁ cētiyasaṇṭhānaṁ suvaṇṇamayadhātumandirañ ca; phalikamayaṁ dhātumandirañ ca; masāragallasadisa-kācamaṇi-parisaṅkhataṁ dhātumandirañ ca; suvaṇṇamālañ câti; ——etthakaṁ Siridāṭhādhātupūjāsakkāram abhisaṅkari paṭisajji.

Ratanacētiyâdi-cētiya-Pādavalañja-bavīsa-Bōdhirukkha-pūjanatthāya ca: nānāvaṇṇāni pañcâsītivitānāni ca; suvaṇṇalimptē madhusitthamayō paññāsamahādīpō ca; suvaṇṇalimpitē madhusitthamayē paññāsadīpē câbhisaṅkhari.

Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnaṁ mahāthērānam atthāya: sukhumānaṁ kappāsadussānaṁ cattālīsamañjūsē ca; kōsēyyamayāni ca kappāsamayāni ca rattavaṇṇa-pītavaṇṇa-cittavaṇṇa-dhavalavaṇṇavasēna nānāvaṇṇāni vīsatipāvuraṇāni ca; cittavaṇṇāni **Haribhuñjadēsiyāni** vīsatitambūlapētakāni ca; catassō sēlamayakuṇḍikāyō ca; aṭṭha[1] **Cinadēsiyā** cittakuṇḍikāyō ca; vīsati Cinadēsiyā bījaniyo ca paṭisajji.

Api ca Rāmaññadēsissarō dhavalagajapatibhūtō Rāmādhipatirājā Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnam ayyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ sakkaccam abhivādētvā, sandēsapaṇṇam idaṁ nivēdēsi: "Siridāṭhādhātâdipujanatthāya bhantē, mayā pahitēhi pūjāsakkārēhi Siridāṭhādhātādayō pūjētuṁ byāpāraṁ karēyyātha. Sasissēhi bāvīsatiyā thērēhi saddhiṁ pēsitā Citradūta-Rāmadūtâbhidhānā saparijanā Siridāṭhādhātuṁ passituṁ vā, vandituṁ vā, pūjituṁ vā, yathā labhissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāmaṁ karōntu. Siridāṭhādhātu-dassanâbhivādanapūjanāni katvā, sasissā bāvīsati thērā Mahāvihāravāsipavēṇibhūtabhikkhusaṅghatō garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇam uccinitvā, Bhagavatā nahānaparibhōgēna paribhuttāya Kalyāṇīgaṅgāya sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampadaṁ yathā labhissanti; tathā ayyā, vāyāmaṁ karōntûti." Ēvaṁ Sīhaḷadīpavāsīnaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pāhētabbasandēsapaṇṇam abhisaṅkhari.

Sīhaḷissarassa pana Bhūvanēkabāhurājassa: dvisataphala-rūpiy' agghanikē dvē nīlamaṇayō ca; tiṁsâdhikacatusataphal'agghanikē dvē lōhitaṅkamaṇayō ca; dīghakañcukatthāya katāni gīvakkhakaṭinitambapādaṭṭhānēsu parisaṅkhatacittakāni mahagghāni cattāri Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavala-nīlavaṇṇāni bhasmanibhāni purimapupphikāni tīṇi ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavala-nīlavaṇṇāni bhasmanibhāni maṭṭhāni dvē ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; dhavalavaṇṇaṁ maṭṭham ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; haritavaṇṇāni vāyimapupphikāni dvē ghana-Cinapaṭṭāni ca; haritavaṇṇaṁ maṭṭham ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; mēcakavaṇṇāni maṭṭhāni dvē Cinapaṭṭāni ca; pītavaṇṇavāyimapupphikam ēkaṁ ghana-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; rattavaṇṇa-vāyimapupphikamēkaṁ pēlava-Cinapaṭṭañ ca; dhavala-nilavaṇṇaṁ bhasmanibhaṁ vāyimapupphikamēkaṁ pēlava-Cinapaṭṭañ câti: vīsati Cinapaṭṭāni, Pavityâbhidhānabhiyyāni vīsaticitrakōsēyyavatthāni ca; cammakōsâvirahitānaṁ tattarikānaṁ dvēphalasatāni câti;——ētthakaṁ pahēṇakaṁ paṭisaṅkhari. **Sīhaḷissarassa Bhūvanēkabāhurājassa** Sīhaḷavāsikamahāthērānaṁ pahitē sandēsapaṇṇē vuttavacanasadisēna sandēsavacanēna **viracitaṁ suvaṇṇapaṭṭañ ca patisâṅkhari.**

Ēvaṁ rājā yaṁ yattakaṁ paṭisaṅkharitabbaṁ taṁ sabbaṁ paṭisaṅkharitvā, bavīsatithērānaṁ ticīvaratthāya, sukhumakappāsadussānaṁ catucattāḷīsamañjūsāni ca; Marammadēsiyāni uṇṇāmayāni bāvīsatipāvuraṇāni ca; bāvīsaticitracammakhaṇḍāni ca; Haribhuñjadēsiyāni sapidhānāni bāvīsaticitratambūlapēṭakāni ca dātvā; maggantaraparibbayatthāya ca, bhēsajjatthāya ca, bahuṁ dēyyadhammaṁ datvā; tēsaṁ sissabhūtānaṁ pi bāvīsatibhikkhūnaṁ bāvīsati-Kaṭiputtâbhidhānavatthāni ca: Marammadēsiyāni ghanapupphāni bāvīsatipāvuraṇāni ca datvā; **sissēhi saddhiṁ tē bāvīsatithērē Citradūta-Rāmadūtâbhidhānānaṁ dvinnaṁ dūtānam appētvā** yathāvuttaṁ dhātupūjāsakkārañ ca; Sīhaḷiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pāhētabbadēyyadhammañ ca, sandēsapaṇṇañ ca, Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sīhaḷissarassa pahēṇakañ ca, sandēsasuvaṇṇapaṭṭañ ca dūtānaṁ hatthē adāsi. **Bāvīsatigaṇānañ ca thērānam dubbhikkhâdyantarāyē sati, catupaccayam uppādaṁ katvā dātuṁ, suvaṇṇajātakāni dvēphalasatāni dūtānam adāsi. Tatō sasissē Mōggalānathērâdayō ēkādasathērē Rāmadūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhāpēsi. Sasissē Mahāsīvalitherâdayō ēkādasathērē Citradūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhāpēsi.**

## REVERSE FACE OF THE SECOND STONE.

**Atha Rāmadūtâbhiruḷhā nāvā muni-sikhi-nāga-sakkarājē māghamāsassa kāḷapakkhē ēkādasamīyaṁ ādiccavārē Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhatō nikkhamitvā,** samuddaṁ

[1] Cha in MS. (B).

pakkhantā. Citradūtâbhiruḷhā pana nāvā **māghamāsassa kāḷapakkhē dvādasamīyaṁ** candavārē Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhatō nikkhamitvā, samuddaṁ pakkhanditvā, chēkēna nīyamānā, **phaggunamāsassa kāḷapakkhē aṭṭhamīyaṁ Kalambutitthaṁ pattā.**

Tatō Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sîhaḷarājā taṁ pavattiṁ sutvā, phaggunamāsassa kāḷapakkh' upōsathadivasē, tēsam ēkādasannaṁ thērānaṁ Citradūtassa ca paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētvā, Rāmādhipatimahārājēna dhavalagajapatikuladappaṇēna sammānūnam atidhavalatarasaṅkhakunda-kumuda-sarada-candikā-samāna-gajapati-bhūtēna saddhâdyanēkaguṇagaṇasamaṅginā pahitasandēsapaṇṇabhūtaṁ Citradūtēn' ānitaṁ suvaṇṇapaṭṭaṁ vācāpētvā, ativiya pītisōmanassajātō. Thērēhi ca Citradūtēna ca sammōdanīyaṁ kathaṁ sārāṇīyaṁ vītisārētvā, sayam ēva vuṭṭhahitvā, kappūrēna saddhiṁ tambūladānaṁ katvā, thērānaṁ nivāsanaṭṭhānañ ca piṇḍapātapaccayañ ca dāpētvā, Citradūtassa ca nivāsanaṭṭhānañ ca paribbayañ ca dāpēsi.

Punadivasē Citradūto Rāmādhipatimahārājēna pahitadēyyadhammēna saddhiṁ Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ sandēsapaṇṇam adāsi. Atha tē mahāthērā : " yathā Rāmādhipatimahārājassa ruccati, tathā karissāmâti " paṭiññam akaṁsu.

Tatō Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā ēkādasathērā, Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānaṁ assampattattā : "yāv' ētē sampāpuṇissanti, tāva mayaṁ Sīhaḷaraññō āyācitvā[2] (idh'ēva Laṅkādīpē vasissāmâti cintētvā tath'ēva Sīhaḷaraññō āyācitvā, tēsaṁ Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānam āgamanam āgamanto vasiṁsu.

Atha Rāmadūtâbhiruḷhā nāvā)[2] Anurādhapuragāmimaggēnâgatattā cavitvā, gamanakālē paṭilōmavātēnâgatattā kicchēna kasirēna gantvā, **citramāsassa sukkapakkhē navamīyam ādiccavārē Valligāmaṁ sampattā.**

**Tasmiṁ pana Valligāmē Garavi nāma Sīhaḷiyâmaccō raññō dāmarikakammaṁ katvā paṭivasati.** Tassā nāvāya sampattakālē pana, Sīhaḷaraññō kaniṭṭhabhātā nāvâbhiruḷhō yōdhâbhiruḷhāhi bahunāvāhi saddhiṁ, tēna dāmarikâmaccēna sadhiṁ yujjhanatthāyâbhiyāsi. Tatō sō amaccō bhītō patiyujjhituṁ asakkōntō, tamhā gāmā nikkhamitvā palāyitvā, vanaṁ pāvisi. Tatō raññō kaniṭṭhabhātā Valligāmaṁ labhitvā paṭivasati. Dāmarikassa panâmacassa sēnikārayōdhānaṁ Valligāmassa 'ca Jayavaḍḍhananagarassa c'antarā tasmiṁ tasmiṁ thānē nilīyitvā, 'gatâgatānaṁ janānam antarāyakarattā, thērēsu ca Rāmadūtē ca Jayavaḍḍhananagaraṁ gantum icchantēsu pi, raññō kaniṭṭhabhātā tēsa ōkāsaṁ nâdāsi. **Tasmiṁ pana nāga-sikhināga-sakkarāja-bhūtē saṁvaccharē durāsaḷhabhāvā paṭhamâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapakkhē dutiyāyaṁ tithiyam ēv' ōkāsaṁ labhitvā, thērā ca Rāmadūtō ca Valligāmatō nikkhamitvā, maggantaragamânēna pañcadivasāni vītināmētvā, aṭṭhamīyaṁ Jayavaḍḍhananagaraṁ sampattā.**

Tatō Bhūvanēkabāhu Sīhaḷamanujindō thērānaṁ Rāmadūtassa c'āgamanapavattiṁ sutvā, paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētvā, Rāmadūtēna samānitaṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājassa suvaṇṇapṭṭaṁ vācāpētvā, pamuditahadayō vuttanayēn' ēva kattabbapaṭisanthāraṁ katvā, thērānaṁ Rāmadūtassa ca piṇḍapātañ ca paribbayañ ca dāpētvā, nivāsanaṭṭhānam adāsi.

Punadivasē Rāmadūtō Haṁsavatīpurâdhipēna raññā pahitaṁ dēyyadhammañ ca sandēsapaṇṇañ ca Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānam adāsi. Tē sabbē pi mahāthērā Citradūtassa viya Rāmadūtassâpi paṭiññam adaṁsu.

Tatō param ēkamāsē vītivattē, Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā Anurādhapurâgatā thērā Ratanacētiyañ ca, Maricivatticētiyañ ca, Thūpârāmacētiyañ ca, Abhayagiricētiyañ ca, Silācētiyañ ca, Jetavanacētiyañ ca, Dakkhiṇasâkhaṁ Mahābōdhirukkhañ ca vanditvā, Lōhapāsadañ ca passitvā, tēsu tēsu cētiyaṅgaṇēsu kattabbaṁ tiṇalatāvanapākārâpaharaṇakiccaṁ sāmatthiyā 'nurūpatō katvā, pūjāsakkārapubbakaṁ vattapaṭipattiṁ pūrētvā, paccāgantvā, Jayavaḍḍhananagaraṁ sampattā.

[2] Lacuna supplied from MS. (A).

Tatō Sīhaḷarājā nāvādvayâbhiruḷhā sabbē pi thērā samāgatā tēsaṁ Siridāṭhādhātuṁ dassētuñ ca, vandāpētuñ ca, kālō sampattō ti mantvā, **dutiyâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapâkkhassa pāṭipadabhūtē ādiccavārē vass'upanāyikadivasē,** sabbaṁ Siridāthādhātumandirapāsādam alaṅkārāpētvā, cēlavitānaṁ bandhāpētvā, gandha-dīpa-dhūmamālāhi pūjāpētvā, Sīhaḷadēsiyē mahāthērē ēkamantaṁ vasāpētvā, sasissē nāvādvayâbhiruḷhē bāvīsatimahāthērē ca nimantāpētvā, Citradūta-Rāmadūtē ca pakkōsāpētvā, suvaṇṇamayamandirē Siridāṭhādhātuṁ nīharāpētvā, te bāvīsatithērē ca Citradūta-Rāmadūtē ca passāpēsi, vandāpēsi, pūjāpēsi. Tatō Sīhaḷarājā Rāmādhipatiraññō sandēsam anussaritvā, tēna pahitē suvaṇṇamayadhātumandirē Siridāṭhādhātuṁ ṭhapāpētvā, tass' upari sētachattaṁ dhārāpētvā, dhātuyā pūritaṁ suvaṇṇamayapattañ ca, suvaṇṇamayabhiṅgārañ ca, suvaṇṇamayaṁ dvādasakōṇaṁ tambūlapēṭakañ ca, ṭhapāpētvā, bāvīsatithērānañ ca, Citradūta-Rāmadūtānañ ca dassētvā: "tumhē ca bhantē, Citradūta ca, Rāmadūta ca, Sētagajapatissa yathā sandēsâkāraṁ mē jānantûti'' āha. Tatō paraṁ Sīhaḷarājā: "Sētagajapatissa yathā sandēsaṁ karissāmîti," Sīhaḷiyâmaccē āṇāpētvā, nahānaparibhōgēna Bhagavatā paribhuttāya Kalyāṇīgaṅgāya nāvāsaṅghātaṁ kārāpētvā, tass' upari pāsādaṁ kārāpētvā cēlavitānaṁ bandhāpētvā, nānāvidhaṁ pi vitānōlambanaṁ kārāpēsi. **Vidāgamamahāthērañ** ca Mahāvihāravāsipavēṇibhūtabhikkhusaṅghatō pi garahaparūpavādamattavirahitaṁ gaṇam uccināpēsi. Tadā Vidāgamamahāthērō **Dhammakittimahāthēra-Vanaratanamahāthēra-Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēra-Sīhaḷarājayuvarājâcariyathērâdikaṁ** catuvīsatiparimāṇaṁ gaṇam uccini. Evaṁ rājā nāvāsaṅghātaṁ paṭisajjāpētvā, gaṇañ c' uccināpētvā, **dutiyâsaḷhamāsassa kāḷapakkhē ēkādasamīyaṁ buddhavārē** Dhammakittimahāthērâdayō kammakārakē catuvīsatibhikkhū nimantāpētvā, nāvāsaṅghāṭam abhirūhāpētvā, tēsaṁ catucattālīsānaṁ Rāmaññadēsiyānaṁ bhikkhūnam upasampādanaṁ kārāpēsi.

Tatō Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ pubbē paradēsatō āgatâgatānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ upasampadadānakālē yathāciṇṇânurūpaṁ tē catucattālīsa-Rāmaññabhikkhū gihībhāvē patiṭṭhāpētvā, **puna Vanaratanamahāthērō** kāsāyadāna-saraṇagamanadāna-vasēna pabbājētvā sāmaṇērabhūmiyaṁ patiṭṭhāpēsi.

**Tatō paraṁ buddhavārassa rattiyaṁ, Mōggalānathērō ca, Kumārakassapathērō ca, Mahāsīvalithērō ca, Sāriputtathērō ca, Ñāṇasāgarathērō câti: pañca thērā catuvīsatiparimāṇassa gaṇassa santikē Dhammakittimahāthēram upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēram ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Dvādasamīyaṁ pana guruvārassa rattiyaṁ, Sumanathērō ca, Kassapathērō ca, Nandathērō ca, Rāhulathērō ca, Buddhavaṁsathērō ca, Sumaṅgalathērō ca, Khujjanandathērō ca, Sōṇuttarathērō ca, Guṇasāgarathērō ca, Dhammarakkhitathērō câti: dasathērā pana Vanaratanamahāthēram upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēram ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Tatō paraṁ tērasamīyaṁ sukkavārassa divākalē, Cūḷasumaṅgalathērō ca, Javanapaññāthērō ca, Cūḷakassapathērō ca, Cūḷasīvalithērō ca, Maṇisārathērō ca, Dhammarājikathērō ca, Candanasārathērō câti: satta pi thērā Vanaratanamahāthēram upajjhāyaṁ, Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēram ēv' âcariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā. Tatō paraṁ cuddasamīyaṁ sannivārē, tēsaṁ sissā bāvīsatidaharabhikkhū Pañcaparivēṇavāsi-Maṅgalathēram upajjhāyaṁ, Sīhaḷarājayuvarājâcariyathēram ācariyaṁ, katvā, upasampannā.**

Tatō Sīhaḷarājā upasampannē bāvīsati-Rāmaññathērē nimantētvā, bhōjētvā; bhōjanâvasānē ēkam ēkassa ticīvarañ ca, **Gōcaratidēsiyam** ēkam ēkaṁ sāṇiñ ca, vitānañ ca, sīharasēna lēkhitam ēkam ēkaṁ citracammakhaṇḍañ ca, chēkēna cundakārēnâbhisaṅkhataṁ hatthidantamayam ēkam ēkaṁ tālavaṇṭabījaniñ ca, ēkam ēkaṁ tambūlapēṭakañ ca, datvā, pun' āha: "**Jambudīpaṁ bhantē,** tumhē gantvā, **Haṁsavatīpurē** sāsanam ujjōtayissatha. Aññadēyyadhammadānēna mē bhantē, kitti na hōti: sati kāraṇē khippam ēva nassanadhammatā. Tasmā idānâhaṁ tumhākaṁ nāmapaññattidānaṁ dadēyyaṁ. Evaṁ bhantē, tumhākaṁ yāvatâyukaṁ sā ṭhassatîti'' vatvā, Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ: **Mōggalānathēra-Kumārakassapathēra-Ñāṇasāgarathēra-Buddhavaṁsathēra-Nandathēra-Rāhulathēra-Sumaṅgalathēra-Dhammarakkhitathēra-Cūḷasumaṅgalathēra-Kassapathēra-Maṇisārathēra-**saṅkhātānam ēkādasannaṁ thērā-

naṁ: Sirisaṅghabōdhisāmi-Kittisirimēghasāmi-Parakkamabāhusāmi-Buddhaghōsasāmi-Sīhaḷadīpavisuddhasāmi-Guṇaratanadharasāmi-Jinālaṅkārasāmi-Ratanamālisāmi-Saddhammatējasāmi-Dhammārāmasāmi-Bhūvanēkabāhusāmîti kamēn' ēkādasanāmānidatvā; Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhānañ ca: **Mahāsīvalithēra-Sāriputtathēra-Sumanathēra-Cūlakassapathēra-Cūlanandathēra-Sōṇuttarathēra-Guṇasāgarathēra-Javanapaññāthēra-Cūḷasīvalithēra-Dhammarājikathēra-Candanasārathēra**-saṅkhātānam ekādasannaṁ thērānaṁ: Tilōkagurusāmi-Sirivanaratanasāmi-Maṅgalathērasāmi-Kalyāṇītissasāmi-Candanagirisāmi-Siridantadhātusāmi-Vanavāsitissasāmi-Ratanālaṅkārasāmi-Mahādēvasāmi-Udumbaragirisāmi-Cūḷābhayatissasāmîti kamēn' ēkādasanāmānī adāsi.

Tatō pana Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhā ēkādasathērā Rāmadūtēna saddhiṁ Jayavaḍḍhanatō nikkhamitvā, Valligāmam ēva paccāgatā. Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā pan' ēkādasathērā Samantakūṭapabbatamatthakē ṭhitaṁ Siripadâbhidhānaṁ Padavalañjacētiyaṁ vanditvā, Jayavaḍḍhanam ēva paccāgatā. **Valligāmapaccāgatā** pan' ētē 'kādasathērā **bhaddamāsassa sukkapakkhē dutiyāyaṁ buddhavārē, nāvâbhiruḷhā paccāgantvā, bhaddamāsassa kāḷapakkhe dutiyāyaṁ guruvārē, Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhaṁ pattā.**

Atha khō **Rāmādhipatirājā** Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhānaṁ thērānaṁ Yōgâbhidhānanadīmukhasampatta-pavattiṁ sutvā: "nakhōpan 'ētaṁ patirūpaṁ, yaṁ mayam ajjhēsitānaṁ Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā, upasampadasammāharikānaṁ thērānaṁ yēna kēnaci parijanēna pēsētvā, paccuggamanaṁ kārāpētuṁ. Appēva nāmâhaṁ sāmaṁ yēva **Tigumpanagaraṁ** gantvā, tēsahassatulāparimāṇakaṁsûpasajjitaṁ mahāghaṇṭaṁ jīvamānaka-Sammāsambuddha-kēsadhātu-cētiyassa assayujapuṇṇamīyaṁ mahāpavāraṇadivasē pūjēyyaṁ, tatō nivattētvā thērānaṁ paccuggamanaṁ karēyyan ti' cintētvā: "yāvâhaṁ Tigumpanagaraṁ pāpuṇissāmi; tāva bhaddantā Tigumpanagarē yēva vasantûti" sandēsapaṇṇaṁ datvā, thērānaṁ vasanaṭṭhānañ ca, piṇḍapātañ ca, paṭisaṅkharāpētvā, samuddagāminiyā jōṅgānāvāy' ōrōhāpētvā, nadīgāminiyō nāvāyō 'bhirūhāpētvā, Tigumpanagarē vasāpēsi.

Citradūtanāvâbhiruḷhā pan' ēkādasathērā ——" Sētagajapatissa bhantē, Rāmādhipatimahārājass' aññēhi pahita-paṇṇākārēhi, saha mama pitu-Parakkamabāhumahārājassa niccavalañjitasataphala-parimāṇaṁ phussarāgavajiramaṇiparikataṁ Siridāṭhādhātubimbasaṅkhātaṁ dhammikapaṇṇākāraṁ pahiṇituṁ dūtaṁ pēsētum icchāmi; yāva tassa dūtassa nāvā niṭṭhitaparikammā hutvā, tumhākaṁ nāvāya saddhim ēkatō gantuṁ labhissati, tāv' āgamēthâti" Sīhaḷarājēna vuttattā niyamacintânurūpē Rāmaññadēsa-paccāgamanayōgyē yuttakālē paccāgantuṁ nâlabhiṁsu. Tatō Citradūtēna saddhim ēkādasasu thērēsu Sīhaḷaraññō dūtam āgamantēsu yēva Kalambutitthē pāsāṇ'ōlambakaṁ katvā, ṭhapitaṁ janakāyâbhiruḷhaṁ jōṅgāmahānāvaṁ parādhâbhidhānō viruddhamahāvātō uṭṭhahitvā, samuddē ōsīdāpēsi. Atha khō Sīhaḷarājā Citradūtanāvāya samuddôsīdanapavattiṁ sutvā, thērē Citradūtañ c'ēvam āha: "yadi tumhākaṁ nāvā n'atthi, mama dūtēna saddhim ēkanāvam abhirūhitvā, paccāgacchēyyāthâti." Tatō thērā ca saparijanō Citradūtō ca Sīhaḷarājassa dūtēna saddhim ēkanāvâbhiruḷhā Kalambutitthatō nikkhamitvā, bāhirasamuddagāminā maggēna āgantvā, Sīhaḷadīpa-Jambudīpānam antarā **Sillamabhidhānasamuddagāminā** maggēna paccāgatā. Atha Kalambutitthatō nikkhamantānaṁ tēsaṁ nāvā rattittayē vītivattē, viruddhamahāvātēna phalitattā samuddôdakanimuggānaṁ pāsāṇasiṅgānam antarā laggitvā, patiṭṭhitā. Atha nāvâbhiruḷhā sabbē janā pāsāṇasiṅgānam antarā patiṭṭhitāya nāvāya nīharitum asakkōṇēyyabhāvaṁ ñatvā, yattakā nāvāya vēḷudārudabbasambhārā santi, tē sabbē gahētvā, uḷumpaṁ katvā, tatrâbhiruḷhā Jambudīpatīrass' āsannabhāvēna, **Jambudīpaṁ pattā.**

Tadā Sīhaḷarājadūtō paṇṇākārānam abhāvēna Sīhaḷadīpam ēva paccāgantum ārabhi. Thērā pana Citradūtō ca pattikā va yēna **Nāgapaṭṭanaṁ** tēn' upasaṅkamiṁsu; upasaṅkamitvā Nāgapaṭṭanē Padarikārāmavihāravatthuṁ passitvā, Hēmamālā-Daṇḍakumārâbhidhānānam ubhinnaṁ jāyāpatikānaṁ Siridāṭhādhātuyā Laṅkādīpânayanakālē, samuddatīrē dhātupatiṭṭhān'ōkāsē **Cinadēsissarēna mahārājēna kārāpitāya mahāguhāya, Buddhapaṭimaṁ vanditvā**, yēna disābhāgēna **Nāvuṭâbhidhānapaṭṭanaṁ** tad' avasariṁsu. **Tasmiṁ pana paṭṭanē Mālimparakāyâ-**

**bhidhānō ca Pacchaḷiyâbhidhānō câti: dvē paṭṭanâdhikārinō saṁvaccharē saṁvaccharē dvīhi nāvāhi vāṇijjatthāya parijanē pēsētvā,** Rāmādhipatimahārājassa paṇṇākāraṁ pahitattā, tēna Rāmādhipatimahārājēna katapaṭisanthārattā ca, Rāmādhipatimahārājini samupāsanti. Tēna thērānaṁ cīvarañ ca, piṇḍapātañ ca datvā, vasanaṭṭhānaṁ datvā, samupāsēsuṁ. Citradūtassa ca paribbayañ ca nivāsanavatthañ câdaṁsu. "Nāvāgamanakālē yēv' amhākaṁ bhantē, nāvâbhiruḷhā Sētagajapatissa sakāsam ayyā gacchantûti." Atha khō Tilōkaguruthērō ca, Ratanālaṅkārathērō ca, Mahādēvathērō ca, Cūḷābhayatissathērō câti: cattāro thērā catūhi bhikkhūhi saddhiṁ tēsaṁ santikē pativasiṁsu. Avasēsā pana sattathērā: "sattabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ **Kōmālapaṭṭanē** nāvam abhirūhissāmâti" Kōmālapaṭṭanaṁ gantvā vasiṁsu.

**Buddha-sikhi-nāga-sakkarājē pana visākhāmāsassa sukkapakkhē catutthīyaṁ buddhavārē** Tilōkaguruthērō ca, Ratanālaṅkārathērō ca, Māhādēvathērō câti: tayō thērā Mālimparakāyâbhidhānapaṭṭanâdhikāranāvâbhiruḷhā, Cūḷābhayatissathērō pana Pacchaḷiyâbhidhānapaṭṭanâdhikāranāvâbhiruḷhō, Nāvutâbhidhānapattanatō pakkhantā. Tēsu pana tayō thērā thērattayâbhiruḷhāya nāvāya **visākhāmāsassa kāḷapakkhē dvādasamīyaṁ sukkavārē Nāgarāsipabbat'ōkkantanadīmukhapattattā, jēṭṭhamāsassa sukkapakkhē pāṭipadadivasē aṅgāravārē, Kusimanagaraṁ sampāpuṇiṁsu.** Cūḷābhayatissathērō **āsaḷhamāsassa sukkapakkhē tērasamīyam aṅgāravārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ sampāpuṇi.**

Kōmālapaṭṭanaṁ gantvā sattabhikkhūhi saha vasantēsu sattasu pana thērēsu Maṅgalathēro nijasissēna bhikkhunā ca, Vanaratanathērasissēna bhikkhunā ca, Siridantadhātuthērasissēna bhikkhunā ca, **rūpa-vēda-nāga-sakkarājē bhaddamāsassâmāvāsiyaṁ buddhavārē, Bindaityâbhidhānanāvikanāvâbhiruḷhō, Kōmālapaṭṭanatō nikkhamitvā, kattikamāsassa sukkapakkhe pāṭipadadivasē sukkavārē Nāgarāsipabbat'ōkkantanadīmukhaṁ patvā, ēkādasamīyaṁ candavārē Kusimanagaraṁ patvā, kattikamāsassa kaḷapakkhē cuddasamīyaṁ sukkavārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ sampāpuṇi.**

Avasēsā pana chathērā catūhi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ sabbasattānaṁ kammadāyādattā akusalakammapatham atikkamitum asamatthattā, aniccataṁ pāpuṇiṁsu. Ahō sabbasaṅkhārā aniccâ ti!

## OBVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

**Nāga-sikhi-nāga-parimāṇē yēva pana sakkarājē, 'Rāmādhipatimahārājā** mahāghaṇṭaṁ **Kēsadhātuchētiyassa** pūjanatthāya **assayujamāsassa sukkapakkhē aṭṭhamīyaṁ guruvārē** nāvāsaṅghāṭôparipaṭisaṅkhatasuvaṇṇakūṭâgārâbhiruḷho bahūhi indavimānâbhidhānâdisuvaṇṇanāvāpamukhāhi nāvāhi purakkhato kamēna gacchanto, yēna **Tigumpanagaraṁ tad avasari.** Tigumpanagaraṁ sampattakālē pana **assayujamāsassa sukkapakkhē tērasamīyam aṅgāravārē,** Rāmadūtanāvâbhiruḷhē 'kādasathērē nimantētvā, nān' aggarasabhōjanēna santappētvā sampavārētvā, ticīvaratthāya c' ēk' ēkassa dvē dvē dussayugē datvā, kattabbapaṭisanthārañ ca katvā, nivāsanaṭṭhānam ēva patāṇāpēsi.

Tatō Rāmādhipatimahārājā tīṇi divasāni mahāsamajjaṁ kārāpētvā, mahāpavāraṇādivasē guruvārē taṁ mahāghaṇṭaṁ Kēsadhātucētiyassa pūjanatthāya cētiyaṅgaṇam ārōpāpēsi. Pāṭipadadivasē sukkavārē pana, Tigumpavāsīnaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ dānaṁ datvā, kapaṇi 'ddhikavanibbakānañ ca dātabbaṁ dēyyadhammaṁ dāpētvā, kāḷapakkhē tatiyāyam ādiccavārē 'kādasanāvāyō sakkaccam alaṅkārāpētvā, paccuggamanatthāya amaccē thērānaṁ santikam appēsi. Ēvaṁ Rāmādhipatirājā thērānaṁ paccuggamanavidhiṁ sajjitvā, catutthīyaṁ candavārē pātō va, Tigumpanagaratō apakkamitvā, kamēna gacchantō aṭṭhamīyaṁ sukkavārē Haṁsavatīnagaraṁ patvā, niccâvāsâgārabhutaṁ ratanamandiraṁ pāvisi. Thērē pana **Mahābuddharūpâsannatitthē** yēv'ēkâhaṁ vasāpētvā, dasamīyam ādiccavārē bahunāvāyō sammāpaṭisaṅkharāpētvā, nānādhajapatākāhi sabbatālâvacarēhi ca saddhiṁ amaccâdayō pēsētvā, thērē paccuggāhāpētvā, ratanamandiram ārūhāpēsi.

Tatō pana tē therā ratanamandirâbhidhānaṁ rājamandiraṁ patvā, Siridāṭhādhātulimpitacandanacuṇṇakaraṇḍakañ ca; Siridāṭhādhātubimbañ ca; Bōdhirukkhasākhāpattabījāni ca;

sāsanavisōdhakassa Sirisaṅghabōdhi-Parakkamabāhumahārājassa ca, Vijayabāhumahārājassa ca, Parakkamabāhumahārājassa ca, sāsanasōdhanavidhidīpakaṁ; bhikkhūhi paṭipajjitabbānaṁ tēna tēna raññā bhikkhusaṅgham āyācētvā, kārāpitānaṁ katikavattānañ ca dīpakaṁ; Sīhaḷadēsiyēhi thērēhi pahiṇitvā dinnakatikavattapōṭṭhakañ ca; sandēsapaṇṇañ ca; Vanaratanamahāthērēna viracitaṁ gāthābandhañ ca; Bhūvanēkabāhu-Sīhaḷarājassa sandēsapaṇṇañ ca; Rāmādhipatimahārājāssâdaṁsu. Evaṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājā thērēhi saddhiṁ kattabbapaṭisanthāraṁ katvā, thērē 'kādasâpi 'paccēkaṁ amaccē āṇāpētvā, bahūhi dhajapaṭākēhi sabbatālâvacarēhi ca saddhiṁ, sakaṁ sakaṁ vihāraṁ pahiṇāpēsi.

Tatō paraṁ Rāmādhipatimahārājass' ētad ahōsi: "Imē pan' ēkādasathērā Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā, tatō parisuddh'upasampadaṁ gahētvā samāyātā. Imasmiṁ ca Haṁsavatīnagarē parisuddhabaddhasimā vā, nadīlakkhaṇapattā mahānadī va, jātassaralakkhaṇapattō mahājātassarō vā suvisōdhanīyaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ vā, n' atthi. Kattha nu khō pan' imē thērā upōsathâdisaṅghakammam upasampadakammaṁ vā kātuṁ labhissanti? Yaṁ nunâhaṁ surakkhanīyaṁ khuddakaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ pariyēsētvā, tatth' ēkaṁ baddhasimam imēhi yēva thērēhi sammad ēva bandhāpēyyaṁ. Tathā sati tatth' ētē thērā upōsathâdisaṅghakammam upasampadakammaṁ vā kātuṁ labhissantîti." Atha khō Rāmādhipatirājā parijanē pēsētvā tathārūpaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ pariyēsāpēsi. Tatō raññō parijanā pariyēsitvā, Mudhavâbhidhānassa mahācētiyassa pacchimadisāyaṁ vanapariyantē Narasūrâmaccassa gāmakhēttaṁ khuddakaṁ surakkhanīyan ti ñatvā raññō tath' ārōcēsuṁ. Tatō rājā sayam ēva gantvā taṁ ṭhānam ōlōketvā, surakkhanīyam idaṁ gāmakhēttaṁ paṭirūpam; ēttha simāsammannan ti cintētvā, tatth' ēkasmiṁ padēsē bhūmiṁ sōdhāpētvā, sammannitabbasimaṭṭhānaṁ sallākkhētvā, vēmajjhē ēkaṁ sālaṁ kārāpētvā, sālāy' antō ca bahi sālāya sammannitabbasimaṭṭhānañ ca tatō bahi pi yathārucitakaṁ kiñci padēsaṁ harit'upalittaṁ kārāpētvā, samantatō catūsu disāsu vatiṁ kārāpētvā, sakavāṭaṁ catudvāraṁ yōjāpēsi. Tassa gāmakhēttassa ca samantatō aññēhi gāmakhēttēhi saṅkaradōsaṁ pahārituṁ, hēṭṭhā bhūmiyañ c' upari ākāsē ca rukkhasākhâdi-sambandham avacchinditvā, vidatthimattagambhīravitthāraṁ khuddakamātikaṁ khaṇāpēsi. Simāsammannaṭṭhānatō pana pacchimadisāyam avidūrē saṅghakammakārakānam ēkādasannaṁ thērānaṁ vihārañ ca bhattasālañ ca nahānakōṭṭhakañ ca vaccakuṭiñ ca kārāpētvā, tē nimantētvā vasāpēsi.

Tatō paraṁ puna pi Rāmādhipatirājā cintēsi: "kiñcâp' ēkādasathērā saddhim ēkādasahi sissabhūtēhi daharabhikkhūhi Sīhaḷadīpatō accantaparisuddham upasampadaṁ gahētvā, samāyātā; tathâpi' mē sasissā thērā garahaparūpavādamattasambhāvâbhāvavicāraṇavasēna parivīmaṁsitabbā va. Yē pana tēsu garahaparūpavādamattasahitā tēsam accantaparisuddh' upasampadabhāvē pi simāsammutiyā gaṇabhāvē parivajjanam ēv' amhākaṁ ruccati: simāya sāsanamūlabhāvatō hi; suddh' upasampadānaṁ pi garahaparūpavādamattasahitānaṁ simāsammutiyā gaṇabhāvē sati garahaparūpavādamattassâyatiṁ sāsanapaccatthikānaṁ ukkōṭanakāraṇabhāvatō câti."

*(To be continued.)*

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# FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.[1]

*No. 18.—The Sleeping Nasīb.*

Once upon a time there lived two brothers, one of whom was possessed of ample means, while the other was utterly destitute, but the rich brother would not so much as give a handful of barley to save his brother and his poor family from starvation. One day the rich brother had occasion to give a large feast in honour of the nuptials of his children, and although he had invited a large number of his friends to it, he had not so much as sent a servant to ask his brother and his family to join them.

Now the poor brother, who had been long out of work, had exhausted all his resources, so that on the day of the feast he and his family had not a morsel of anything to eat, and

[1] For a variant of this tale, see *ante*, Vol. XVII. page 13. *Nasīb* means 'luck, good fortune.'

this had been their state for two or three days past. Towards evening therefore he said to his wife: "Go, wife, and see if you can bring us some of the leavings of the feast. There must be some bones and crumbs left in the pots and dishes; so make haste and do bring us something." The poor woman accordingly went round to the back of her rich relative's house. But she saw at a glance that she was too late, as the pots and pans had already been scrubbed clean, and that there was, therefore, no chance of her getting anything. Just then she saw some white fluid in a large tub, and knew that it was the water in which the rice for the feast had been washed. So she begged of the servants to let her have some of it; but the mistress of the house, who happened to come up at the time, forbade them to give her anything at all. "Even this water has its uses," said she, "and it must not be wasted," and she relentlessly turned her back on her poor relative, who had to walk home to her unfortunate little ones empty-handed.

When she told her husband how she had been treated by his brother's wife, he was beside himself with rage and disappointment, and swore that he would go that very night to the rich barley fields of his brother and bring away some sheaves of barley, in spite of him, to make bread with for his starving little ones. So he took a scythe, and under cover of night stole noiselessly out of his house, and walked up to his brother's barley fields. But just as he was entering one, his further progress was arrested by somebody, who looked like a watch-man, loudly asking him what he wanted.

"I am come here to take home some barley from this field of my brother, since he is determined not to give me anything, although my children are actually dying for want of food. But who are you, to put yourself thus in my way?"

"**I am your brother's nasîb (luck),** placed here to guard his possessions, and I cannot let you have anything that belongs to him!" was the stern reply.

"My brother's *nasîb* indeed!" exclaimed the poor man in surprise; "then, where on earth has **my nasîb** stowed himself away that he would not help me to procure the means of subsistence for my starving wife and children?"

"**Thy nasîb** !" said the other mockingly; "why, he **lies sleeping beyond the seven seas**: go thither if thou wouldst find and wake him!"

So the poor fellow had to trudge back home just as he had come. The words of his brother's *nasîb*, however, jarred on his memory, and he could not rest till he had told his wife of his interview with that strange being. She, in her turn, **urged him to go and find out his nasîb,** and see if he could wake him from his slumbers, as they had suffered long enough from his lethargy.

The husband agreed to this, and the wife borrowed, or rather begged, some barley of her neighbours, ground it, and made it into bread, over which the poor starving children and the unfortunate parents broke their four days' fast. The poor father then took leave of his family, and set out on his journey.

He had proceeded about twelve *kôs*, or so, when he again felt the pangs of hunger, and sat down under the spreading shade of a tree to eat a loaf or two of the bread that his wife had reserved for his journey. Just then, a little mango dropped at his feet from the tree, and on looking up, he saw that he was under a mango-tree filled to luxuriance with a crop of young mangoes. He eagerly picked up the fruit and gnawed at it, but to his great disappointment found that it was quite bitter! So he flung it away from his lips, and cursing his fate for not letting him enjoy even so much as a mango, again looked up at the tree and sighed. But the tree echoed back his sighs and said: "Brother, who art thou? and whither dost thou wend thy way? Have mercy upon me!"

"Oh! do not ask me that question," said the poor man in distress, "I do not like to dwell upon it."

On the tree, however, pressing him further, he replied: "As you are so very anxious to know my history, I shall tell it to you. Learn then first of all that — I am going in search of my *nasîb*, which I am told lies asleep beyond the seven seas! He then unfolded to the sympathising tree the whole doleful tale of his poverty, his brother's brutal treatment of him, and his interview with his brother's *nasîb*.

When the tree had heard all, it said: "I feel very much for you, and hope you will succeed in finding out your *nasîb*. And if ever you meet him, will you not do me the favour to ask him, if he can tell why it should be my lot to produce such bitter mangoes? Not a traveller that passes under me fails to take up one of my fruit, only to fling it from him in disgust on finding it taste so bitter and unwholesome, and curse me into the bargain."

"I will, with pleasure," was our hero's reply, as he listlessly rose and again proceeded on his weary journey. He had not gone many miles, however, when he saw a very strange sight. A large fish was rolling most restlessly on the sandy banks of a river — it would toss itself to and fro, and curse itself at every turn for being so miserable.

Our hero felt much grieved to see the plight the poor creature was in, when the fish, happening to look at him, asked him who he was, and where he was going.

On being told that he was going in search of his *nasîb*, the fish said: "If you succeed in finding your *nasîb*, will you ask him in my name, why it is that a poor creature like myself should be so ill used as to be made to leave its native element and to be tortured to death on these hot sands?"

"Very well," replied our hero, and went his way again.

Some days after this, he arrived at a large city, the towers of which seemed to touch the skies, so grand and beautiful was it. As he proceeded farther into it, admiring its lofty edifices and beautifully built palaces, he was told that the Râjâ of that place was just then engaged in having a new tower built, which in spite of all the skill the best architects bestowed on it, tumbled down as soon as it was finished, without any apparent cause whatever. The poor traveller, therefore, out of mere curiosity, went near the tower, when the Râjâ, who was sitting by, with a disconsolate look, watching the operations of the workmen, was struck with his foreign look and manners, and asked him who he was, and where he was going. Our hero, thereupon, fell at the Râjâ's feet, related to him his strange story, and told him the nature of his errand. The Râjâ heard him through, and then desired him to inquire of his *nâsîb* why it was that the tower he was bent on building collapsed as soon as it reached completion.

The poor man made his obeisance to the Râjâ, and promising to do his bidding, soon took leave of him.

He had not gone very far, however, on what now seemed to be his interminable journey, when he encountered a fine horse beautifully caparisoned and ready bridled, pasturing in a meadow.

On seeing him the steed looked sorrowfully at him and said: "Good Sir, you look as if you were laden with as much care as I am; tell me, therefore, where you are going, and what is the object of your journey?"

Our hero told him every thing, and the horse, too, in his turn, charged him with a message to his *nasîb*. He was to ask that personage, why it was that the gallant steed, so powerful and so handsome, was destined to his utter grief and despair to idle away his life in the manner he did, instead of being made to gallop and prance about under the control of a rider, although he was all-anxious to serve a master and go to the battle field to share his fortunes, whenever he might wish to take him.

"Very well, my friend," replied our hero, "I shall do as you desire." So saying he patted the noble animal on its back and trudged along as before.

But as he proceeded further and further without so much as getting a glimpse of even one of the seven seas he had been told of, our hero felt utterly disheartened, and tired out both in body and mind by the hardships and privations he was going through. So he threw himself under the shade of a large tree and soon fell fast asleep. But in a short time his slumbers were suddenly disturbed by the cries and yells of some eagles that had their nest in the top-most branches of the tree. No sooner, however, did he open his eyes than he saw a huge serpent creeping up the tree to get at the young eagles in the nest. He immediately drew his sword and divided the hideous crawling reptile into three pieces! The poor little eagles in the branches joined each other in a chorus of delight at this, and our hero, covering up the remains of their tormentor with his plaid, sheathed his sword, and soon fell fast asleep again!

When the old birds that had gone out in search of food came back and saw the traveller sleeping under the tree, they were at once seized with the idea that he was the enemy that had so long and so successfully been destroying their progeny; for many times before had that serpent succeeded in climbing the top of the tree and devouring either the birds' eggs or their little ones. So the enraged couple determined to be revenged upon him, and the male bird proposed that he would go and perch himself upon one of the topmost branches, and then fling himself down upon the sleeper with such violence as to crush him to death! The female bird, however, was for breaking the bones of the supposed enemy with one swoop of her powerful wing! At this stage, fortunately for our hero, the young birds interfered, and declared how the man had proved himself their friend by destroying their real enemy, the serpent, the carcass of which they pointed out to them covered up with the plaid! The old birds immediately tore the cloth open, and were convinced beyond doubt of the innocence of the sleeping man. So the old female bird, changing her anger into love, placed herself by his side, and began to fan him with her large wings, while the male flew away to a neighbouring city and pouncing upon a tray full of sweetmeats, temptingly displayed at a pastry cook's bore it away with him, and placed it at the feet of the still slumbering traveller.

When our hero awoke from his slumbers he saw the situation at a glance, and was deeply gratified at the attentions bestowed upon him. So without much hesitation he made a hearty meal of the sweet things he saw before him. It was, in fact, the first hearty meal he had made for many and many a day, and, feeling very much refreshed in body and buoyant in spirits, **he told the birds all his story,** how he had left his starving children to set out in search of his *nasîb*, how he had travelled to such a distance amidst great hardships and privations, and how he had hitherto met with no success. The birds felt deeply grieved for him, and told him that it was hopeless for him to try to cross the seven seas without their help, and that they would, therefore, as a small return for what he had done for them, give him one of their numerous brood that would carry him on its back and deposit him dry-shod and safe beyond the seven seas.

Our hero was profuse in his thanks to the birds, and soon mounted the back of one of the young eagles, and bidding a hearty farewell to his feathered friends resumed his journey, this time not over hard and rough roads and mountains, or through deep dark jungles, but through the fresh balmy air and the cool transcendant brightness of the skies.

All the seven seas were crossed one after another in quick succession, when from his lofty position in the air **he one day perceived a human figure stretched at full length on a bleak and desolate beach.** This he was led to believe must be **his nasîb,** so he asked the good eagle to place him down near it.

The bird obeyed, and our hero, eagerly went up to the recumbent figure and drew away from his head the sheet in which its was enveloped. Finding, however, that it would not wake, he twisted one of the sluggard's great toes with such violence that he started up at once, and began to rub his eyes, and press his brows to ascertain where he was, and who had so rudely awakened him.

"You lazy idiot," cried our hero, half in delight at his success and half in anger, "do you know how much pain and misery you have caused me by thus slumbering peacefully on for years together? How can a man come by his share of the good things of this world while his *nasîb* neglects him so much as to go and throw himself into such a deep slumber in so unapproachable a corner of the earth? Get up at once, and promise never to relapse again into slumber after I depart."

"No, no, I cannot sleep again, now that you have waked me," replied the *nasîb*; "I was sleeping only because you had not hitherto taken the trouble to rouse me. Now that I have been awakened I shall attend you wherever you go, and will not let you want for anything."

"Very well, then," cried our hero, perfectly satisfied, "now look sharp and give me plain and true answers to a few questions I have been commissioned to ask you."

He then delivered to him all the different messages given to him by the mango-tree, the fish, the Râjâ, and the horse. The *nasîb* listened with great attention, and then replied as follows:—

"The mango tree will bear bitter mangoes so long as it does not give up the treasure that lies buried under it.

The fish has a large solid slab of gold hidden in its stomach, which must be squeezed out of its body to relieve it of its sufferings.

As for the Râjâ—tell him to give up building towers for the present and turn his attention to his household, and he will find that, although his eldest daughter has long since passed her twelfth year, she has not yet been provided with a husband, which circumstance draws many a sigh from her heart, and as each sigh pierces the air, the lofty structure shakes under its spell and gives way. If the Râjâ therefore, first sees his daughter married, he will not have any more cause to complain."

Coming then to speak of the horse, the *nasîb* patted our hero on his back, and continued:—

"The rider destined to gladden the heart of that noble animal is none but yourself. Go, therefore and mount him, and he will take you home to your family."

This terminated our hero's interview with his *nasîb*, and after again admonishing him not to relapse into slumber, he mounted his aërial charger once more, and joyously turned his face homewards.

When the seven seas had again been crossed, the faithful bird took him to where he had found the horse, and laid him down safe beside him. The traveller then took leave of the eagle with many expressions of gratitude and going up to the steed stroked him gently and said: "Here I am sent to be your rider! I was predestined to ride you, but as my *nasîb* was lying asleep up to this time, I could not see my way to do so!"

"*Bi'smi'llah,*" exclaimed the horse, "I am quite at your service." Our hero, thereupon, mounted the steed and the noble animal soon galloped away with him, and both horse and rider being infused with a sense of happiness did not feel the harships and fatigues of the journey so much as they would have done under other circumstances.

While passing by the river on the banks of which he had perceived the fish writhing in agony, our hero saw that it was still there in the same sad plight. So he at once went up to it, and catching hold of it, squeezed the slab of gold out of its body, restored the poor creature to its element, and putting the gold into his wallet, made his way to the city where he had encountered the Râjâ.

When he arrived there he put up at a *sarâî*, and purchased with the gold acquired from the fish, rich clothes, jewellery, and weapons befitting a young nobleman, and, attiring himself in them, presented himself before the Râjâ.

The Râjâ was surprised to see him, so much changed did he look from his former self, and welcoming him most cordially, gave him a seat of honour in the midst of his nobles. He then inquired of him whether his *nasîb* had given him any solution of the vexed question of the collapse of the tower, and was delighted to hear in reply that so simple a matter was the cause of all the annoyance he had suffered, and all the expense he had been put to. With a view, therefore, to put an end to the difficulty at once, he ordered his daughter to be brought before him, and putting her hand into that of our hero, proclaimed him then and there his son-in-law!

After this the tower stood as erect and firm as the Râjâ wished it, and the whole kingdom resounded with the praises of the traveller who had been the means of contributing to its stability, and no one grudged him the hand of the fair princess as a reward for his services.

After a few days spent in feasting and merry-making, our hero took leave of his father-in-law, and set out on his homeward journey with a large retinue. When he reached the mango tree that produced bitter fruit, and sat down under its branches, surrounded by all the evidences of wealth and honour, he could not help contrasting his former state with his present altered circumstances, and poured forth his thanks to the good Allah, who had hitherto befriended him. He then ordered his men to dig at the roots of the tree, and their labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a large copper vessel, so heavy as to require the united strength of a number of men to haul it up. When the treasure trove was opened, it was found to be full of gold and jewels of great value, and our hero got the whole laden upon camels, and joyfully resumed his journey home.

When he entered his native place with his bright cavalcade and his lovely wife, quite a crowd of eager spectators gathered round him, and his brother and other relatives who were of the number, although they recognized him, were too awe-struck to address him. So he ordered his tents to be pitched in a prominent part of the town, and put up there with his bride. In due course he caused inquiries to be made regarding his first wife and his children, and soon had the satisfaction of embracing them once more. He was grieved to find them in the same half-starved, ill-clad condition he had left them in, but was nevertheless thankful that their life had been spared so long. His next step was to take his new bride to his first, and therefore more rightful wife, place her hand in hers, and bid her look upon her as a younger sister. This the old lady promised gladly to do.

All his friends and neighbours then called upon him to offer him their congratulations, and even his hard-hearted brother and his wife failed not to visit him, and wish him joy of his good fortune. Seeing now that he was a much richer man than themselves, they tried their best to ingratiate themselves into his favour, and the wife even went so far as to invite his two wives to a grand feast, which she said she was going to give in honour of his happy return and reunion with his family.

Our hero consented to let his wives go to the feast, and the next day the two ladies, attiring themselves in their best clothes and jewels, went to their brother-in-law's house, where a large party, consisting of ladies of the best families, had assembled to do them honour. After some time spent in the interchange of civilities, the whole company sat down to a sumptuous banquet. As the meal proceeded however, what was the surprise of the guests to see, that instead of putting the rich viands into her mouth, the old wife of our hero placed a tiny morsel each time on each of the different articles of her jewellery and on the deep gold embroidered borders of her *sâṛî*. For some time no one dared to question her as to the reason of her strange behaviour, but at last, one old woman, bolder than the rest, and who was, moreover, possessed of a sharp tongue, cried out in a loud voice: "Bîbî, what are you about? You don't seem to have come here to feed yourself, for up to now you have been doing nothing but feed your jewellery and your clothes!"

"You are right, old lady," replied our hero's wife, "you are quite right when you say that I have been feeding my jewellery and clothes; for has not this repast been provided, and all this distinguished company brought together, in honour of our rich clothes and jewellery? There was a time, when neither my husband nor myself was thought fit to partake of our hostess's hospitality; nay, at one time, even so much as a bucketful of water in which rice had been washed for a feast, was refused to me, although my husband, my children and myself were starving! And all that because then we were not possessed of these fine clothes, and this jewellery!"

With these words she took her co-wife by the hand, and the two turning their backs on their hostess, walked majestically out to their palanquins and returned home!

The chagrin, disappointment, and rage of the hostess knew no bounds at this, especially as all her guests, instead of taking her part, began to laugh at her, and told her she had been well served for her ill-mannered pride and her hard-heartedness to her relatives when in distress. Nay, to shew their contempt for her, they all left the feast unfinished, and went away to their homes in rapid succession.

Our hero passed the rest of his life with his two wives and their children very happily ever afterwards, and had never again any cause to complain against his *nasib*.

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## MISCELLANEA.

### THE DATE OF SUNDARA-PANDYA-JATAVARMAN.

Dr. Hultzsch has published materials for calculating **the date of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman**, *ante*, Vol. XXI. pp. 121-2 and 343-4. He has given parts containing dates of two inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya. One belongs to the 9th and the other to the 10th year of his reign. The details of the date of the 9th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 343):— Tribhuvanachakrava[r]ttiga[l] śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟkku** yâ[n]ḍu 9âvadu Ishava-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]vây-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Punarpûśattu nâḷ. — "In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Punarvasu, which corresponded to Tuesday, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha." And the details of the date of the 10th year inscription are (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121):— Kô=**Chchaḍaipanmar=âṇa** Tribhuvaṇachchakravarttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṅ=koṇḍ-aruḷiya śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟ**[ku] yâṇḍu 10vadu pattâvaḍu Ṛishabha-nâyaṟṟu apara-[pa]kshattu Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum prathamaiyum peṟṟa A[ṉi]ḻattu nâḷ. "In the 10th — tenth — year (*of the reign*) of king **Jaṭâvarman,** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,** who was pleased to conquer every country, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Anurâdhâ, which corresponded to Wednesday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

In his 10th year inscription Sundara-Pâṇḍya tells us that he conquered Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla and Gaṇapati. Dr. Hultzsch gives a date of Ganapati in the Śaka year 1172, and tells us from other sources that he died in Śaka-Samvat 1180. He also gives three dates of Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla, which are as follows:—

#### No. I.

*On the south wall of the so-called "rock"* (malai) *in the Aruḷâḷa-Perumâḷ temple.*

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇachchakarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-vijaya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla-dêvarkku** yâṇḍu 15vadu Miduṇa-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa **Rôśaṇi-nâḷ.**

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious and victorious **Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêva,** which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to Saturday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

#### No. II.

*On the north wall of the second prâkâra of the Êkâmranâtha temple.*

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇachchakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvar[k*]ku** yâṇḍu 1[6]vadu Simha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirâḍattu nâḷ.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of *etc*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttarâshâḍhâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

### No. III.

*On the same wall as No. I.*

' Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 118[7] peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇaśakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvaṟkku yâ[ṇ*]ḍu 1[6vadu] Siṁha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttiraṭṭâdi-nâḷ.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6th] year of *etc.*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 118[7], — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

The details of these three dates are correct for the Śaka years quoted with them; except that the *nakshatra* of No. II. should be Uttarâ-Bhâdrapadâ instead of Uttarâshâḍhâ.

The English equivalents of these three dates are:— No. I. Saturday, the 13th June A. D. 1265; and Nos. II. and III. Saturday, the 1st August A. D. 1265. The Śaka years in these three dates are expired, while that in the date of Gaṇapati is current.

From these data Dr. Hultzsch has already pointed out that the year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya should be sought for between the Śaka years 1172 and 1190.

The 10th year inscription in which Sundara-Pâṇḍya alludes to his victory over Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla, is dated in the solar month of Vṛishabha. We see from the date No. I. of Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla that his accession must have taken place not before the commencement of the month Mithuna of Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 expired. The first available month Vṛishabha after this is that of S.-S. 1173 expired. The Śaka year, therefore, for Sundara-Pâṇḍya's 10th year inscription does not fall before S.-S. 1173 expired. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should seek for the Śaka year fitting to the details of the 10th year inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya, between the years 1173 and 1190 expired, both inclusive. Consequently, the Śaka year for his 9th year inscription should be sought between the years 1172 and 1189 expired, both inclusive. Taking, however, one year more on each side, I find that the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years corresponding respectively to the details of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya. I may say here, once for all, that the Śaka years in my calculation are all taken as expired years.

Tuesday, and the Punarvasu *nakshatra* falling on a *śukla pañchamî* in the solar month of Vṛishabha, are the requirements of the 9th year inscription; and Wednesday, and the *nakshatra* Anurâdhâ falling on a *kṛishṇa pratipadâ* in the solar month Vṛishabha, are required for the 10th year inscription In both the inscriptions the solar month is Vṛishabha. Parts of two lunar months, Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha, fall in the solar month Vṛishabha. First I searched for the years, in which the given week days fell on the given *tithis* of Vaiśâkha and Jyêshṭha. I need not give here all these years. I calculated afterwards in which of these years the given week days, the *nakshatras*, and the solar month fell together; and found that the three required things for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions, respectively, fell together, actually or nearly, in the Śaka years 1181 and 1182, and again in 1184 and 1185. Also, taking each inscription separately, there is no other year for either of them.

Of the above two pairs of years, first I take the latter. According to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, in Saka-Samvat 1185, the *amânta* Vaiśâkha *śukla pûrṇimâ* ended and the *kṛishṇa pratipadâ* commenced on Wednesday, the 25th April, A. D. 1263, at 4 *ghaṭis* 25 *palas*; and the *nakshatra* Viśâkhâ ended and Anurâdhâ commenced at 23 *gh.* 23 *pa.*, Ujjain mean time (*i. e.* at so many *ghaṭis* and *palas* after mean sunrise at Ujjain). So, two of the three requirements fell together after 23 *gh.* 23 *pa.* from mean sunrise on the Wednesday. But the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place on the same day at 44 *gh.* 7 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), which was 45 *gh.* 16 *pa.* of the apparent time on that day at Trichinopoly, the place of the 10th year inscription. In finding the apparent time, I have taken for Trichinopoly latitude 10° 47′ and longitude 78° 43′ east of Greenwich, and 3° 0′ east of Ujjain (see Johnston's Atlas). There seem to be two systems at present of commencing a solar month civilly (see *South-Indian Chronological Tables*, p. 7 f.). According to one, when a *saṁkrânti* takes place before sunset, the month is made to begin on the same day; while, if it takes place after sunset the month begins on the next day. According to the other system, when the sun enters a sign within three of the five parts into which the day-time is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the present instance, the solar month Vṛishabha did not begin on the Wednesday by either of the two systems. Even if we take the actual time of

the *saṁkrânti,* the month began at about midnight; but no religious ceremony is likely to take place after midnight. According to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta,* which is the authority in the Tamiḻ country, the solar month in question actually commences about 4 *ghaṭis* earlier; that is at about 40 *gh.* (Ujjain mean time); but that hour also is too late. So, Śaka-Saṁvat 1185 is not the year of the 10th year inscription.

Now as regards the 9th year inscription. According to Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1184, Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* ended on Tuesday, 25th April, A. D. 1262, at 19 *gh.* 40 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time); and up to about 33 *gh.* from sunrise there was the *nakshatra* Punarvasu. But here again, the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti took place, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta,* on the same day at 28 *gh.* 36 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time). So, only after this time on that day the three requirements, the week day, the *nakshatra,* and the solar month, came together. Moreover, the *tithi, pañchamî,* was not current with them, though it was current at sunrise and up to 19 *gh.*

Taking the 9th year inscription alone, this year might be taken fitting, though not satisfactorily, to the details of its date. But taking both the inscriptions together, there remains no doubt that Śaka-Samvat 1184 is not the year of the 9th year inscription. So Śaka-Saṁvat 1184 and 1185 are not the years of the 9th and 10th year inscriptions respectively.

The other pair of years Śaka-Saṁvat 1181 and 1182 is, however, quite satisfactory. In Ś.-S. 1181, Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* ended, according to Prof. Chhatre's Tables, on Tuesday, 29th April, A. D. 1259, at 16 *gh.* 10 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time); from sunrise to the end of the *tithi* there was the *nakshatra* Punarvasu; and the solar month was Vṛishabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered that sign at night on Friday, 25th April. So, the three required things, the week day, the *nakshatra,* and the solar month, did exist together in Ś.-S. 1181. In Ś.-S. 1182, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta,* Vaiśâkha *kṛishṇa pratipadâ* ended on Wednesday, 28th April, A. D. 1260, at 0 *gh.* 16 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), and at 1 *gh.* 27 *pa.*, Trichinopoly apparent time. A practical work, based on the first *Ârya-Siddhânta,*— the chief authority for the Tamiḻ solar calendar, — must have been in use at Trichinopoly and other Tamiḻ provinces at the time of the inscription in question. I do not know the actual work; but it must be similar to the *Karaṇa-prakâśa,* a work composed in Śaka-Saṁvat 1014, and based on the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* with a *bîja* correction. And by the *Karaṇa-prakâśa* I find that the *tithi* ended at Trichinopoly at 2 *gh.* 58 *pa.*, apparent time. This *tithi* ended rather soon after sunrise, and therefore I calculated it from different authorities, to find whether it might end on the previous day, Tuesday, by any authority; but now I am sure that by no authority, likely to be in use in the Tamiḻ country at the time of the inscriptions in question, could it end on the Tuesday.[1] On the above Vaiśâkha *kṛishṇa pratipadâ,* Wednesday, the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ, which ended at 7 *gh.* 34 *pa.*, Ujjain mean time, and at 8 *gh.* 45 *pa.*, Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta,* and at 9 *gh.* 46 *pa.*, Trichinopoly apparent time, according to the *Karaṇa-prakâśa*; and the solar month was Vṛishabha, the day being its fourth civil day, the sun having already entered the sign Vṛishabha on the night of Saturday, 24th April, A. D. 1260. So the three required things fell together in **the Śaka year 1182.**

I may state here that the Śaka years 1170 and 1171, and again 1191 and 1192, are other pairs of years, in which the three required things fall together, actually or nearly. But the first of these two is more unsatisfactory than the pair of years 1184 and 1185 above described. The second pair is a little less satisfactory than the pair of years 1181 and 1182. But these two pairs are out of our limit, which has, as I have stated above, Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 and 1173 on one side and 1189 and 1190 on the other.

So, **the Śaka years 1181 and 1182 expired are the only years respectively for the 9th and 10th year inscriptions of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman.** His accession must have taken place on some day from the fifth day in the solar month of Vṛishabha of Śaka-Samvat 1172 up to the fourth day in the same solar month of Ś.-S. 1173; or from Vaiśâkha *kṛishṇa dvitîyâ* of Ś.-S. 1172, to Vaiśâkha *śukla pañchamî* of Ś.-S. 1173. There being about ten or eleven months of the year 1172 and only one or two of 1173, we should, in the absence of other definite proof, prefer **the Śaka year 1172, expired, for the accession of Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman.**

There is not a single year from Śaka-Saṁvat 1170 to 1192, both inclusive, that satisfactorily fits the details of the date No. 2, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 344, of the 9th year inscription of **Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman.** In the Śaka years 1174

[1] In the other calculations, also, in this note, I have secured as much accuracy as is required in each individual case.

and 1177, there is only a near approach of the three requirements. In these two years, Chaitra *krishṇa dvitîyâ* ended and *tritîyâ* commenced on a Friday, at respectively 16 *gh.* 55 *pa.* and 46 *gh.* 41 *pa.* (Ujjain mean time), according to Prof. Chhatre's Tables, and after that time only, the required things, — *krishṇa tritîyâ* coupled with a Friday, the *nakshatra* Viśâkhâ, and the solar month Mêsha — fell together. If the Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman of this inscription of the 9th year were the same as Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman, the details of its date should fit Śaka-Saṁvat 1181; but they do not. It is certain, therefore, that Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Mâṛavarman is different from Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Jaṭâvarman.

SHANKAR B. DIKSHIT.

*Dhulia, 10th May* 1893.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### ŚRÂHE.

Śrâhe is a puzzling word, which appears in the dates of a few inscriptions in the Kanarese country (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 163).

I have just found another, rather different, instance of the use of it. An inscription of the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., dated in A. D. 1050, at Sûḍi in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District, mentions, among the grants,—*tad-varsham-modal-âgiy=eraḍu śrâheya siddhâyam-oḷag-âgi.* This shews that there were two śrâhe-days in the year; and that certain fixed duties or taxes were paid on them. It also proves that the word is *śrâhe*; and not *aśrâhe*, as is equally possible in the other passages in which the word has been met with. But the meaning of the word still remains unexplained.

J. F. FLEET.

## BOOK NOTICE.

PÂṆINI, Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der indischen Literatur und Grammatik. Von Bruno Liebich, *Dr. Phil.*, Leipzig. Hässel, 1891.

It is an observation as trite as it is true, that an epoch-making work, besides having an importance of its own, renders possible the production of other good books, and thereby opens out paths of investigation, which but for them would have remained closed to the most adventurous pioneers by an impassable barrier. As Gumânî of Paṭnâ puts it:

पूर्वजशुद्धिमिषाद्भुवि गङ्गाम्
प्रापितवान्स भगीरथभूपः ।
बन्धुरभूज्जगतः परमोऽसौ
सज्जन है सब का उपकारी ॥

Dr. Kielhorn's Edition of the *Mahâbhâshya* is a case in point. A monument of accurate and solid learning in itself, it has incited Dr. Liebich, and made it possible for him, to write the excellent essay which forms the subject of this review.

The work may be described as having the same object as Goldstücker's well-known essay—to determine the place of Pâṇini in Sanskṛit Literature—and it may be at once stated that the author has made a great advance in this interesting investigation. He has had at his command materials not available to former authors, and he has employed new methods, which they had hitherto not been able to adopt. Dr. Liebich's first chapter is devoted to a review of the attempts of former authors to fix the date of Pâṇini, from Goldstücker's suggestion of not later than 700 B. C., to that of Dr. Pischel, which puts him 1,100 years later. The author's own opinion on this point is that we have not yet sufficient ground to come to a definite conclusion, but that in all probability he came after the Buddha and before the commencement of the Christian Era: and that he was nearer the earlier than the later limit. In the second chapter the author continues the inquiry, by seeking to establish the dates of Pâṇini's commentators. The author of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, died about 660 A. D. He was preceded by Chandragômin, who appears to have lived in the 4th or early in the 5th century A. D. Before him came Patañjali, the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, who probably lived in the second century B. C. Kâtyâyana, the author of the *Vârttika*, lived some generations before Patañjali, and Pâṇini was at least one generation before Kâtyâyana.

Dr. Liebich in his third chapter opens the most original and interesting portion of the work. He compares the Sanskṛit language as laid down in Pâṇini's Grammar with the actual Grammar exhibited by four stages of Sanskṛit literature, between the first and last of which he must certainly have lived. For this purpose he takes a thousand verbal forms in each of the following—(*a*) the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa*, (*b*) the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*, (*c*) the *Âśvalâyana* and *Pâraskara Gṛihyasûtras*, and (*d*) the *Bhagavadgîta*. The first represents the language of the older *Brâhmaṇas*, the second that of the later *Brâhmaṇas*, the third that of the *sûtras* and the fourth that of Epic poetry. Every form is compared with what Pâṇini says it

ought to have been, and each departure from his grammar is recorded and classified. Omitting irregularities which are noticed by Pâṇini himself, as belonging to the *Chhandas* or older (*i.e.* before him) language, the following is the number of forms found to be grammatically false according to his rules, out of the thousand examined in each work,—(*a*) 6, (*b*) 27, (*c*) 41, (*d*) 37. From these statistics, and from a consideration of the nature of the irregularities in each case, he comes to the following conclusions:—

**1. That Pâṇini is nearest in time to the *Gṛihyasûtras*.**

**2. That both the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* and the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad* certainly belong to a time earlier than his.**

**3. That the *Bhagavadgîtâ* certainly belongs to a time later than his.**

In his fourth chapter the author deals with the Pâṇini's relation to the language of India; without a clear comprehension of which it is impossible to solve the problem of the **extent to which Sanskṛit was a living speech.** The author first gives a brief *résumé* of the various propositions on this point which have hitherto been advanced, in which I may notice that he omits to mention Senart's arguments, contained in his essays on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi. His own opinion is that Pâṇini taught the language spoken in India at his time, that the Sanskṛit which he taught was, syntactically, practically identical with that of the *Brâhmaṇas* and of the *Sûtras*, and that in grammar, it only differed from the *Brâhmaṇas* by the absence of a few ancient forms, most of which were specially noted by him as Vedic peculiarities, and from the *Sûtras* by the omission to notice certain loosely used forms, such as those which exist in every language beside the stricter ones enjoined by grammar.

In suggesting that Pâṇini taught in his grammar the Aryan language, in the form in which it was at the time generally spoken even by the educated in India, I think Dr. Liebich goes too far. **That Pâṇini, in his grammar, illustrated a language which was spoken at the time by some persons, and probably by himself, is possible, and may be allowed; but I, for one, cannot admit that that language was in Pâṇini's time the general spoken language of India, or even of North-Western India.** One fact alone makes the thing seem to me impossible. Pâṇini probably lived somewhere about 300 B.C., but supposing him to have lived a hundred years earlier or a hundred years later, in the matter of the growth of a language really makes very little difference. Now we know that the Vêdic hymns, which, in their original forms, were in the vernacular language of the people who first sang them, existed certainly some centuries before Pâṇini. The older *Brâhmaṇas*, equally certainly were composed some centuries before Pâṇini's time, and finally, the *Sûtras* were composed about his time. On the other hand, the Aśôka Inscriptions, which were in the vernacular language of the Court of Magadha, were fifty, or at most a hundred and fifty, years later than Pâṇini. Now, taking Pâṇini's own time as the standpoint and looking backwards and forward, what do we see? Looking backward, through a long vista of centuries we see the hymns of the *Vêdas*, the searchings of the *Brâhmaṇas* and the teachings of the *Sûtras*, all couched in what is practically one and the same language. The oldest hymns of the *Ṛig Vêda* have ancient forms, and it may be argued that we should exclude them,—be it so. Between the oldest *Brâhmaṇas* and Pâṇini at least one century must have elapsed, and the language of the *Brâhmaṇas* and the language of Pâṇini are identical. Between Paṇini and Aśôka, certainly not more than a century and a half elapsed, and the language of Aśôka is as different from that treated by Pâṇini, as Italian is from Latin. Nay, this was the case, although the people of Aśôka's time had Pâṇini's Grammar before them as a guide, and though the Aśôka Inscriptions show plain signs of a striving after style more in accordance with the teachings of the Sanskṛit schools than the existing vernacular of the day. Aśôkâ, it is true, lived in Eastern Hindûstan, and Pâṇini in the North-west, but that can be of little weight. It is impossible to suppose that, while language developed along its natural lines in the east, that development remained arrested in the west.

Those, therefore, who maintain that Pâṇini wrote a grammar of the language generally spoken at his time must account for two things. Before his time, for at least a hundred years[1] the vernacular language remained, fixed, unchanged, in a state of arrested development. After, his time, during at most a century and a half, and possibly during only half a century, the same vernacular language underwent a course of decay or development, as great as the development of Latin into Italian. This, too, during a time when it had before it Pâṇini's great Grammar to keep it straight, in the right way, and to

[1] Of course I do not for a moment suggest that the oldest *Brâhmaṇas* were only a hundred years older than Pâṇini. I am only stating the case in the most favour able way I can for the other side.

arrest its development, as suddenly and fixedly as the development of Sanskṛit was arrested. The assumption of such two conditions of existence in two periods of a language's history, one of which immediately succeeds the other, is too violent to be credible.

But I have admitted that it is possible that at the time of Pâṇini, Sanskṛit was a spoken language. If it was not spoken by the common people, by whom was it spoken? The answer is, by the schools.

From the earliest times the Brâhmaṇs devoted themselves to the study of the language of their sacred books, and no doubt they used it amongst themselves, in the schools, as a medium of disputation, and, perhaps, even, of ordinary intercourse. In later times we find, in the *Râmâyaṇa,* Hanumân considering whether he should address Sîtâ in Sanskṛit or in Prâkṛit, and no doubt this illustrated the state of affairs in Pâṇini's time as well. Brâhmaṇs could address each other in the holy language, which they so carefully studied and kept up in its integrity, but in communication with the outer world beyond the boundaries of their schools, they had to use that vernacular language of the people, which, descended from the dialects in which the Vedic Hymns were first composed, passed, regularly and inevitably, in the course of centuries, into (amongst others) the language of Aśôka, and thence into that of Hâla and of Tulasî Dâs. Call that Vernacular language what you will, so long as it is not called Sanskṛit. Many things add proof to the existence of this vernacular language at the time when Sanskṛit was fixed,—nay, Sanskṛit itself bears witness to it itself, on its very face, in the way in which it has borrowed some of these vernacular words, in their vernacular forms, and then retransferred them, by a process of reversed etymology into what it imagined to be their original Vedic forms. Its mistakes in this process of reversion betray the secret.[2] No doubt in speaking Sanskṛit in the schools many things were referred to, of which the original Vedic name was forgotten, and of which the vernacular form had perforce to be used in a form dressed up for the occasion.[3] In short, Sanskṛit was used in the schools in Pâṇini's time much as Latin was used in the schools in the Middle Ages. It was habitually used and spoken as a scholastic language, and in the course of time had even branched out into scholastic dialects, as Dr. Liebich's statistics of the *Sûtras* show.

I think, therefore, that Dr. Liebich goes too far, if I understand him aright, when he says that Pâṇini's Sanskṛit was 'the spoken, the living speech of the learned men of his time.' Unless he means by this that it was merely a school language of the learned, entirely distinct from the general language of Hindûstân, also spoken by, and actually the vernacular even of, these learned men, I cannot but consider him, and the many who agree with him, to be labouring under a false impression.

In concluding this subject, Dr. Liebich's classification of the various stages of the Sanskṛit language may be given here. He divides them as follows:—

I. Ante-classical
The *Saṁhitas* of the four *Vêdas.*

II. Classical
(*a*) *Brâhmaṇas* and *Sûtras.*
(*b*) Pâṇini's teaching.

III. Post-classical
(*a*) Literature not governed by Pâṇini: The Epic poems.
(*b*) Literature arisen under the influence of Pâṇini: the language of Kâlidâsa, &c.

In the fifth chapter Dr. Liebich combats Prof. Whitney's attacks on the Sanskṛit grammatical school in general, and in the sixth he applies the statistics already given to deciding whether any portions of the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad* and of the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* are older or more modern than other portions; but I must refer the reader to both these essays directly; as the demands of space do not allow me to describe their contents. Suffice it to say that with regards to the Kâṇva Recension of the former, he considers the whole of it (with a reservation regarding the 5th book) to be earlier than Pâṇini. So also the *Aitarêya Brâhmaṇa* with the exception of the 31st *Adhyâya.*

This excellent and most interesting book concludes with two useful appendices, in which the author explains the Paninian teaching on the genus (*pada*) of the Verb, and on the formation of the Feminine of nouns.

[2] An example is the Sanskrit *aṅgâra*, sugarcane sprouts, which I have referred to (*ante*, p. 166) in reviewing Dr. Macdonell's *Sanskṛit Dictionary*. This word is manufactured from the old Prâkṛit *aggaaḍa*. Sanskṛit took *aggaaḍa*, and by a mistaken etymology assumed that it was derived from *aṅgâra*, and therefore it declared that *aṅgâra* was the Sanskṛit word for sugarcane sprout. Really, the word is derived from *agra* with pleonastic *ḍa* (quasi *dṛiś*). There are many examples of this sort.

[3] Just as Father Tom said to the Pope in their immortal conversation: 'Dimidium cyathi vero apud metropolitanos Hibernicos dicitur *dandæus* (a dandy!)'

## NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 206.*)

(7.) **Dôhâbalî.** See above. Five hundred and seventy-three miscellaneous *dôhâ* and *sôraṭhâ* verses.

The following may be taken as a specimen. They are extracts from other works of the poet:—

*Taba lagi kusala na jîva kahuṅ sapanehuṅ mana bisrâma* |
*Jaba lagi bhajata na Râma kahuṅ sôka-dhâma taji kâma* || 131 ||
*Binu sata-sanga na Hari-kathâ tehi binu môha na bhâga* |
*Môha gaẽ binu Râma-pada hôe na dṛiḍha anurâga* || 132 ||
*Binu biswâsa bhagati nahiṅ tehi binu dravahiṅ na Râma* |
*Râma-kṛipâ binu sapanêhu jîva na laha bisrâma* || 133 ||

131. No happiness will be in life, no rest to the soul even in dreams, till a man, abandoning desire, that home of sorrow, worships Râma.

132. Without fellowships of the faithful, there can be no converse about God, and without that converse illusion does not disappear. Unless illusion disappear, there is no firm love for Râma's feet.

133. Without trust there is no faith, and without faith Râma is not compassionate. Without Râma's mercy there is no rest for life, even in one's dreams.

(*7a.*) The **Sat'saî**, or Seven Centuries. I have already discussed at considerable length the question of the authenticity of this work. Whether written by Tul'sî Dâs or not, it certainly contains, and is the only work attributed to him which does contain, a systematic exposition of his religious opinions. It therefore deserves more than a passing notice.

Although nominally in seven *sargas* or parts, each consisting of a century of verses, this is not quite an accurate description, for, as will be seen, each part contains a few more or less than a hundred. This lends countenance to the theory that verses have been interpolated here and there. The object of the work is purely religious, and though each *dôhâ* is capable of being quoted independently by itself, the book is not a mere collection of disjointed gnomic verses. A clear connecting leading idea runs through the whole of each part.

The verses may be considered as falling into three classes, *viz.* gnomic, parenetic, and purely devotional. The majority belong to the second class.

The following are the names of the various parts:[1]—

*Sarga I., Prêma-bhakti-nirdêśa,* Explanation of Faith as Affection.[2] One hundred and ten *dôhâs*.

*Sarga II., Upâsanâ-parâbhakti-nirdêśa,* the Explanation of Faith in its Highest Form as Adoration. One hundred and three *dôhâs*.

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[1] Kôdô Râm, pupil of Jânakî Śarmâ, the son of Śêsh Datt Śarmâ, is the author of the following verse, comparing the various *Sargas* to different portions of Sîtâ's body. Metre *Chhappai*:—

*Srî jû prêmâ pâya, lanka atigôpya parâ hai* |
*Vakrôkti hai udara Râma rasa amiya bharâ hai* ||
*Hṛidayâ âtama-bôdha, karma-siddhânta galâ hai* |
*Ânana jñâna-siddhânta jahâṅ hai brahma halâ hai* ||
*Râja-nîti hai śîśa siya, ehi vidhi Tulasî Dâsa kiya* |
*Âdi anta lôṅ dêkhiyê satasaiyâ hai satta Siya* ||

The *sarga* on Faith as Affection is Sîtâ's feet, that on Faith in its Highest Form greatly to be cherished is her waist, that on the Essence of the Lord described in Enigmas, filled with nectar, is her womb, that on Self-knowledge is her heart, that on the Doctrine of *karma* is her neck, that on the Doctrine of knowledge, by which Brahman may certainly (be found), is her face, and that on the Duties of kings is her head. Thus did Tul'sî Dâs determine in his heart that from beginning to end the *Sat'saî* should be a representation of Sîtâ.

[2] Cf. Śâṇḍilya I., 1, 2, *athâtô bhakti-jijñâsaḥ, sâ parânuraktir îśvarê,* Now then there is a wish to know faith. In its highest form it is an affection fixed on God (Cowell).

*Sarga III., Sânkêta-vakrôkti-râma-rasa-varnana*, the Description of the Essence of the Lord by means of symbolical Enigmas. One hundred and one *dôhâs*.

*Sarga IV., Âtma-bôdha-nirdêśa*, the Path of Self-knowledge. One hundred and four *dôhâs*.

*Sarga V., Karma-siddhânta-yôga*, the Influence of the Doctrine of *Karma*. Ninety-nine *dôhâs*.[3]

*Sarga VI., Jñâna-siddhânta-yôga*, the Determination of the Doctrine of Knowledge. One hundred and one *dôhâs*. Subject,—the necessity of a spiritual guide for a perfect knowledge of the mystery of the Perfect Name.

*Sarga VII., Râja-nîti-prastâva-varnana*, On the Duties of Kings (and their subjects).

As stated above, a large number of the verses in the *Sat'saî* are repeated in the *Dôhâbalî*. *Sat.* I., 2, also occurs in the *Bairagya Sandîpanî* (I., 1) and *Sat.* I., 107, in *Bai*, I, 15. Both these verses are also repeated in the *Dôhâbalî* (1, 38).

The part of the *Sat'saî* which is best known is the third *sarga*, in which various devotional exhortations are disguised in symbolical enigmas, in the style long afterwards made popular by Bihârî in *his Sat'saî*. As already explained, the authenticity of this part is more than doubtful. Each *dôhâ* is a riddle, in which the true meaning is hidden to any one not possessed of the key. Two examples will suffice.

*Bîja dhanañjaya rabi sahita Tulasî tathâ mayanka* ।
*Pragata tahâṅ nahiṅ tama tamî sama chita rahata asanka* ॥ 5 ॥

Literally this means :

'The seed of Dhanaṁjaya with the sun, and, O Tul'sî, also the moon. Where they are manifest, the night of darkness is not, and the soul remains at peace and secure.' This is, as it stands, nonsense. But *bîja* is a technical term for the esoteric meaning of the letters of the alphabet, and the word *dhanaṁjaya* means also 'fire.' Therefore the *bîja* of *dhanaṁjaya* means that letter, the esoteric meaning of which is 'fire,' *i e.*, *ra*. So also the *bîja* of *ravi*, the sun, is *a*, and of *mayanka*, the moon, *ma*. These three together make up the word *Râma*, and hence the poet means to say that when the name of Râma is manifest, the night of ignorance vanishes, and leaves the soul at peace.

Again,—

*Bhaju hari âdihiṅ bâṭikâ bhari tâ râjiba anta* ।
*Kara tâ pada biswâsa bhawa saritâ tarasi turanta* ॥ 22 ॥

Worship, after taking away the first syllable of (*â-râma*, a synonym of) *bâṭikâ*, a garden, and adding *tâ* to the last syllable of (*sa-sî*, a synonym of) *râjiba*, the moon (*i.e.* worship Râma and Sîtâ). Place trust in their feet, and at once dost thou pass over the sea of existence.

The fifth sarga is a good example of the author's didactic style, and the following free translation of it may be acceptable, as it contains Tul'sî Dâs's doctrine of karma or works.

It will be advantageous, however, first to warn the reader as to the ground on which we are treading. Tul'sî Dâs's system of philosophy was mainly that of the Vêdânta,—not how-

[3] Tul'sî Dâs's use of the word *karma*, may be gathered from 90th *dôhâ* of this *sarga*, where he gives in illustration a goldsmith as the *kartâ* or agent, the gold on which he works as the *kârana* or object acted on (*i.e.* the material cause), and the finished ornament as the *kârya* or effect. *Kârya* and *karma* are to him almost equivalent terms (*e g.*, *dô.* 86). Just as there cannot be an earthen pot without presupposing the existence of a potter, so without a *kartâ* or agent, there cannot be a *karma*. It is only by knowing the *kartâ* that the true nature of the *karma* can be recognized (87). *Karma* can never be wiped out, only the Lord is free from its law (12). Each individual is a 'store' of *karma* (9), and hence never loses his identity. As a seed always produces its own kind and not another plant, so an individual always remains the same, even when he is absorbed in the Lord (10). Just as water is absorbed by the sun, and yet is never destroyed, so the individual is absorbed in the Supreme God, and yet is never reduced to nihility (8).

ever of the school more usually known, that of 'Sankara Âchârya,—but partly based on the lesser known school of Râmânuja, as developed in the *Srî Bhâshya*.[4] Fifth (?) in descent from Râmânuja (11th-12th century), in the line of religious teachers came Râmânand, the founder of the Râmâwat Sect, to which Tul'sî Dâs belonged. The philosophical system of the Râmânujas is much the same as that of the Râmâwats. It is in matters of detail of doctrine that they differ. The main difference is the somewhat illiberal views of Râmânuja. He wrote for the Brâhmans and in Sanskrit, and his system of ceremonial purity was strict in the extreme. Râmânand was converted to broader notions by his expulsion from that brotherhood for an imaginary impurity, and this insult was the direct cause of one of the greatest religious revolutions which India has seen. A revolution, like the Buddha's, from intolerance to tolerance, from spiritual pride to spiritual humility, and from a religion which teaches that the highest good is self-salvation, to one which teaches love to God and a man's duty to his neighbour. That Perfect Faith in God consists in Perfect Love to God is the first text of the sermon which Râmânand's disciples preached, and the second was the Universal Brotherhood of Man, for 'we are all His children.' Râmânand called his followers *Avadhûta*, for they had 'shaken off' the bonds of narrow-mindedness. To the happy accident of the insult, we owe the noble catholicity of Râmânand's disciple (greater than his master) Kabîr, and this teaching reached its final development, and — what is more, — reached its acceptance by the masses of Hindûstân, at the hands of Tul'sî Dâs.

We are, however, now more concerned with the scheme of philosophy on which this system was based. The main points of difference between the Vêdânta doctrines of 'Sankara Âchârya and of Râmânuja, are given by Dr. Thibaut, in the introduction to his translation[5] of the *Vêdânta Sûtras*, and a very brief sketch, based on his remarks, such as is necessary for understanding Tul'sî Dâs's language, will suffice here. I shall translate throughout the personal name 'Râma' by 'The Lord.'[6] As Dr. Thibaut says of Râmânuja 'The only "sectarian" feature of the *Srî Bhâshya* is, that it identifies Brahman with Vishṇu or Nârâyaṇa; but . . . . Nârâyaṇa is in fact nothing but another name of Brahman.' So also Tul'sî Dâs identifies Brahman or Îśvara with the Râma incarnation of Vishṇu.

The key note of Râmânuja's system is a personal Supreme Being, whether called Brahman (neuter), Nârâyaṇa, or Râma, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία. According to 'Sankara, on the contrary, Brahman, the Supreme being, the highest Self, is pure Intelligence or Thought, or which comes to the same thing, pure 'Being.' Absolutely nothing can be predicated of it. All the world around us is simply a projection of this absolute intelligence in association with *mâyâ* or illusion, and, as so associated, Brahman is called Îśvara, the Lord. Each soul (*jîva*) is pure Brahman, and the aggregate of bodily organs, and mental functions which make up the individual, and which separate and distinguish one soul from another, are mere *mâyâ* and unreal. So also all objects of cognition, volition, &c., the external world, are mere *mâyâ*; the only thing that really exists is the soul, — the projection of the supreme (*param*) qualityless (*nirguṇam*) Brahman. The non-enlightened soul is unable to look beyond the veil of *mâyâ*, and blindly identifies itself with its adjuncts, the bodily organs and cognitions which make up the individual. It thus becomes limited in knowledge and power, as an agent and enjoyer. As such it burdens itself with the merit and demerit of its actions, and as a consequence is subject to a continual series of births and rebirths into infinity, each of which is a direct

[4] Now in course of publication in the *Bibl. Ind.* That Tul'sî Dâs is considered a professed follower of Râmânuja is manifest from the introductory verses of the *Mânas Sankâvalî* of Bandan Pâthak. He praises Sitâ, Râma, Hanumat, Ganêśa and Tul'sî Dâs. Then he goes on '*srî-Râmânuja-mata prabala dhâraka târaka jîva | Tulsî-râma śrîguru charaṇa bandauṇ &c.* The author would not have brought Râmânuja's name so prominently forward, were it not germane to the subject of his work.

[5] *Sacred Books of the East.*

[6] [Just as I have insisted in *Legends of the Pañjâb* in similarly translating Râm, Hari, Raghbîr, Raghunâth, &c., as "God." As the point is of much interest I give the following references to that work.—I. 125, 335, 357, 362, 365, 49[illegible] : II. 7, 41, 101 ff., 204 212 ff., 219, 376 : III. 381.—ED.]

consequence of its previous actions. The only way of escaping from this weary continual round of births, is the recognition by the soul of the soul as one with the Supreme Brahman, — the highest self. By such knowledge the seeker after truth withdraws from the influence of *mâyâ*, and, at the moment of death obtains immediate final release, being absorbed into and altogether losing his identity in the absolute Supreme Brahman. He once more becomes himself pure "Being," without qualities, cognitions, or identity.

On the other hand, according to Râmânuja, Brahman, the Supreme Being, the highest Self, the Lord,[7] is not pure Intelligence, though Intelligence is his chief attribute. So far from being pure 'Being,' devoid of all qualities, he is endowed with all auspicious qualities. 'The Lord (I quote Dr. Thibaut's words) is all-pervading, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful; his nature is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil. He contains within himself whatever exists.' 'Matter and soul (*achit* and *chit*) constitute the body of the Lord; they stand to him in the same relation of entire dependence and subserviency, as that in which the matter forming an animal or vegetable body stands to its soul or animating principle. The Lord pervades and rules all things which exist, material or immaterial—as their *antaryâmin*,' or inward ruler. 'Matter and soul as forming the body of the Lord are also called modes of him (*prakâra*).' They are looked upon as his effects, but they have enjoyed the kind of individual existence which is theirs from all eternity, and will never be entirely resolved into Brahman. Creation (as both he and 'Sankara agree) takes place at intervals. Between each period of creation, is a period of *pralaya* or non-creation, during which matter is unevolved (*avyakta*), and (according to Râmânuja) 'individual souls are not joined to material bodies, but their intelligence is in a state of contraction, non-manifestation (*saṅkôcha*).' During this *pralaya* period Brahman is said to be in his causal condition (*kâraṇâvasthâ*). 'When the *pralaya* state comes to an end, creation takes place owing to an act of volition on the Lord's part.' Primary unevolved matter becomes gross and acquires those sensible attributes (such as visibility, tangibility, &c.), which are known from ordinary experience. 'At the same time the souls enter into connexion with material bodies corresponding to the degree of merit or demerit acquired by them in previous existence; their intelligence at the same time undergoes a certain expansion (*vikâśa*). The Lord, together with matter in its gross state, and the "expanded" souls, is Brahman in the condition of effect (*kâryâvasthâ*). Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same; for the effect is nothing but the cause which has undergone a certain change (*pariṇâma*).'

There is thus, as in Râmânuja's system a never ending round of births influenced by former actions, and the only way of escaping from the endless chain is cognition of and meditation on the Lord, a thing which can only be done by His grace. There is no veil of *mâyâ*, as there is in 'Sankara's system, between the soul and the Lord: but without the Grace of the Lord, true understanding and true meditation is impossible. He who obtains that grace obtains final emancipation, and an everlasting blissful existence. He does not become absorbed in Brahman, but 'enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever.' The release from *saṁsâra*, the world of births and rebirths 'means, according to 'Sankara, the absolute merging of the individual soul in Brahman, due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that the soul is distinct from Brahman; according to Râmânuja it only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise, where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss.'

The above brief abstract of Dr. Thibaut's luminous comparison of these two sister philosophies, will, it is believed enable the student to understand the parenetic side of Tul'sî Dâs's writings, and in concluding this portion of the essay, I will give one more quotation from Dr. Thibaut, which (*rem acu tetigit*) accurately sums up the history of this side of religious

[7] Note that according to Saṅkara there are two conditions of Brahman, a higher, which is Brahman, pure Intelligence, *param nirguṇam Brahman* — a lower, associated with *mâyâ*, *aparam saguṇam Brahman*, known as *Îsvara*, the Lord. Râmânuja knows only one condition of Brahman, with which name *Îsvara*, the Lord, is synonymous.

thought in India. 'Although this (Śankara's) form of doctrine has, ever since Śankara's time, been the one most generally accepted by Brahmanic students of philosophy, it has never had any wide-reaching influence on the masses of India. It is too little in sympathy with the wants of the human heart, which, after all, are not so very different in India from what they are elsewhere. Comparatively few, even in India, are those who rejoice in the idea of a universal non-personal essence in which their own individuality is to be merged and lost for ever, who think it is sweet "to be wrecked on the ocean of the Infinite." The only forms of Vêdântic philosophy which are and can at any time have been really popular, are those in which the Brahman of the *Upanishads* has somehow transformed itself into a being, between which and the devotee there can exist a personal relation, love and faith on the part of man, justice tempered by mercy on the part of divinity. The only religious books of wide-spread influence, are such as the *Râmâyan* of Tul'sî Dâs, which lay no stress on the distinction between an absolute Brahman inaccessible to all human wants and sympathies, and a shadowy Lord whose very conception depends on the illusory principle of *mâyâ*, but love to dwell on the delights of devotion to one all-wise and merciful ruler, who is able and willing to lend a gracious ear to the supplication of the worshipper.'

With these introductory remarks I submit the following **analysis of the fifth, or karma,**[8] **sarga** of the *Sat-saî*.

The commentator Baij'nâth's **preface** to this part is not uninteresting and must first be quoted. 'The subject matter of this part is an account of the doctrine of actions (*karma-siddhânta-varṇana*). Now this *karma* is the primal cause (*âdi-kâraṇa*) of all things. This *karma* may be good or evil (*śubhâśubha*). It is, as it were, the wings of the bird-like soul (*jîva-rûpa-pakshî*), wings by the support (*âdhâra*) of which the soul continually makes progress (*gati*). Moreover, good and evil *karmas* ever emanate naturally from the soul,—good, such as giving water to the thirsty, gifts to the hungry, setting on the right path those who have gone astray, leading the heat-oppressed to shade, and the like,—evil,—but they are countless. Or again; everything doable (*yâvat kartavyatâ*) is *karma*, as for example, calmness, self-command, patience, trust. The six kinds of religious meditation, freedom from passion, desire for salvation, and other means of obtaining perfect knowledge are all examples of *karma*. Or again; hearing the Scriptures, chanting hymns, prayer and adoration, faith, these are all *karmas* Or again; no *karma* which may be done contrary to a man's position in life or caste can be considered a good one. Thus, the branches of the tree of *karma* extend to hell (*naraka*), to the lower heaven (*svarga*), and to the abode of supreme bliss (*mukti-dhâman*), and are (the soul's) one support. Wherever the soul may go, if it do *karma* with a selfish object (*savâsika karma*) (*e. g.*, to obtain salvation), it must remain dependent upon *karma* alone, which thus becomes its fetter; but if it does *karma* with no selfish object (*nirvâsika karma*), that is merely in order to please the Lord, then *karma* is no longer a fetter; it gives faith and salvation, nay, it is an agent (*kartṛi*) of both. For example, Pṛithu when he sacrificed, had no selfish object, and became endowed with faith to the Lord, but through performing a sacrifice with a selfish object Daksha fell a victim to calamities. So Dhruva performed unselfish austerities, and obtained faith, but Râvaṇa per formed selfish austerities and wrought his own destruction. Ambarîsha obtained faith through his unselfish sacrifice. Other examples of *karma* are, unselfish justice, as in Yudhishṭhira, and, selfish (*karma*), Jarâsandha. Thus a man who relies on selfish *karma* attains only to the lower heaven (*svarga*), and having thus exhausted his merits must again be born in the world of mortals. Hence, in order to attain to faith in the Lord, a man should only perform good *karmas*. This ocean of the doctrine of *karma* is fathomless and illimitable, but with the aid of a spiritual teacher, one crosses it as in a boat.' End of Preface.

**Text.**—Consider thy body as worthy of honour, for the Lord himself once took the human

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[8] The fifth *sarga* is devoted to the doctrine (*siddhânta*) of *karma*, and the sixth to the doctrine of *jñâna*. There is no reference here to the *karma-kâṇḍa* (*pûrva-mîmâṁsâ*) and the *jñâna-kâṇḍa* (*uttara-mîmâṁsâ*) of the Vêdântists.

form (and became incarnate as Râma),[9] and knowledge of the non-dual (*advaita*) Lord is never far from it (1, 2). The holy man alone understandeth the mystery of the sun and the water, and obtaineth *nirvâṇa*[10] (3). The Lord is like the sun which draweth water from the Earth in the hot season and again dischargeth it upon the Earth in the rainy season, never desisting in his course (4). He calleth the holy to union with himself as the magnet doth steel (5). Even as the sun's action in giving water is visible, but in taking water (by evaporation) is invisible, so is the action of the Lord, which can only be learnt by the grace of a spiritual guide (6); for every one knoweth what is before him, visible to the eye,—the gifts of the Lord, but who knoweth what happeneth after death, when the Lord absorbeth (*laya*) a man to himself (7)[11]? Even as water is drawn from the earth to the sun, and is not lost in it but remaineth water, even so life goeth to the feet of the Lord, but is not absorbed (*laya*) in him[12] (8). Each according to his nature taketh his store of actions (*karma*) with him, and where'er he goeth he beareth its consequences (9). As a seed (or Earth-born material cause) changeth not its nature, but always produceth its own kind, so doth a man when absorbed (*laya*) in the Lord still retain his individuality (10). Thus, all things are in the Lord, yet is he not affected by them, as a mirror is not affected by that which it reflects (11); for *karma* (*i. e.* actions) cannot be wiped away,[13] it is like a series of waves; the actions of a man's present life (*kriyamâna*) are the result of those of his former lives (*saṁchita*) and cause those of his future lives[14] (12,13). Actions (*karma*) are of two kinds (good and bad),[15] and the Lord alone is entirely free from them. Few there are who can understand this mystery (14).

But the holy man, who is absorbed in faith in the saving power of the Lord, doeth every action only out of adoration for his Lord, and never looketh back (15). He unchangingly looketh upon Sîtâ (the energic power of the Lord) as the giver of happiness, and upon Râma (the Lord) as the taker away of his woes; the moon and the sun of the night and day[16] of his faith (16). The holy man's one joy is in Sîtâ, the tender, illuminating moon of his faith (17) and as gold gloweth in the fire, so gloweth the soul of a holy man in the cool rays of that moon, casting itself at their feet[17] (18).

Mankind, in their own obstinacy, keep binding themselves in the net of actions (or works) (*karma*), and though they know and hear of the bliss of those who have faith in the Lord, they attempt not the only means of release (19). Works (*karma*) are a spider's thread up and down which he continually runneth, and which is never broken; so works lead a soul downwards to the earth, and upwards to the Lord (20).

Thy nature is ever with thee, and where thou art, there is thy nature too, nor is it set aright till thou has learnt association with the holy (21). If, as the Vêdântists do, we talk of an individual's subtile body (*sûkshma śarîra*) and his grosser body (*sthûla śarîra*) then there is

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[9] This is not the interpretation of Baij'nâth, and depends on a reading *ye tanu* instead of *yatana (yatna)* in the first line.

[10] It will subsequently appear, *cf.* Vss. 8 and ff. that this is very different from the *nirvâṇa of* Buddhism.

[11] Baij'nâth's explanation differs here.

[12] For the Lord is devoid of *karma* (*a-karma*), and cannot become one with a *sa-karma* soul.

[13] The argument is that a soul can never free itself from its *karma*, while the Lord is ever free from *karma*, hence the two never can become one. *A-karma* cannot unite with *sa-karma*.

[14] *Karma* (actions) has thus three aspects, that which is being done now (*kriyamâna*), which is the result of that which has been done in the past (*saṁchita*), and which is the cause of that which has to be done in future (*prârabdha*).

[15] Baij'nâth gives an alternative classification. He says that, with reference to the future, the present and the past of the present are the same. Therefore the two kinds may be, on the one hand *saṁchita* (including *kriyamâna*) and on the other *prârabdha*.

[16] The 'night' of ignorance (*avidyâ*), and the 'day' of knowledge (*jñâna*). The darkness of night is *môha*, illusion, and the heat of the day is 'works' (*sâdhana*), which Râma, unlike the real sun renders unnecessary, by the gift of knowledge.

[17] As fire destroys the dross of gold, so Râma and Sîtâ destroy the dross (sin) of human beings. She, however, does not burn, as fire burns the gold.

no difference between them. The faults and virtues of the subtile are all found in the grosser body (22).

As water for four months cometh from the sun, and for eight months goeth to it, so are the souls of men; they return to the place whence they came[18] (23). The water as it cometh is visible, but as it goeth is invisible, even so is the going of the soul hard to know without a spiritual guide (24). The wicked man goeth along the path of sorrow and is reborn to misery for countless generations (25). There are the two paths of bliss and sorrow, but without the grace of the Lord they cannot be recognized (26), and it is not till he experienceth the sorrow of these perpetual births, that he calleth for the moon, *lit.* way of Sîtâ (wisdom) (27). Once a holy man treadeth on this path his woes disappear. For that path leadeth to Sîtâ's (wisdom's) feet, which guide him to the feet of the Lord[19] (28). This moon of wisdom distilleth nectar of itself, and never suffereth eclipse or shadow (29). Like the real moon she giveth joy to all the world, and if the *chakravâka* bird and lotus (*i. e.* the worldly) grieve when she appears, 'tis not her fault (30). Yet when the world, without experience, seeth them in sorrow, it falsely accuseth her of the fault, though, with a spiritual guide, all that sorrow would be wiped away (31). Learn the parable of the rain-cloud, which sheddeth water and maketh the whole world to rejoice. But, though the rain also causeth the *jawâs* plant to wither, no one blameth the cloud (32). The moon draweth poison from the earth, and yieldeth nectar in return; such is faith which destroyeth the holy man's sins, and giveth him peace (33).

Again, the fierce rays of the sun draw moisture from the earth, and the cool rays of the moon give back nectar.[20] Each is the complement of the other,—so is it with the Lord and with wisdom (34, 35).

The earth is like the grosser (*sthûla*) body, and water like the subtile (*sûkshma*) one (which is absorbed by the sun, and given out by it again). This requireth a spiritual guide to understand (36).

The just man adoreth the cool rays of this moon, while others are seeking refuge (at once) in the fierce rays of the sun[21] undergo difficulties and miseries (39). Therefore should a man by every possible device seek association with the holy, for this endeth finally in union with the Lord (38). Take the part of a servant, which leadeth to happiness, and not that of a master (which by pride and confidence in good works) leadeth to misery. Remember the fates of Vibhîshaṇa and Râvaṇa (39).

'The moon produceth coolness, and the sun heat,' (so saith the ignorant), but neither produceth either; consider thou this carefully (40). No one ever saw them do it, yet everyone calleth them 'the cool-maker' (*śîta-kara*) and 'the heat-maker' (*ushṇa-kara*), and saith, therefore it is true, and cannot be false.' But the maker of heat and cold, of sun and moon, is the Lord alone (41). The very *Vêdas* tell us of the virtues of nectar, how a draught of it destroyeth disease, and bringeth the dead to life, yet even it is subject to the Lord's will[22] (42). Every one knoweth that the property of earth is smell, of water coolness, of fire heat, and of air the sense of touch, and their existence is accepted as proved, although they cannot be seen[23] (43).

18 That is to say during the *pralaya* period (see above) during which matter is unevolved, and intelligence is in a state of contraction, when the Lord is in his causal state.

19 Baij'nath's commentary is instructive. 'A father cannot cherish a young child. The mother cherishes it and brings it to the father, so, &c.'

20 Or, the sun gives fiery rays, and the moon coolness.

21 *i. e.* seeking to know the supreme deity at once, by pure reason, without an intercessor, or by means of good works alone.

22 As for instance, the shower of nectar after the battle of Lankâ only brought the bears and monkeys to life, and not the *râkshasas*.

23 Read, *gandha sîta api ushnatâ sparśa vidita jaga jâna.* A reference to the well known categories of the Nyâya philosophy. In the following verse, *ala* = *alaṁ* = *pûrṇa*: *chêtana* = *parabrahmarûpa* = *Râmachandra.* I am indebted to Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî for the explanation of this very difficult verse, of which the commentators available to me can make no sense. If, in verse 44, we could read *bilakha na* instead of *bilakhata*, the passage would be still easier: 'So in these (*i. e.* the faithful) the Pure Almighty is not visible, but is revealed, &c.'

In them all is visible the Pure Almighty Lord, who is revealed easily to the heart by the teaching of a spiritual guide (44). Of this nature is the supreme knowledge, which only a few by the grace of their spiritual guides obtain, and thus become for ever holy and able to understand (45).

As the young cuckoo deserteth its foster-father, the crow, and seeketh its own kin, as soon as its wings are grown, — so the soul, when it gaineth wings of intelligence (*chaitanya*) abandoneth things of this world and seeketh the Lord (46). An even mind (*samatâ*) and clear discrimination (*vivêka*) follow from abandoning mundane welfare (*svârtha*)[24] (47), yet all men clamour for the latter, though not one desire is ever perfectly fulfilled; for, void of knowledge (*jñâna*) their delight is in ignorance (*ajñâna*), and their trust is in their hard and evil intellect (48). But that only is welfare (*svârtha*) which destroyeth woe, and a spiritual guide alone can point it out (49). They desire this welfare, which is an effect (*kârya*), without doing those things which are its cause. Learn, saith Tul'sî, the parable of the cotton bush, and the sugarcane[25] (50).

Every one confesseth that the effect (*kârya*[26]) is a necessary consequence of the material cause (*kâraṇa*), and saith Tul'sî, thou and thou alone art the agent (*kâra* or *kartṛi*) which acteth upon this material cause (51): for without an agent there can be no effect, and how can he attain (to his effect, *i. e.* salvation) without the instructions of the spiritual guide (as a material cause). The agent acteth upon the material cause, and the effect is produced, but, under the influence of delusion (*môha*) the agent acteth not (goeth not to the spiritual guide), and hence the effect cometh not (53). For the effect (*i.e.* salvation) never cometh without the action of the agent upon the material cause (*e.g.* faith), as surely as waves come not except from the action of the wind upon the water (54). The ultimate refuge of the agent (towards which he should act) is the Lord (55). The agent and the material cause are the two essentials.[27] By them thou becomest free from impurity, and endowed with faith in the one Lord, while *karma* (actions) waxeth or waneth (as their effect) (56). Where there is a material cause, the action (*karma*) must be produced (as an effect) self-born like the sweat-born insects.[28] No one sees them produced, and yet they come (57).

From unholy actions (*karma*) holiness cannot come. Wash thyself clear of unholiness, and be holy (58). Show love to all creatures and thou wilt be happy (59), for when thou lovest all things, thou lovest the Lord, for He is all in all (60). Thou and the universe are made of the same elements, and in thee dwelleth thy soul (*jîvâtman*), which thou canst not know till thou hast gained perfect knowledge (61). This knowledge may come in a sudden inspiration, or from humbly sitting at the feet of a spiritual guide (62). Learn from thy guide to distinguish effects (*kârya*) temporal from effects eternal (63); the night is dark, let the sunrise of

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[24] Defined as (1) *sundarî vanitâ*, (2) *atar âdi sugandh*, (3) *sundar vasan*, (4) *bhûshan*, (5) *gôn tân*, (6) *tâmbûl*, (7) *uttam bhôjan*, (8) *gajâdi*.

[25] Worldly welfare consists in fine clothes, sweet food, and the like. These are effects, and cannot be produced without weaving cotton, and pressing the sugarcane. The preparations of the cotton and of the sugarcane are therefore the material causes of these effects. So also the supreme welfare, or salvation, is an effect which necessitates a material cause. This material cause is true knowledge, faith and the like. Here the dry cotton bush represents the dry (*nîrasa*) path to salvation by philosophy alone, while sugarcane represents the sweet (*sarasa*) path to salvation by faith in the Lord.

[26] I follow the reading *kârana-kâra jô, sô taiṅ*.

[27] Baij'nâth says, these two of the three (agent, material cause, and effect) are the essentials, because when the agent acquires belief (*śraddhâ*, not *bhakti*; cf. Śâṇḍilya, 24) he approaches material causes, such as association with the holy. By the power of these his mind (*manas*) is directed to the Lord, and he does works (*sâdhana*) such as hearing the scriptures, hymn-singing, adoration and the like from which love (*prêman*) arises. Thus his dualistic wisdom (*dvaita-buddhi*), which was foul, is destroyed, and into his pure mind monistic discrimination will enter, and with pure affection he will obtain the Lord. So also, when the agent associates with the worldly, he looks upon mysteries after their fashion, and any purity which he originally had is destroyed, the mind becomes attached to things of the senses, and owing to sinful *karma* increasing, the agent gains the eighty-four hells. Therefore, saith Tul'sî Dâs, make association with the holy a material cause.

[28] Lice, &c., which are classed as a separate order of beings, distinct from those which are viviparous or oviparous. They have no parents.

knowledge shine. A man cannot trust for salvation to his good works (*karma*),[29] for often do they mislead and the wisest are thereby made fools[30] (65). A work (*karma*) done for mere reputation (*nâma-kâra*) defileth, for it is done without considering its effects (66). Flee evil communications. Holiness waneth when near wickedness, as the moon waneth when approached by the sun, and waneth as it goeth farther from it (67).

As thy father and thy mother were born, so hast thou been born, but thou art not one with thy father and thy mother (thou art only one with the Lord)[31] (68). Hence thou art one with the whole universe (which is one with him), yet, at the same time thou art a distinct separate being (69).[32] Even as gold is made into various ornaments, but still remaineth gold : so is the soul, and only by the Lord's grace can the wise man test it (as a goldsmith testeth the ornament, and knoweth that it is gold) (70).[33] It is one thing throughout, yet it hath many qualities and many names,[34] beyond the possibility of counting, and thou canst only ascertain its true nature with the help of a spiritual guide (71). The gold[35] is the root-substance, and it is only the adjuncts (*upâdhi*) of name, form, &c., which cause it to appear as the countless ornaments of the body[36] (72). The form of the root-substance may change owing to its adjuncts, and according to them it is beautiful or the reverse, and only the clear intellect considereth the effect of these qualities in his mind (74).

When[37] thou seest the outer form, give thou it its name and tell of its qualities only after

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29 I retain throughout the word *karma* besides translating it. Here it means good works, which, I may note, are of three kinds, those done for the love of God (*mânasika*), those done for personal salvation (*kâyika*), and those done for mere reputation (*nâma-kâra*). The names, however, do not agree with the descriptions, which are Baij'nâth's.

30 Baij'nâth gives several examples. Two will suffice to explain the author's meaning. The pious Nriga gave the same cow to two Brâhmaṇs by mistake, and was cursed in consequence. Here a good *karma* led to a bad result. Ajâmila, a notorious sinner, accidentally, and not intending it, uttered the name of God when at the point of death, and thereby got salvation. Here a bad *karma* led to a good result. Hence the moral is, put not your trust in *karma* or works, but in faith in the Lord.

31 All commentators explain this by a reference to the Śânkara doctrine of Mâyâ, which was ignored by Râmânuja, who only recognizes the Lord in two conditions of cause and effect, *kâranâvasthâ* and *kâryâvastha.* If the interpretation is true (which I greatly doubt), then Tul'sî Dâs has superadded to Râmânuja's doctrine, a doctrine of *śakti-mâyâ*. Baij'nâth's explanation is as follows, — As a son is born from the union of his father and his mother, so the soul comes into living being from the union of the Lord (Îśvara) and Mâyâ. At the will of the Lord Mâyâ became *śakti*, and then became a triple-qualified self (*triguṇâtmaka*). Mâya has two forms, *viz.*, of cause and of effect, and Îśvara projected a portion of himself, like seed (*vîjavat*), into the causal form (*kâraṇa-rûpa*, = *rajas*). Thence was produced the soul in a condition of forgetfulness of its true self, and imagining its body, &c., to be its real self. At the same time Mâyâ in its form of effect (*kârya-rûpa*), having deluded the organs of sense, &c., and having caused them to forget happiness in the Lord, made them devoted to temporal happiness. Hence the poet tells the soul not to think himself one with his earthly father and mother, or even with his supreme parents Îśvara and *kârana-rûpa* Mâyâ, but to recognize himself as really one with the Lord only.

32 Here we come back to Râmânuja's doctrine of the eternally separate individuality of the soul. There is nothing about the *śakti-mâyâ* in the text. Indeed in *dôhâ* 16 the poet apparently treats Sîtâ as a kind of *śakti*, and he assuredly would not call her Mâyâ.

33 Baij'nâth carries on his explanation,—Just as gold is made into many ornaments, yet still remains gold, and its quantity remains unchanged, and is not diminished, so, with Mâyâ for a material cause, the formation of bodies takes place, but the true nature of the self (*âtma-tattva*) is in no way minished, but ever remains unaltered.

34 Gold may have many qualities, — *e.g.*, it may be used for charity or for debauchery, for food or for clothes, ornaments, and so on, — and many names, as, a specified coin, a bracelet, an earring, and so on.

35 According to Baij'nâth, *gandhana* is a trade term used by goldsmiths for gold. So also Śêsh Datt Śarmâ. It is not given in the usual dictionaries.

36 Baij'nath says ornaments (*bhûshaṇa*) are of twelve classes according as they are worn on the crown of the head (1), forehead (2), ear (3), throat (4), nose (5), arm (6), wrist (7), finger (8), waist (9), foot (10), ankle (11), toe (12). Each of these classes contains countless ornaments.

37 From the 44th to the 74th *dôhâ*, the poet has dealt with the question of the soul recognizing its own form. He now deals with the question of recognizing the form (*rûpa*) of the Lord. According to Baij'nâth, the Lord has five principal forms, *viz.* (1) *Antaryâmin*, the Inward Ruler, who is void of quality, *nirguna*, (2) *Para*, He who becomes incarnate, like Râma, out of pity for mankind, (3) *Vyûha* (not explained), (4) *Vibhava*, He who becomes incarnate for special purposes, such as Nrisiṁha, &c., (5) *Archâ*, Local forms, such as Jagannâtha, &c., No. 2—5 have qualities (*saguna*). *Antaryâmin* (inward ruler) is usually mistranslated by Hindî scholars as *antarjñânin*, the inward knower (*antar kô jânat*, Baij'nâth).

careful thought (75). The Lord is ever endowed with all auspicious qualities,[38] in whom alone is the hope of ultimate salvation (76). There is only one easy, simple, means of approaching this *saguṇa* (with-quality) Lord (namely faith), while the way of knowledge to a *nirgunam* (without-quality) Brahman is full of countless difficulties (77).[39] In that one Lord there are four classes of qualities,[40] and say (O doubter) what existeth not within these qualities? All things are included in them, a saying hard to understand (78). The holy man knoweth the secret of the universe from East to West, and without that knowledge how can one wipe out one's heritage of woe[41] (79); for the disease which hath doubt and sorrow (or error) for its root giveth unmeasured sorrow, as snakes seen in a dream, from which a man cannot escape[42] (80). The snakes to him are real things, until he openeth his eyes; so is this sorrow real, till the eyes of the soul are opened by hearing the words of the spiritual guide (81). As long as hope (in things temporal) but toucheth the soul, no full sight of the true object of desire can be gained; even as, in the rainy season, as long as rain cometh not, the husbandman is not satisfied (82). As long as the soul hath ever so little desire, every one is greater than it,[43] but once a man entirely loseth all desire, who can be greater than he[44] and he obtaineth in the end the supreme home (83).

The cause (*kâraṇa*) is the agent (*kartṛi*) (*i.e.* Brahman) immutable, without beginning, in the form of the uncreated, free from blemish, and incomparable. From it cometh many effects

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[38] *Sukha-sâgara-mâdhurya* (or *divya*) *gunan kari agâdh*. It will be seen that Baij'nâth in the above note says that Antaryâmin is *nirguna*. This is directly opposed to Râmânuja, and is not stated by Tul'sî Dâs. Baij'nâth adds that he is both *chit*, soul, and *achit*, matter, which agrees with Râmânuja, who says that these form the body of the (*saguna*) Lord, and are modes (*prakâra*) of him.

[39] So I translate this verse, which I take as arguing against the *nirgunam* Brahman doctrine of Śankara, in favour of the *saguṇam* Brahman (or *saguna Îśvara*) doctrine of Râmânuja. It involves translating *upâdhi* here as equivalent to *upâya*. The verse literally translated is as follows: 'The device for (obtaining) the *saguṇa padârtha* (*padârtha*=*artha dharma kâma môkshâdi*, that is to say, *sampûrṇa-guna-sahita sarva-sukha-dâyaka saguna Śrî Râma*) is one and everlasting. The devices for the *nirguna* (*padârtha*?) are countless. Tul'sî saith, consider with special care, and follow the very easy course.' Baij'nâth, following his original error, explains *nirguna*, not by the Śânkara, as opposed to the Râmânuja, Brahman, but by the *Antaryâmin*, who, he again repeats is *aguṇa*, and *akartâ*. As already said, according to Râmânuja, the *Antaryâmin* is *saguna*, and pervades and rules all things which exist, both material and immaterial, *chit* and *achit*.

[40] Baij'nâth quoting from the *Bhagavad-guṇa-darpana*, explains that in the Lord are all possible qualities, and it is useless denying that anything which exists has qualities which he has not. These qualities (*guṇa*) are divided into four classes. (1) Those conducive to the creation (*utpatti*) and maintenance of the universe, *viz.*:—

*Jñâna* (1)-*śakti* (2)-*bal* (3)-*aiśvarya* (4)-*vîrya* (5)-*têjâṁsy* (6)-*aśêshataḥ* ।
*tavânantaguṇasyôpi shaḍ êva prathamê guṇâh* ॥

*hêyapratyanîkatvâśêshatvâbhyâṁ saha guṇâshṭakam idaṁ jagad-utpattyâdi-vyâpârêshu pradhânaṁ kâranaṁ* ॥ knowledge, power, force, lordship, virile energy, ardour; to which some add, hostility to what should be abandoned, and infinity. I give the original Sanskṛit, because Baij'nâth has entirely misunderstood the latter, prose, portion.

(2) Those conducive to devotion, eight, *viz.*:—*satyatva*, truth; *jñânatva*, knowledge in the abstract; *anantatva*, endlessness; *êkatva*, oneness; *vyâpakatva*, pervadingness; *amalatva*, purity; *svâtantrya*, independence; *ânandatva*, bliss in the abstract.

(3) Beneficial to those who take refuge in a person (*âśrita-śaraṇôpayôgin*) nineteen, *viz.*:—*dayâ*, mercy; *kṛipâ*, graciousness; *anukampâ*, compassion; *anriśaṁsatâ*, mildness; *vâtsalya*, tenderness; *sauśîlya*, amiability; *saulabhya*, accessibility; *kâruṇya*, pity; *kshamâ*, forbearance; *gâmbhîrya*, profundity; *audârya*, nobility; *sthairyâ*, firmness; *dhairya*, patience; *châturya*, sagacity; *kṛitiva*, expertness; *kṛitajñatva*, gratitude; *mârdava*, sweetness; *ârjava*, rectitude; *sauhârda*, kind-heartedness.

(4) Beneficial to the outward appearance, *viz.*:—*saundarya*, beauty; *mâdhurya*, softness; *saugandhya*, fragrance; *saukumârya*, youthfulness; *aujjvalya*, clearness of complexion; *lâvaṇya*, charm; *âbhirûpa*, good proportion; *kânti*, enhancement of beauty by love: *târuṇya*, gracefulness, and the like.

It will be observed that these are all auspicious qualities, with which, according to Râmânuja, the Lord is endowed.

[41] Again the commentators go wrong in explaining this very simple verse, trying to force Śankara's doctrine into it.

[42] That is to say, ignorance causes real sorrow, just as a phantom snake, seen in a nightmare, gives very real agony.

[43] As long as it wants anything which it has not got and another has, that other is a greater man than it.

[44] Or all things are equal in his sight.

(*kârya*) (84).[45] But the agent cannot be known without the help of a spiritual guide, and except in the way of true happiness, how can sorrow be wiped away (85)? The world knoweth that an earthen vessel cannot be made without a potter, so how can any action (*karma*) be done without an agent (86)? Learn thou to know that agent (the Lord) from whom cometh the chief action; for without that knowledge, though thou reason in countless ways, thou wilt not come to see him (87).[46] Reasoning cannot prove anything without a witness, therefore, if thou depend upon reason, I challenge thee to show me what visible proof thou hast (88). The potter, the agent, with his material cause, the earth, maketh (vessels of) many (varieties as his effects); but the man without discrimination looketh only at the cause (the earth) and considereth not that there must also have been an agent (the potter) (89). The goldsmith, as the agent, maketh manifest the gold which is the material cause; his joy-giving effects are the ornaments which he maketh from it, whose qualities are to enhance the beauty of the wearer[47] (90). From the gold come ornaments of countless kinds, each depending on the intention[48] of the agent. The soul which devoteth itself to them (instead of to their agent, the Lord), and hath not a spiritual guide (is doomed) to woe (91). Owing to (the trammels of) its body, the soul imagineth that whatsoever existence it findeth itself in, that is the real one; but when given knowledge it knoweth that this is not so[49] (92). The potter's vessels are of various kinds, each taking its form according to the volition of the agent, and he who hath a spiritual guide and knoweth this (not only) giveth joy (to others but) obtaineth matchless wisdom (93). In the market (every one looketh at and admireth the vessels (for sale), and but few think of the potter, according to whose volition there are many forms, vessels very small and very great[50] (94). The potter is uniform, and so is the clay. The vessels are of many kinds, small and great, and their form is due to the volition of the

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45 In this and the following verses I deliberately throw over all the commentators. First, because my translation is literal, and secondly, because it exactly agrees with Râmânuja, who says expressly that the Lord in the *pralaya* state is in his causal state *kâranâvasthâ*. When the *pralaya* state comes to an end, creation takes place according to an act of volition on the Lord's part. He is therefore now both a cause, *kârana*, and an agent *kartṛi*. When creation is complete the Lord (together with all created things) is in the condition of an effect, *kâryâvasthâ*. Cause and effect are thus at the bottom the same. It will be seen that this is just what Tul'sî Dâs says above. The commentators explain the agent to be the soul, and the cause to be means of salvation (converse with the holy and the like) or the reverse. These two are immutable, &c. The effect they explain to be good actions, *karma*, &c. This is nonsense, as I understand it. How can such a cause be described as immutable and so on? Râmânuja, it is true (II, 3, 33—40), ascribes *kartṛitva* to the *jîva*, but I do not think that this is what Tul'sî Dâs refers to here, though he undoubtedly does so in *dôhâ* 51 ff.

46 The clay is the material cause, the potter is the agent, making the pot is the action or *karma* (Baij'nâth in his commentary on Dôhâ 84, distinctly says that *karma* = *kârya*, and I think that here he is nearly right). So all this will be very familiar to readers of the Brihadâraṇyaka Upanishad, *cf.* also Vedânta sûtras II., 1, 14-20. So also the Lord, acting as above described, creates all things, which effects are *karma*. By 'chief' action, I understand the creation of all existing things. Not only the Lord, but every individual soul is an agent. The Lord is the chief agent, and his action should also be the chief.

47 Baij'nâth, still interpreting the soul as the agent, adds, — the effects are joy-giving, because, if the goldsmith is skilful and fears the king, nor covets and steals a portion of the gold, but uses all his industry to make beautiful ornaments, and gives them to the king to wear, the beauty of the king is enhanced. Then the king, being pleased, gives the goldsmith a reward, who thereby is made joyful. But if the goldsmith is foolish and covetous, and puts alloy in the gold, the ornament is spoiled, and the king punishes him. This parable is to be explained as follows: The soul is the agent, the goldsmith. His skill is self-knowledge, and abandonment of worldly desire. Association with the holy, and the like, are the cause, the gold. The nine different categories, *prêman*, love, &c., are the effects, the ornaments. The Lord is the king. By causing him to wear the ornaments, the qualities of tenderness to the devotee and the like are made manifest. By the grace of the Lord, the faithful being released from fear, are exalted. On the other hand, the soul which is foolish, attached to things of this world, and full of desires, makes alloyed ornaments for its *karma* or actions, and its punishment is (toil of) the world.

48 I adopt the reading *karataba* (*kartavya*).

49 *kartâ-mana bhava rûpa*, its form became existing according to the mind of the agent. The commentators make *mana* = *jîva*, the soul, and say, as there are many kinds of vessels, so the soul, as agent, with the material universe (*bhava* = *saṁsâra*) as cause, makes many kinds of bodies. I take *bhava* in its common meaning of 'became,' the past tense of *hônâ*. The application of *sukhada* is doubtful. Possibly the spiritual guide is joy-giving, and not the enlightened soul.

50 *jâ kê mana kê rûpa bahu*. Baij'nâth explains, the potter as the soul under the influence of whose desires (*mana* = *manôratha*), the body takes new forms after death.

agent[51] (95). Wherever He is, and in whatever form He dwelleth, there He is ever the same.[52] No past hath He and no future hath He, the Pure, the Incomparable (98). He cannot be recognized. The grace of the Lord is the only means of showing Him (and teaching the nature of the Higher Self), just as a pure mirror maketh visible the (hitherto unseen water) in the breath-wind of the body[53] (97). But why make these comparisons? His immutable conditions are incomprehensible, and only they can understand the way who have gained the true knowledge[54] (98). According to the time, from the agent and the material cause come actions (*karma*); know this as my decision. Again, according to the time, the agent goeth far off, and the cause remaineth as a proof of his existence (99).[55]

*(To be continued.)*

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## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.
## DHAMMACHETI, 1476 A. D.

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

(*Continued from p.* 213.)

Atha rājā paṇḍitajanē pēsētvâ parivīmaṁsāpēsi. Tatō parivīmaṁsanakālē thērass' ēkassa catunnañ ca daharabhikkūnaṁ Sīhaḷ' upasampadagahaṇatō pubbē mahantaravajjâbhāvē pi tucchassa garahaparūpavādamattassa sambhāvaṁ ñatvā, raññō tath' ārōcēsuṁ. Tatō Rāmādhipatirājā sāsanassa accantaparisuddhâkankh'ajjhāsayatāya parisuddh' upasampadābhāvē ca upasampadagahaṇatō pubbē mahantaravajjâbhāvē ca santē pi rittakagarahaparūpavādamattasahitaṁ taṁ thēraṁ sasissaṁ parivajjētvā, tath' aññē pi cattārō daharabhikkhū parivajjēsi. Tad avasēsā pana dasathērā ca cha daharabhikkhū c' accantaparisuddh' upasampadā

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[51] The earth, the material cause, has nothing whatever to do with the shape of the resultant effect. Cause and effect are essentially the same, and in all the vessels the same cause, the earth, exists unchanged. Any difference in form is due therefore to the volition of the agent, whom I interpret as the Lord, and Baij'nâth and other commentators as the soul, acting on *Mâyâ* as the material cause, and producing different forms in different births.

[52] Every soul is of the Lord, and a portion of him. He therefore is in every thing, unchanged and unchangeable, without beginning (past) or end (future).

[53] This is the plain meaning of the words *Śvâsa-samîra pratyaksha âpa svachchhâ darasa lakhâta.* The commentators, however, give an altogether different mystical interpretation. The body is composed of five elements, ether, air, fire, water and earth. Here air, includes ether and fire, and water includes earth. Therefore air and water are the essentials of the body. Therefore the line means this; self, composed of breath and water, when visible, is pure like a mirror, but it is only visible by the Lord's grace.

[54] Read, *Tulasî tuli rahi jâta hai juguti na achala upâdhi.* Paṇdit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî gives me the following explanation of this verse, which has completely baffled the commentators. *Tulasî tuli* (*tulanâ kar*) *rahi jâta hai* (*chup hô jâta hai*). *Achala upâdhi mêṅ juguti* (*yukti*) *nahîṅ hai, arthât yukti nahîṅ miltî.*

[55] Here again, with fear and trembling, I differ from the commentators. The verse is as follows, and I have given above a literal translation:—

*kartâ kârana kâla kê yôga karma mati jâna* ।
*punaḥ kâla kartâ durata kâraṇa rahata pramâna* ॥

I interpret this as referring to the two states of the Lord. In the *kâryâvasthâ*, the condition of effect, he creates and actions are produced. Again, in course of time, in the *pralâya-kâla*, matter becomes unevolved, and individual souls are in a state of non-manifestation (*saṁkôcha*). The Lord himself is quiescent, and as it were, far off. He is then in his *kâraṇâvasthâ*. Hence the poet says 'at one time, during the period of creation, the Lord is an active agent; by his volition all actions (*karma*) take place. At another time, during the (*pralaya*) period, he withdraws himself, and becomes a mere unevolved cause (*kâraṇa*) which is all that remains to prove his existence.'

The commentators treating the agent as meaning the individual soul, say that *kâla yôga* means according to age periods, such as the *satya yuga*, the *dvâpara yuga* and so on: or, in other words, according to associations. According to good or evil company, the agent (the soul) and the cause (the associations or *mâyâ*) produce different fruits (*karma*), some good, some evil. Then *durata* 'becomes distant,' is interpreted to mean 'changes,' and the second line is translated 'as times change, the soul (the agent) changes its nature as a goldsmith manufactures his ornaments as the fashions change) (*kartâ, jô jîva, sôû durat, bhâv, svabhâv badlat, arthât samay anukûl jîva bhî hvai jât; yathâ svarṇakâr jaisâ samay dêkhat taisê bhûshaṇ rachat. Tâ-tê kâl-kê dûrê-tê kartâ bhî durat.*), while the cause (just as the gold and the clay of the potter are always the same) *i.e.*, *mâyâ*, that is to say, ignorance, evil companionship, wickedness, and on the other hand, knowledge, good companionship, honesty, remains always exactly the same.' I cannot admit this interpretation to be correct. It is in the first place forced, and in the second place is opposed to Râmânuja's doctrine.

rittakagarahaparūpavādamattatō pi virahitā simāsammutigaṇabhāvayōgyâti sanniṭṭhānam akāsi.

Simāsammannanâsannakālē pan' ētēsu Guṇaratanadharathērō gēlaññēna pīḷitattā sissēna saddhiṁ sakavihāraṁ paccāgantvā vasati. Tēna **Sirisaṅghabōdhisāmi ca, Kittisirimēghasāmi ca, Parakkamabāhusāmi ca, Buddhaghōsāmi ca, Jinālaṅkārasāmi ca, Ratanamālisāmi ca, Saddhammatējasāmi ca, Sudhammārāmasāmi ca, Bhūvanēkabāhusāmi câti** : nava therā; tēsaṁ sissabhūtā pana daharabikkhū: **Saṅgharakkhitō ca, Dhammavilāsō ca, Uttarō ca, Uttamō ca, Dhammasārō ca**: pañcâti; cuddas'ēva bhikkhū simaṭṭhānatō pacchimadisāyaṁ kārāpitē vihārē vasanti.

Tatō paraṁ Rājā simāsammutikammaṁ kārāpētukāmō: "Yattha bhikkhū simaṁ sammannitum icchanti; sacē tattha purāṇasimā n'atthi; tatthêdāni sammannitasimā sambhavati; sacē pan'atthi, abhinavasimā na saṁbhavati: simāsaṁbhēd'ajjhōttharaṇadōsapasaṅkatō. Tasmā tattha purāṇasimāsamugghātaṁ katvā vêdāni sammannitā 'bhinavasimā saṁbhavati. Tasmā simāsammutiyā paṭhamam ēva simāsamugghātakammaṁ kattabban ti": manasi nidhāya aṭṭhakathāya santaṁ simāsamugghātaparikammaṁ kātum ārabhi.

"Ēvañ ca pana bhikkhavē, ticīvarēna avippavāso samūhanitabbō ti." Ettha simaṁ samūhanantēna bhikkhunā vattaṁ jānitabbaṁ. Tatr' idaṁ vattaṁ: khaṇḍasimāya ṭhatvā avippavāsasimāsaṅkhātā mahāsimā na samūhanitabbā; tathā avippavāsasimāsaṅkhātāya mahāsimāya ṭhatvā khaṇḍasimā na samūhanitabbā. Khaṇḍasimāya pana ṭhitēna khaṇḍasimā va samūhanitabbā; tathā itarāya pi ṭhitēna itarā. Simā nāma dvīhi kāraṇēhi samūhananti: pakatiyā khuddakaṁ puna āvāsavaḍḍhanatthāya mahatiṁ vā kātuṁ, pakatiyā mahatiṁ puna aññēsaṁ vihārôkāsadānatthāya khuddakaṁ vā kātuṁ. Tattha sacē khaṇḍasimañ ca avippavāsasimāsaṅkhātaṁ mahāsimañ ca jānanti; samūhanituñ ca bandhituñ ca sakkhissanti. Khaṇḍasimaṁ pana jānantā, avippavāsasaṅkhātaṁ mahāsimaṁ ajānantā pi, samūhanituñ ca bandhituñ ca sakkhissanti. Khaṇḍasimaṁ ajānantā, avippavāsasaṅkhātaṁ mahāsimaṁ yēva jānantā, cētiyaṅgaṇa-bōdhiyaṅgaṅ' upōsathâgārâdīsu nirāsaṅkaṭṭhānēsu ṭhatvā, appēva nāma samūhanituṁ sakkhissanti; bandhituṁ pana na sakkhissant'ēva. Cē bandhēyyuṁ, simāsambhēdaṁ katvā vihāraṁ avihāraṁ karēyyuṁ: tasmā na samūhanitabbā.

Yē pana ubhô pi na jānanti; tē n'ēva samūhanituṁ na bandhituṁ sakkhissanti. Ayaṁ hi simā nāma kammavācāya vā asimā hōti; sāsan'antaradhānēna vā; na ca sakkā simaṁ ajānantēhi kammavācaṁ kātuṁ; tasmā na samūhanitabbā. Sādhukaṁ pana ñatvā yēva samūhanitabbā ca bandhitabbâti vuttattā simāsamugghātakammaṁ kattum icchantā bhikkū sacē purāṇasimāya vijjamānattaṁ vā paricchēdaṁ vā jānanti; tattha kammapattēhi bhikkhūhi ṭhatvā purāṇasimaṁ samūhanituñ ca abhinavasimaṁ bandhituñ ca labhanti. Sacē pana purāṇasimāparicchēdaṁ na jānanti; tathā sati taṁ samūhanituñ ca abhinavasimaṁ sammannituñ ca na labhantîti atthō āpannō viya dissati. Vimativinōdaniyaṁ pana: "kēci pana īdisēsu pi vihārēsu cha-pañcamattē bhikkhū gahētvā, vihārakōṭitō paṭṭhāya vihāraparikkhēpassa antō ca bahi ca samantā lēḍḍupātē tattha sabbattha mañcapamāṇē ōkāsē nirantaraṁ ṭhatvā, paṭhamaṁ avippavāsasimaṁ tatō samānasaṁvāsakasimañ ca samūhananavasēna simāsamugghātē katē, tasmiṁ vihārē khaṇḍasimāyā va mahāsimāya vā vijjamānattē sati avassaṁ ēkasmiṁ mañcaṭṭhānē tāsaṁ majjhagatā tē bhikkhū tā samūhanēyyuṁ. Tatō gāmasimā ēva avasissēyya. Na h'ēttha simāya vā paricchēdassa vā jānanam aṅgaṁ hōti. Simāya pana antō ṭhānaṁ samūhanissāmâti kammavācākaraṇañ c' ēttha aṅgaṁ. Aṭṭhakathāyaṁ khaṇḍasimaṁ pana jānantā avippavāsaṁ ajānantā pi samūhanituñ c'ēva bandhituñ ca sakkhissantîti. Ēvaṁ mahāsimāya paricchēdassa ajānanē pi samūhatāya vuttattā gāmasimāy' ēva ca avasiṭṭhāya tattha yathārucitakaṁ duvidhaṁ pi simaṁ bandhituñ c'ēva upasampadâdikammaṁ kātuñ ca vaṭṭatîti vadanti. Taṁ yuttaṁ viya dissati; vīmaṁsitvā gahētabban ti" vuttattā tēsaṁ kēsañci thērānaṁ adhippāyō yuttarūpō viya dissati. Aṭṭhakathāyañ ca purāṇasimāya vijjamānattaṁ vā paricchēdaṁ vā ajānantānaṁ simāsamugghātassa dukkarattā mahantaṁ vāyāmam akatvā yēna vā tēna vā vāyāmēna samūhananavasēna simāsamugghātaṁ sandhāya ye pana ubhō pi na jānanti; tē n'ēva samūhanituñ ca na bandhituñ ca labhantîti vuttaṁ. Na pana

mahantaṁ vāyāmaṁ katvā ajānanavasēna simāsamugghātē katē vijjamānāya simāya samūhatâbhāvaṁ sandhāya vuttaṁ. Tathā hi yatthâbhinavasimaṁ bandhitum icchanti. Tattha kiñcâpi purāṇasimāya vijjamānattaṁ vā paricchēdaṁ vā na jānanti. Tathâpi kattabbāyâbhinavasimāya nimittānaṁ ṭhapanârahôkāsatō antō ca bahi ca yathārucitakē padēsē catuhatthapamāṇaṁ vā pañcahatthapamāṇaṁ vā paricchēdaṁ panti-pantivasēda vā kōṭṭhāsa-kōṭṭhāsavasēna vā paricchēdaṁ katvā, tattha kōṭṭhāsē kōṭṭhāsē yadi kammapattā bhikkhū nirantaraṁ katvā, simāsamugghātaṁ karōnti. Tattha vijjamānapurāṇasimānaṁ kathaṁ samūhatā na bhavēyya? Gāmasimā ēva ca avasiṭṭhā kathaṁ na bhavēyyâti? **Tasmā tēna nayēna simāsamugghātaparikammavidhāyakaṁ kārāpēsi:** sammannitabbāyâbhinavasimāya nimittaṭṭhapanôkāsatō antō āyāmatō ca vitthāratō ca pañca pañca hatthapamāṇaṁ padēsaṁ paricchindāpētvā bahi ca pañca pañca hatthapamāṇaṁ padēsaṁ paricchindāpētvā cuṇṇēna vā sētamattikāya vā lēkhaṁ kārāpētvā panti-panti-koṭṭhāsaṁ kārāpēsi. Tatō paraṁ pañcahi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ tē navathērē nimantētvā simāsamugghātakammam ēvaṁ kārāpēsi. Paṭhama-pantiyaṁ paṭhama-kōṭṭhāsē yathāvuttē cuddasabhikkhū vasāpētvā kammavācaṁ pi sattasu ṭhānēsu paṭhāpētvā visuṁ visuṁ sattasu vārēsu simāsamugghātakammavācaṁ vācāpēsi. Tatō paraṁ paṭhama-pantiyam ēva kōṭṭhāsē kōṭṭhāsē anukkamēna ṭhatvā tath' ēva katvā avasānē antima-kōṭṭhāsē simāsamugghātakammavācaṁ vācāpētvā puna dutiyāya pantiyā antima-kōṭṭhāsatō paṭilōmēna kōṭṭhāse kōṭṭhāse kamēna ṭhatvā dutiya-pantiyā paṭhama-kōṭṭhāse ṭhatvā simāsamugghātakammavācaṁ vācāpēsi. Ēvaṁ vuttanayēna dvē dvē pantiyā pantiyā anulōmēna sakiṁ paṭilōmēna kōṭṭhāsē kōṭṭhāse simāsamugghātakammavācaṁ vācāpētvā kōṭṭhāsēsu parikhīṇēsu simāsamugghātaṁ pariniṭṭhāpēsi. **Idañ ca simāsamugghātakammaṁ migasiramāsassa sukkapakkhē sattamīyaṁ sannivārē pariniṭṭhitan ti daṭṭhabbaṁ.**

**Aṭṭhamīyaṁ pana Rāmādhipatirājā simāsammutikammaṁ kārāpētuṁ pātō va gantvā simāsammutitō paṭhamaṁ kattabbaṁ parikammam ēvaṁ kārāpēsi.** Yattakaṁ padēsaṁ simaṁ kattum icchati; tattakassa padēsassa bahi catūsvanudisāsu cattāri nimittāni ṭhapāpēsi. Catūsu disāsu pana cattāri nimittāni kōṇēsu catunnaṁ nimittānaṁ ṭhapanāya payōjanabhūtacaturassasanṭhānatō sanṭhānabhēdasaṅkhātaṁ payōjanaṁ dassētuṁ majjhē kiñci vitthakaṁ katvā ṭhapāpēsi. Tatō paraṁ aṭṭhannaṁ nimittapāsāṇānam abbhantarimē passē rajjuṁ kaḍḍhitvā rajjuyânusārēna bhūmiyaṁ lēkhaṁ datvā, lēkhatō antō simaṁ kattukāmattāya bahi lēkhāya simāmaggasaṅkhātassa paricchēdassa pākatikabhāvakaraṇatthaṁ vidatthimattagaṁbhīravitthāraṁ khuddakamātikaṁ khaṇāpētvā, nimittapāsāṇānaṁ antō ca bahi ca gāmakhēttapadēsānaṁ saṅkarâbhāvakaraṇatthaṁ rukkhasākhâdi-sambandhaṁ vicchinditvā, khuddakamātikāya mattikaṁ limpāpētvā udakaṁ siñcāpētvā tēsam aṭṭhannaṁ nimittapāsāṇānaṁ suvaṇṇâlimpanasindūracuṇṇâlimpanēnâlankārāpētvā, rattavattha-sētavatthēhi-vēṭhāpētvā, Bhagavati gāravēna tēsaṁ nimittapāsāṇānaṁ santikē chatta-dhaja-dīpa-dhūmapupphāni pūjāpētvā, kumudapupphacchannavilāsitamukhē kalasē ca ṭhapāpētvā, aññēhi ca vatthâdīhi pūjanīyavatthūhi pūjāpēsi. Ēvaṁ simāsammutiyā pubbaparikammaṁ abhisaṅkharitvā, pañcahi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ tē navathērē nimantētvā puratthimadisatō paṭṭhāyânukkamēn'aṭṭhasu disāsu aṭṭhanimittāni kittāpētvā, pathamakittitanimittēna ghaṭāpētvā tēna nayēna tikkhattuṁ nimittāni kittāpēsi. Tatō paraṁ pātō va Narasūrâmaccagāmakhēttassa samantatō tasmiṁ tasmiṁ ṭhānē dhajapaṭākē ussāpētvā, bhērisaṅkhâ-disaddasaññānaṁ kārāpētvā, disācārikabhikkhūnaṁ sañcāranivāraṇatthaṁ tasmiṁ gāmakhēttē ṭhitānam aññēsaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ gāmakhēttatō bahi siṅghaṁ nīharāpanatthañ ca ṭhapitē ārakkhakamanussē assârōhē ca siṅghagāminē pattikē ca pēsētvā, samantatō 'nuyuñjāpētvā, tatth' aññēsaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ n' atthi-bhāvamîti sutvā va, simāsammutikammavācaṁ byañjanapāripūrivasēna sattakkhattuṁ vācāpētvā, simāsammutikammaṁ niṭṭhāpēsi. Pariniṭṭhitē ca pana simāsammutikammē tikkhattuṁ sabbatālâvacarē vajjāpētvā sabbajanakāyam ukkuṭṭhiṁ kārāpēsi. **Imissā pana simāya Kalyāṇīgaṅgāya sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam upasampannēhbhikkhūhi sammatattā Kalyāṇīsimâti nāmam adāsi.**

Kalyāṇīsimāsammutitō ca purētaram ēva, Sīhaḷadīpē upasampājjitvā paccāgatānaṁ thērānaṁ sampattakālatō paṭṭhāyatē saddhāsampannā byattā paṭibalā gaṇinō gaṇâcariyā Rāmādhipatirājānam upasaṅkamitvā: "na khō pan' ētaṁ nō Mahārāja, patirūpaṁ yaṁ mayaṁ Buddhasāsanē

pabbajitvā, upasampajjitvā, yathā paññattāni sikkhāpadāni paṭipajjantâpi, upasampadāya sâsaṅkā bhavēyyāma. **Labhēyyāma Mahārāja, tēsaṁ thērānaṁ santike upasampadam; ēvaṁ nō' pasampadā nirāsaṅkā bhavissatîti"** āhaṁsu. Tatō Rāmādhipatirājā ēvam āha: "yē tē bhantē, gaṇino gaṇâcariyā saddhāsampannā Bhagavatō ajjhāsayânurūpaṁ Vinaya-vinicchayam upaparikkhitvā, nij 'upasampadāya sâsaṅkā accantaparisuddha-Mahāvihāravāsi-bhikkhusaṅghassa paraṁparabhūta-bhikkhusaṅghatō nirāsaṅkam upasampadaṁ paṭiggahētvā, paccāgacchantānaṁ thērānaṁ santike tad upasampadaṁ gaṇhitukāmā te gaṇhantu: tē pi mā gaṇhathâti na nivārēmi. Yē pi c'ētē gaṇinō gaṇâcariyā Bhagavatō ajjhāsayânurūpaṁ Vinaya-vinicchayam upaparikkhitvā, nij 'upasampadāya nirāsaṅkā tēsaṁ thērānaṁ santikē Sīhaḷadēsiy' upasampada-paraṁparabhūtam upasampadaṁ gaṇhitum na icchanti; tē pi gaṇhath' ēvâti na visahāmi. **Vinaya-vinicchayaṁ va pamāṇaṁ.** Tē dhammam ēva sukaram upaparikkhēyyāthâti." Tatō param ēvaṁ Rāmādhipatirājā cintēsi: "upajjhāya mūlikā pabbajjā ca upasampadā ca; upajjhāyabhāvō ca dasavassānaṁ thērabhāvappattānaṁ paṭibalānaṁ yēva Bhagavatā 'nuññātō. Imē thērā pan' imasmiṁ yēva saṁvacchare upasampannā. Na ca tēsvēkassâpi yuttarūpō upajjhāyabhāvō ti. Kathaṁ pan' ētaṁ labhēyyāma? Yō Mahāvihāravāsibhikkhusaṅgha-paraṁparabhūta-bhikkhusaṅgha-santikē parisuddh' upasampadaṁ gahētvā, paccāgatō upajjhāyabhāvayōgyō; tam upajjhāyaṁ katvā, sabbē Sīhaḷiy'upasampada-parampar'upasampadaṁ gaṇhitukāmā gaṇinō gaṇâcariyā imēsaṁ Sīhaḷadīpatō paccāgatānaṁ thērānaṁ santikē gaṇhituṁ labhissantîti" cintētvā tādisaṁ bhikkhuṁ pariyēsāpēsi. Tatō Parakkamabāhusāmithērō: "atthi Mahārāja, **Suvaṇṇasōbhaṇō** nām'ēkō thērō; Mahāvihāravāsi-paraṁparabhikkhusaṅgha-santikē yēv' upasampannō; **upajjhāyabhāvânurūpō.** Sō hi Mahārāja, araññavāsī, dhūtaṅgadharō, appicchō, santuṭṭhō, sallēkhī, lajjī, kukkuccakō, sikkhākāmō, byattō, patibalō ti'' āha. Atha khō rājā parijanam āṇāpētvā taṁ nimantāpētvā pucchi: "Sīhaḷadipaṁ bhantē, gamanakālē, katarasimāyaṁ kittakassa gaṇassa santikē upasampannō 'si? Kō pana tē upajjhāyō? Kō kammavācâcariyō? Sīhaḷadīpē upasampannakālatō paṭṭhāya 'dāni kativassō 'sîti?"

**Tadā Suvaṇṇasōbhaṇathērō rājānam ēvam āha: "Kalambunāmē Mahārāja, mahājātassarē sajjitāyam udakukkhēpasimāyam appamāṇassa gaṇassa santikē Vanaratananāmakaṁ pōrāṇa-Mahāsaṅgharājānam upajjhāyaṁ, pubbakālē Rāhulabhaddanāmakam, idāni Vijayabāhu-Saṅgharājānaṁ kammavācâcariyaṁ katvā vâham upasampannō. Tatō paṭṭhāya chabbīsavassō 'mhîti."** Atha rājā pamuditahadayō upasampadâpēkkhānam upajjhāyabhāvatthāya thēraṁ nimantēsi. Tadā thērō: "pubbakâpi Mahārāja, khīṇâsavathērā attanō hitaṁ vihitvā paccantē sāsanasuddhim ēvâkaṁsu. Ēvam ēvâhaṁ pi Mahārāja, sappurisagatiṁ anugantvā sāsanasuddhiṁ karissāmîti" vatvā raññō patiññam adāsi.

## REVERSE FACE OF THE THIRD STONE.

Simāsammutiyā 'nantaram ēva yē tē saddhāsampannā byattā pāṭibalā pubb' upasampadāya sâsaṅkā Sīhaḷ' **upasampada-paraṁpar' upasampadaṁ gaṇhitukāmā paṭikacc'** ēva rājānam upasaṅkamitvā yāciṁsu. Tē rājānam upasaṅkamitvā ēvam āhaṁsu: "Simā ca Mahārāja, sammad ēva samannāgatā; upajjhāyabhāvânurūpō ca mahāthērō cēladdhō; **labhēyyāma mayaṁ pi dāni Sīhaḷ' upasampadan ti."**

**Tatō rājā migasiramāsassa sukkapakkhē navamīyaṁ candavārē pātō va tēhi gaṇâcariyēhi saddhiṁ yēna Kalyāṇīsimā tēn' upasaṅkami.** Pañcahi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ navathērē ca upajjhāyabhāvânurūpa-Suvaṇṇasōbhaṇathēraṁ ca nimantāpētvā Kalyāṇīsimāyaṁ nisīdāpēsi. Tatō rājā Sīhaḷ' upasampadaṁ gaṇhitukāme gaṇâcariyē ṭhapētvā, yēna Sīhaḷadīpagāminō thērā tēn' upasaṅkami; upasaṅkamitvā tē ēvam āha: "Imē bhantē, gaṇâcariyā tumhākaṁ santikē Sīhaḷ' upasampadaṁ gaṇhitum icchanti; **dētha bhantē, tumhē upasampadaṁ imesaṁ gaṇâcariyānan ti."**

Thērā punad ēvam āhaṁsu: "mayaṁ Mahārāja, Mahārājēna pēsitā Sīhaḷadīpaṁ gantvā, Mahāvihāravāsi-paraṁparabhūtabhikkhusaṅgha-santikē parisuddh' upasampadaṁ gaṇhēyyāma. Tēsaṁ nō Mahārājā, parisuddh' upasampadagahaṇatō paṭhamaṁ Sīhaḷadēsiyā mahāthērā ēvam āhaṁsu: 'Pubbakānam āyasmantō, Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānam idâciṇṇaṁ: yaṁ paradēsatō

āgatānaṁ bhikkhūnam upasampadagahaṇatō paṭhamam ēva gihīnō mayan ti vacībhēdaṁ kārāpētvā, cīvaram apanētvā, sētavatthadānēna gihībhāvē patiṭṭhāpētvā, puna cīvaradānasaraṇagamanadāna-vasēna sāmaṇēra-pabbajjāya saṁpabbājētvā, sāmaṇēra-bhūmiyaṁ patiṭṭhāpitānaṁ yēv' upasampadanaṁ. Tāṁ kissa hētu? Yē h' āyasmantō, bhikkhū idhâgatā: purimôpasampadā nō parisuddhā, Sīhaḷadēsiy' upasampadā suddhâti maññamānā saddhāsampannā hutvā, nav' upasampadaṁ gaṇhiṁsu. Tē câyasmantō, bhikkhū pacchā sissâdīnaṁ yēsaṁ kēsañc, parijanam ādiyitvā, vipaṭisārinō hutvā, abhinavavassam agaṇētvā, purāṇavassaṁ yēva gaṇhiṁsu. Na c' ētaṁ nō ruccati: tēn' ēvam āciṇṇaṁ. Tasmā yadi tumhē pi saddhāsaṁpannā hutvāi parisuddh' upasampadaṁ gaṇhitum icchatha; Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ āciṇṇânurūpaṁ karissatha. Ēvaṁ tumhākam upasampadaṁ dassāma; nō cē karissatha; anāciṇṇattā tumhākam upasampadaṁ dātum asamatthā bhavissāmâti'. Tatō Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ āciṇṇânurūpaṁ katvā vâmhākaṁ upasampadan te adaṁsûti." Tadā tē pi bahugaṇâcariyā: "yadi bhantē, tumhē Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānam āciṇṇânurūpaṁ katvā va, parisuddh' upasampadaṁ gaṇhēyyātha; ēvaṁ mayaṁ pi saddhāsampannattā yēva parisuddh' upasampadam ākaṅkhayāma. Tasmā Sīhaḷadēsiyānaṁ mahāthērānam āciṇṇânurūpam ēva katvā parisuddh' upasampadaṁ gaṇhissāmâti" āhaṁsu. Ēvaṁ Sīhaḷadēsatō paccāgatā thērā tēhi sabbēhi gaṇâcariyēhi saddhiṁ saṁstadētvā tad anantaraṁ yēva **Dhammakittināmagaṇâcariyam ādiṁ katvā, Sīhaḷadēsiyānam āciṇṇânurūpaṁ kārāpētvā, Suvaṇṇasōbhaṇathēram upajjhāyaṁ katvā, Sīhaḷadēsatō paccāgatēsu navasu thērēsu dvē dvē vārēna vārēna kammavācâcariyē katvā upasampādēsuṁ.**

Tasmiṁ pana upasampadakammakaraṇakālē paṭhamadivasabhūtē **migasiramāsassa sukkapakkhē navamīyaṁ candavārē** Rāmādhipatirājā sayam ēva tattha nisīditvā, kammakārakabhikkhūnañ ca, upasampannānaṁ gaṇâcariyānañ ca, upasampadâpēkkhānañ ca gaṇâcariyānaṁ, purē bhattabhōjanañ ca pacchā bhattaṁ vividhapānañ ca santappanatthaṁ paṭisaṅkharāpētvā, upasampadadānapariyōsānē ca sādhukāradānatthaṁ bhērisaṅkhâdīni dhamāpētvā upasampannānam upasampannānaṁ gaṇajānanatthaṁ lōkavōhārakō-vidē lēkhakē anēkâmaccē cânēkapaṇḍitajanē ṭhapētvā, rattiyam upasampadatthāya ca bahū dīpē ṭhapētvā, sūriyatthaṅgamanâsannakālē paṭinivattitvā nijamandiram agamāsi.

**Navamīto paṭṭhāya yāva tērasamīyā pañcadivasaṁ upasampannā gaṇâcariyā pañcacattālīsâdhikadvisataparimāṇā ahēsuṁ.** Tatō rājā cātuddasīyaṁ sannivārē upasampannē pañcacattālīsâdhikadvisata-parimāṇē tē thēra-gaṇâcariyē: "Svē bhaddantā migasirapuṇṇam upōsathadivasē ādiccavārē upasampadakammakārakēhi pannarasabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ Kalyāṇīsimāyaṁ upōsathaṁ karōntu; tad avasānē bhaddantānaṁ piṇḍapātañ ca annañ ca dēyyadhammaṁ dātuṁ lacchāma, cittañ ca pasādētuṁ lacchāmâti" nimantāpēsi. Upōsathadivasē pana rājā mahatā parivārēna saddhiṁ pāto va gantvā Kalyāṇīsimāya paññāpētabbâsanāni paññāpāpētvā, pādôdakañ ca patiṭṭhāpētvā, upasampannôpasampannē tē gaṇâcariyē ca pannaras' upasampadakammakārakē câgamayamānō nisīdi. **Atha tē sabbē sannipativā Kalyāṇīsimāyam upōsatham akariṁsu.** Tad avasānē rājā tē sabbē pi nānappakārēhi khajja-bhōjjēhi ca vividhēhi ca tambūlâdibhēsajjēhi santappētvā, ēk'ēkassa ticīvaratthāya sukhumānaṁ kappāsadussānaṁ dvē dvē yugē datvā, pūgakattariyâdiparivāraṁ sapidhānam ēkam ēkaṁ tambūlapētakañ ca tālabījanim ēkam ēkañ ca, sindīpaṇṇachattam ēk' ēkañ ca, sādhārakapidhānaṁ pattam ēk' ēkañ ca, dāpēsi.

**Tatō rājā sabbēsaṁ bhikkhūnam anumatiyā yeva Suvaṇṇasōbhaṇathērassa 'Kalyāṇītissamahāthērō' ti nāmam adāsi.**

Tatō pabhuti rājā pañcahi daharabhikkhūhi saddhiṁ tēsam upasampadakārakānaṁ Kalyāṇītissamahāthērâdīnaṁ dasannaṁ thērānañ ca, tassaṁ simāyam āgatānam upasampannānaṁ gaṇâcariyānañ ca, bahūnam upasampadâpēkkhānañ ca, piṇḍapātâdi-paccayēhi upaṭṭhāpanatthāya amaccē paṇḍitajanē ca, upasampannānam upasampannānaṁ gaṇasañjānanatthaṁ bahū lēkhakē ca, upasampadakammavācāya pariniṭṭhāna-pariyōsānē sādhukāradānatthāya bhērisaṅkhâdivādakē ca, satatam ēva tattha vasāpēsi.

**Upasampadakammakārakā dasathērā ca, upasampann' upasampannā pañcacattālīsâdhikadvisatapamāṇānaṁ gaṇâcariyā ca, tēsañ ca sissabhūtē bahū bhikkhū ca, Sīhaḷ' upasampadaṁ gaṇhitukāmē aññē câgatâgatē gaṇâcariyē ca, divasē divasē nirantaram upasampādēsuṁ.**

**Api ca Rāmādhipatirājā sakalaṁ pi bhikkhusaṅghamāyācētvā, tassânumatiyā yēva sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaññamaṇḍalē ṭhitānaṁ sabbēsaṁ bhikkhūnam īdisaṁ katikavacanam ārōcēsi :**

"Ajjataggē bhaddantā, sacē pabbajjâpēkkhē pabbājētukāmā hōnti; yē pana pabbajjâpēkhhā lakkhaṇâhatā vā hōnti; dhajabandhacōrā vā; 'gārabhēdakā vā; rājadubbhinō vā; jarâjiṇṇā vā; adhimattagēlaññ' upapīḷitā vā; hatthacchinnâdi-aṅgavikalā vā; khujjā vā; vāmanā vā; khañjā vā; kuṇinō vā; yē vā pan' aññē pi parisadūsanā hōnti. Yē yē pabbajitē pi, passantā passantā manussā kēliṁ vā, parihāsaṁ vā, garahaṁ vā, karōnti; cittaṁ pasādētuṁ vā, gāravam uppādētuṁ vā, na sakkōnti. Tē tādisē bhaddantā, mā pabbājēntu.

"Sacē vā pana bhaddantānaṁ santikē upasampadâpēkkhā santi; **tē pi Rāmādhipatiraññō vā, Haṁsavatīpurâdhivāsīnaṁ gaṇâcariyabhūtānaṁ vā thērānam, anārōcētvā, saka-sakaṭṭhānē yēv' upasampadaṁ mā karōntu. Sacē pan' amhēhi kataṁ pi katikavattam anādiyitvā, saka-sakaṭṭhānē yēv' upasampadaṁ bhaddantā karissanti : tathā sat' upasampadâpēkkhānaṁ mātāpitūnaṁ vā, ñātakānaṁ vā, upaṭṭhakabhūtānaṁ vā dāyakānaṁ, mayaṁ daṇḍakammam upanēssāmâti ca.**

"Yē vā pana pāpabhikkhū vajjakammaṁ karōnti; yē vā gaṇakakammaṁ vaḍḍhakīkammaṁ dantakāraṁ katvā, rājā-rājamahâmattâdīnaṁ sabbēsaṁ pi janānaṁ jātakôpadhāraṇīyēna vā, uppādanimitta-supin'-uppāda-karaṇa-vasēna vā, sukhadukkham ācikkhanti.

"Yē vā bhikkhū yādisaṁ yādisam ācikkhanaṁ, cittakārakammavaḍḍhakīkamma-dantakārakamma-cundakārakamma-bimbakārakammâdikaṁ katvā, gihīkāmabhōginō viya jīvitaṁ kappēnti. Taṁ sabbam ajīvitaṁ kappēnti.

"Yē vā pana bhikkhū kappāsakhēttaṭṭhānaṁ gantvā āyatakēna sarēna dhammaṁ kathēntā kappāsatūlapiṇḍaṁ labhitvā vāṇijjaṁ karōnti.

"Yē ca bhikkhū sāli-vīhi-yavâdi-khēttaṭṭhānaṁ gantvā dhammaṁ kathēntā dhaññaṁ labhitvā vāṇijjaṁ karōnti.

"Yē vā pana bhikkhū maricaṭṭhānaṁ gantvā dhammaṁ kathētvā maricaṁ labhitvā vāṇijjaṁ karōnti.

"Yē vā pana bhikkhū aññēn' aññēna pakārēna vāṇijjaṁ karōnti.

"Yē vā pana bhikkhū akkhadhuttēhi vā, itthidhuttēhi vā, surādhuttēhi vā, cōriyakammâjīvikēhi vā, rājapurisēhi vā, yēhi kēhici vā naranārīhi saddhim ananulōmikēna gihīsaṁsaggēna saṁsaṭṭhā viharanti.

"Tē sabbē pi pāpabhikkhū. Pāpabhikkhūnaṁ tēsaṁ bhaddhantānam niccaṁ santikē vasitum ōkāsaṁ mā dadantûti ca.

"Yē panna bhikkhū saddhāsampannā; yathāsikkhāpadaṁ paṭipajjamānā sammāpaṭipattipubbakā; uddēsaparipucchâdipasutā; tēsaṁ yēva bhikkhūnaṁ bhaddantānaṁ niccaṁ santikē vasitum ōkāsaṁ dadantûti ca.

"Sacē pana saddhāsampannā gihīkulaputtā bhaddantānaṁ santikē pabbajitukāmā hōnti. Tē akkharāni lēkhāpētvā akkharēsu byañjanapāripūrikaraṇavasēna paricayaṁ kārāpētvā, saraṇagamanaṁ vā sikkhāpadāni vā sikkhāpētvā va, bhaddantā pabbājēntûti ca.

"Yē pi ca sāmaṇērā paripuṇṇavīsativassā upasampadâpēkkhā; tē pi upasampannabhikkhūhi paripūrētabbaṁ pātimōkkhasaṁvarasīl'-indriyasaṁvarasīl-âjīvapārisuddhisīla-paccayasannissitasīlasaṅkhātaṁ catupārisuddhisīlaṁ saṅkhēpatō paññāpētvā, Bhikkhupātimōkkhañ ca Khuddasikkhañ câditō yāva pariyōsānaṁ byañjanatō ca atthatō ca sikkhāpētvā, āpattidēsanañ ca catupaccayapaccavēkkhaṇañ ca vāc' uggataṁ kārāpētvā, **Rāmādhipatiraññō ca Haṁsavatīpurâdhivāsīnaṁ gaṇâcariyānañ cârōcēntu. Tadā Rāmādhipatirājā tē parikkhārēn' upatthambhētvā v'upasampadāpēssatîti ca.**

"Sabbē pi ca bhaddantā Vinayē Bhagavatā paññattasikkhāpadânurūpaṁ paṭipattiṁ yēva paṭipajjantûti ca.

"Pubbē pana Rāmaññadēsē bhikkhūnaṁ nānānikāyattā yēva sāsanē īdisaṁ mala-kaṇṭak'-bbudaṁ jātaṁ. Idāni pana sabbēsaṁ pi bhaddantānaṁ saddhāsampannattā yēva Mahāvihāra-vāsīnaṁ paraṁpara-Sīhaḷ' upasampadagāhitā. Yathā Sīhaḷadesiyānaṁ mahāthērānaṁ kēs'ōrōpa. naṁ vā cīvarabandhaṁ vā hōnti; tathā katvā v'ēkanikāyō hōtûti ca."

Ēvañ ca pana Rāmādhipatirājā sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaññamaṇḍalē bhikkhūnaṁ yaṁ katikavattam ārōcētvā, yē tē bhikkhū jātarūpa-rajatâdi-dhana-dhañña-hatthi-assa-gō-mahiṁsa-dāsī-dāsa-vantō tēsam īdisam ārōcāpēsi: "Sacē pan' ayyā, saddhāsampannā hutvā, jātarūpa-rajatâdi-dhana-dhañña-hatthi-assa-go-mahiṁsa-dāsī dāsē nissajjitum ussahanti; te nissajjitvā Bhagavatā paññattasikkhāpadânurūpaṁ sammāpaṭipattiṁ yēva paṭipajjantu. Sacē pana n' ussahanti, yathākāmaṁ vibbhamantûti."

Atha appē kaccē bhikkhū saddhāsampannattā tē sabbē nissajjitvā sikkhāpadânurūpā sammāpaṭipattiyō ya paṭipajjanti. Appē kaccē thērā sabbē pi santikē nissajjitum anōssahantā' yāthākāmaṁ vibbhamanti. Yē vā pana bhikkhū pākaṭabhūtā yēv' antimavatthum accantam ēv' ajjhāpajjanti; tēsam āyācanaṁ katvā, gihībhāvē patiṭṭhāpēsi. Yēsam accantam ēv' antimavatthum āpannabhāvō na pākaṭō; garahaparūpavādamattaṁ pana dubbisōdhanīyaṁ; tēsam āyācanaṁ katvā, gihībhāvē patiṭṭhāpēsi. Yē ca pāpabhikkhū vajjakammaṁ vā karōnti; yē vā yathāvuttaṁ gaṇanakammâdi-kammaṁ vā karōnti; yē vā gihīkāmabhōginō viya cittakammâdim ājīvikaṁ katvā micchâjīvēna jīvitaṁ kappēnti; yē vā pana bhikkhū dhammakathāya pūjāsakkāraṁ labhitvā vāṇijjaṁ karōnti; yē vā pan' aññē pi bhikkhū aññēn' aññēna pakārēna vāṇijjaṁ karōnti — tē sabbē pi gihībhāvē patiṭṭhāpēsi. Ēvaṁ Rāmādhipatirājā sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaññamaṇḍalē sāsanamalaṁ visōdhētvā, sakalaṁ pi bhikkhusaṅgham ēkanikāyam akāsi.

**Ēvaṁ sabbasmiṁ pi Rāmaññamaṇḍalē** gāmavāsinō araññavāsinō ca **bhikkhū nāga-sikhi-nāga-sakkarājatō yāva rūpa-bēda-nāga-sakkarājaṁ Mahāvihāravāsi-paraṁpara-accanta-parisuddha-Sīhaḷ'-upasampadaṁ nirantaram ēva gaṇhiṁsu.**

**Tēsaṁ gaṇâcariyabhūtā aṭṭhasataparimāṇā hōnti; daharabhikkhū pana pañca-saṭṭhâdhikadvisat'-uttaracuddasasahassa-pamāṇāhōnti: ētē ubhō pi sampiṇḍitā pañca-saṭṭhâdhika-panna-rasa-sahassapamāṇā hōnti.** Tēsvaṭṭhasatānaṁ gaṇâcariyānam upasampadagahaṇa-pariyōsānē rājā ticivaratthāya dvē dvē sukhumakappāsiyadussayugē ca, tambūlapatta-pūga-kattari-mukhapuñ-chanacōlâdi-parikkhāra-sahitaṁ sapidhānaṁ tambūlapēṭakañ ca, sindī-paṇṇachattañ ca, sâdhārakapidhāna-pattañ ca, tālabījaniñ ca, ēk'ēkass' ēk'ēkam ēvâdāsi. Yēsaṁ gaṇâcariyānaṁ nāma-paññatti pi dātabbā hōti: tēsam pi sabbēsaṁ nāma-paññattim adāsi.

Tatō paraṁ pubbē katakatika niyāmēn' ēva ñātacatupārisuddhisīlānaṁ sikkhita-pātimōkkha-khuddasikkhā-pakaraṇānaṁ vāc'-uggatâpatti-dēsanā-paccavēkkhaṇānaṁ paripuṇṇavīsativassānaṁ **ēkâdhika-cha-satānaṁ sāmaṇērānaṁ** patta-cīvara-parikkhārâdi-dēyyadhammēh' upatthambhētvā, **Kalyāṇīsimāyam upasampadāpēsi. Tē pi sampiṇḍitvā tadā Rāmaññamaṇḍalē chasaṭṭhâdhikachasat'-uttara-pannarasa-sahassa-pamāṇā bhikkhū ahēsuṁ.**

Ēvaṁ pana Buddhasāsanaṁ visōdhanaṁ karōntō Rāmādhipatirāja: "yāva pañca-vassa-sahassa-pamāṇa-kāla-pariyantā Buddhasāsanam idaṁ nirāsaṅk'upasaṁpadabhāvēn' ēva dussīlānaṁ bhikkhūnañ ca garahaparūpavādamattâvirahitānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ câpagamanavasēna parisuddhaṁ pabhassaraṁ pariyōdātaṁ hutvā, pavattatûti" manasi nidhāyâkāsi.

1. Pur' **Āsōkō dhammarājā** atulavibhavôdayō
Sāsanaṁ piyatāya 'ssa mala-dassana-kampitō.

2. **Mōggaliputtatissathēram** upanissāya sōdhanaṁ
Bhikkhū chanahutē 'kāsi, uppabbājiya pāpakē.

3. Laṅkādīpē **Sirisaṅghabōdhâdipada**-nāmakō
**Parakkamabāhurājā** pi Buddhasāsanam āmakō.

4. Malinaṁ sāsanaṁ disvā saṁvēgâpannamānasō
Pāpakē bahavō bhikkhū dhaṁsiyâdhammavādinō.
5. Mahāvihāravāsīnaṁ pavēṇiṁ dhammavādinaṁ
Saṅgham ēkanikāyañ ca ṭhapētvā sōdhanaṁ akā.
6. Tatō pacchā puna c' aññō Vijayabāhu-bhūpati
Parakkamarājā câpi tathā sāsanasōdhanaṁ.
7. Amhākaṁ Bōdhisattō pi pūrēntō pāramī purā
Tidasālayasaggamhi dēvarajjam akārayi.
8. Tadā Anandathērō pi Bārāṇasīpurē akā
Rajjam Usinnarō hutvā Kassapa-Buddhasāsanē
9. Malaṁ disvā pi majjhattō nâkā sāsanasōdhanaṁ.
Tadā Sakkō dēvarājā dibbasukhaṁ paraṁ-mukhō
10. Kaṇhasunakha-vaṇṇēna gantvā Mātalinā saha
Uttāsētvana rājānaṁ tadā 'sinnaranāmakaṁ,
11. Sāsanasōdhanatthāya laddhā tap paṭijānanaṁ
Pacchā 'nusāsanaṁ katvā paccāgā Tidasālayaṁ.
12. Tasmā Rāmaññadēsissarō pi Rāmādhipati-bhūpati
Sanādaraṁ satâcāram anugantvāna sāsanaṁ
13. Yāvapañcasahassantā patiṭṭhānāya 'sōdhayi.
14. Itthaṁ sāsanasōdhanakuslaṁ Rāmādhipatī-ham alatthaṁ yaṁ
Tēnâkhīṇam iva jātaṁ santaṁ suddhaṁ sivaṁ pacchā.
15. Haṁsāvatīpurâdhipatīnō saddhālunō Bhūpālavarā
Disvā sāsanajaṁ malaṁ pūṇayituṁ vāyamantu sadā.
16. Khīṅsavā katakiccāthērā Majjhantikâdayō
Vimuttisukham ohāya pavivēkaratā api
17. Sāsanavuḍḍhiyā hētu byāpāram akarum purā.
Tasmā tēsaṁ sanādaram anukammē supēsalō
18. Pacchā Haṁsapūravāsī bhikkhusaṅgho ca sādarō
Sāsanassa malaṁ disvā sōdhanaṁ kurutaṁ tatō
19. Yathā taṁ tibhav' ōghagatā tarituṁ durīte kasi-āyatanē jahituṁ
Arīyaṁ padadhiṁ pavaraṁ gamituṁ adhībōdhi-budhâlaḷitaṁ laḷitaṁ.

*Iti Kalyāṇī nāma pāsāṇalēkhā niṭṭhitā.*

(*To be continued.*)

## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

### *No.* 16.—*The Prince and the Kambals.*[1]

There once lived with his queen a king, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who had an immeasurable hoard of treasure; but, as the saying goes, "there was no one to eat," or in other words, the good couple had no children, though they had become old, and this grieved them very much. Every day the queen used to make it her habit to sit in the balcony of her palace, with a *suplî* (sieve) full of gold, which she distributed among beggars, with the expectation that she would get a son through their prayers and blessings.

One day, as she was seated as usual with a sieve full of gold, there came up to her a *gôsâṅvî*[2] who asked her what she had in the sieve. The queen answered saying it was gold.

[1] For the description of a *kambal*, see the story of "The Snake and the Girl," *ante*, Vol. XIX. page 315, note 5.

[2] For the description of a *gôsâṅvi*, see the story of "Bâpkhâdi," *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 142, note 1.

Upon this the *gôsâṅvi* again asked her:— "Is there any one that will eat it?", meaning "Have you got any children who will enjoy all this gold?"

"No!" said the queen in a sorrowful tone; "and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold in order that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me; but up to this time it seems that their prayers have not been heard."

The queen was then asked where her husband, the king, was; and she said that he was gone out.

"Very well," said the *gôsâṅvi*. "Tell the king, when he comes back, to come to a certain village where is my *maṭ*,[3] and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied."

Thus saying the *gôsâṅvi* received some alms from the queen and went away.

Now, when the king came back in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said:—"My dear husband, this morning as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a *gôsâṅvi*, who says his hut is in such and such a village, came up to me and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was one who would eat it, to which I said 'no,' and that I was distributing it in order to obtain a son through the prayers of the beggars. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and I told him that you were not at home. Then, telling me where his hut was, he asked me to send you to him, when, he said he would tell you what to do to obtain our desires."

The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said:— "But, my dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning, and we are both performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail; what can the *gôsâṅvi* tell and much less do, that our desires may be fulfilled? It won't be worth my while to go to him."

But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying:—"Let us see what he says. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes?"

After much entreaty the king consented, and, having finished his supper, set out for the *maṭ* (hut) of the *gôsâṅvi*. When he reached it, the *gôsâṅvi* asked him what he wanted.

The king said:—"Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me to you when I came home?"

"Yes, my lord," answered the *gôsâṅvi*. "I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will find a tree[4] laden with fruit.[4] Climb the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself, and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires."

The king went in the direction that the *gôsâṅvi* mentioned, and saw a large tree, which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and again he heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling, but, as before, when he was picking up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time till he was quite fatigued, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered up by the fruit that he could not put his feet down but fell on heaps of fruit, which made him glad to think that he had now plenty of them, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again in the tree, and there remained for him to carry only two.

[3] A 'holy' man's hut.

[4] It is to be regretted that the tree and the fruit are not mentioned by name.

Thought the king to himself :—"The *gôsâṅvi* told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I want to take more, and I knocked down so many, I can't get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the *gôsâṅvi*, or, who knows, if I take more, they will have any effect."

He then took the fruit and shewed them to the *gôsâṅvi*, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

The king, after thanking the *gôsâṅvi* for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that time **the queen became pregnant,** and, when one, two, three, and so on till nine, months of her pregnancy had elapsed, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event caused great joy to the king and queen, and they entertained all the palace servants to a great treat.

Now on the fifth day was celebrated the *pâñchvî* of the new-born, and on the sixth day was the *saṭṭî*. On the day of the *saṭṭî* a fortune-teller was called to consult about the fortune and career of the infant-prince. While the fortune-teller was consulting the horoscope the *pardhan*[5] kept watch outside. Though the fortune-teller knew what would happen to the prince, she did not tell the king and queen of the results of her calculations, and was going away, when the *pardhan* stopped her and asked her what was in the luck of the new-born. She refused to tell him anything, upon which he threatened to kill her if she would not tell him of the fortune of the king's son.

The fortune-teller then said :—"**It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea!**"

Thus saying she went away. The *pardhan*, however, kept this story to himself.

Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be done the *bârâvî* ceremony. For this purpose they had to go to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. The king and every one else, with the exception of the *pardhan*, being ignorant of what misfortune was in store for the child, made grand preparations to celebrate the auspicious occasion with great pomp and joy, and hundreds of relatives and others were invited to be present at the ceremony of naming the child.

At the appointed time they took a ship and set sail for the temple. On the way one person took up the child; a little while after a second person carried him. Soon after a third would take him, and so on, all the guests vying with each for the honour of carrying the prince. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let the child fall, and **down went the prince to the bottom of the sea!** Hundreds of people dived after the child but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they came home the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly dropped the child, to imprisonment for twelve years, during which she had to grind *nâchnî*.[6]

Now it happened that as soon as the child fell into the sea, **he was devoured by a magalmâsâ,**[7] which, again, was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village. In the morning **a fisherman,** who lived with his wife, and who were very wealthy, was going in pursuit of his vocation, *viz.*, that of fishing, when he came upon the *magalmâsâ*. He, therefore, managed somehow or other to drag it to the shore, and **cut it open,** when to his great surprise and confusion, **he saw a child come out of the belly of the magalmâsâ.** The child was alive. Having no children himself with all his wealth, he gladly took up the child in his arms,

[5] A prince is usually called a *pardhan*, but here, I think, is meant the prime minister, or some *kârbhârî* of the household.

[6] *Nâchnî* is a sort of grain. It is popularly supposed that women, when sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, are made to grind *nâchnî*.

[7] Equals *magarmâsâ* = an alligator.

and went home and handed him to his wife, who also rejoiced at the event, saying :—"At last God has sent us a child in this miraculous manner."

They constituted themselves the drowned prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth as they did, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. The prince grew up rapidly. When he was only one month old he looked two months old, when two months old, he seemed to be four months old, and so on.

Thus the boy grew up strong and beautiful, and was known to all as the fisherman's son, for the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother. When he was about six or seven years old, he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood.

One day the children ran to the shore, and the prince asked his foster-parents to permit him also to go and play there, but the fisherman said :—"No, my dear child. Don't you go and play near the seabeach. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then what shall I do? Tell me what you may need, and I will get you any toys that you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety."

In spite of the kind advice the prince, as is the wont of children, ran full speed, and joined his playmates at the seabeach.

Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a very beautiful kambal, floating on the tide which was coming in. Every one of the children attempted to get it, but all failed. At last our hero said he would fetch it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying :—

"What a silly child you are. Such big boys as we are we could not succeed, and you say that you can fetch it."

The prince, however, persisted saying he would fetch the *kambal*, upon which they laid a wager, to which he consented and dived headlong into the waves, and in a few moments was again on the shore triumphantly carrying the *kambal*, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the *kambal* to his foster-parents, who, on seeing it, asked him where he got it from, or whether he had stolen it from any one. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the other children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the kambal.

Now in that country *kambals* were so rare, that not even the nobles and very seldom the kings could obtain them, and to possess one was thought a great luxury. So the fisherman began to think to himself :—"Here is a most beautiful *kambal*, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king."[8]

So one day he took the *kambal* and presented it to the king, who was very glad to see such a beautiful flower, and asked him where he got it from. The fisherman told him the whole truth, and the king, being satisfied with the answer, dismissed him, after rewarding him handsomely. The king then took the *kambal* and hung it upon his bed. One of the maid-servants of the queen, who happened to come into the room just then, on seeing the *kambal*, said :—

"My lord, this flower is certainly very beautiful, but unless you can get and hang up two more[9] it will never lend any beauty by itself to the bed."

[8] It must be borne in mind that this king is the father of our hero.

[9] Two more added would make three *kambals*. The number three has here evidently some meaning to it, for it could be more natural to add three, so as to make four, one for each of the four corners of the bed.

The king, having heard this, sent for the fisherman, and told him to ask his son to bring two more; but the fisherman protested, saying :—

"My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son obtained that *kambal*, and it is next to impossible to get any more."

The king, however, would not be convinced of the impossibility of getting more *kambals*, and told the fisherman that should his son fail to bring him two more kambals he should forfeit his head.

The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableness of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, it was customary during meals for the old man, owing to his great affection, to feed the prince as one would a little child, though he was already nearly eight years old. That day, however, the prince missed him, and so asked his foster-mother why his father did not take supper. She said she did not know the reason; perhaps he was not feeling well. Upon this the prince went and asked him why he did not come to supper, but the old man said :—

"Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any."

"But, father," said the prince, "you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look so downcast and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all your cares and anxieties."

The old man was very much pleased with the prince's kind words, and said to him :— "My dear child, the *kambal* you brought from the sea, and which I presented to the king, has brought a very great misfortune on me. The king went and suspended the *kambal* upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who saw it, said, that the *kambal*, though certainly very beautiful, lent no beauty to the bed, and that, if there should be hung up two more, it would make the bed appear very handsome. The king, therefore, wants you to bring him two more *kambals*. I remonstrated with him on the impossibility of getting any, but to no use, for the king cannot be persuaded of it, and he has ordered you to fetch them on the penalty of forfeiting your head in case of failure. God gave you to us so miraculously in our old age, and the cruel king wishes to take you away. This, my child, is my grief, and I will starve myself to death before you are snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper, and go to bed quietly."

Thus said the fisherman and heaved a deep sigh, and tears could be seen trickling from his eyes in profusion.

Upon this the prince said :—"Is this what has caused you so much anxiety? Tell the king that I promise to bring him two kambals. But, first of all, tell him that he must provide me with a ship completely manned with *khalâsîs* and other servants, and I must have provisions to last for several months, and an iron chain several yards long. Then I will go and fetch him the *kambals*. In the meanwhile you must calm your fears, and rise and take your supper."

When the fisherman heard these words he took heart, and rose and took his supper. On the following morning the fisherman bent his way to the palace and informed the king that his son had promised to bring him the *kambals* on condition that he fitted out a ship with servants, a long iron chain, and provisions to last for several months. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. What did the king lack? He had hoards of treasures. So he hired numerous workmen, and a job, that would take two or three months to finish, he got done in a fortnight, and fitted out the ship with a great number of *khalâsîs* and other servants. He also procured a very long iron chain, and stored in the ship provisions of all sorts enough not for some months, but for years!

Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents went and embarked on board the ship, and in a little while more the ship was out of sight dancing on the waves of the vast ocean.

They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, the prince ordered them to cast anchor. He then hooked on the long iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the *khalâsîs*:—

"I am now going to dive into the sea. Keep hold of the chain, and as soon as you feel extra weight on it pull up the chain and haul it home."

Thus he said to the *khalâsîs*, and descended along the chain and **dived into the sea.** When he had gone down a long way, **he came upon a beautiful country with large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts,** bent down with the weight of the abundance of fruit, very tempting to the view.

Here he walked about for a couple of hours, and came upon a large but lonely mansion, most beautifully furnished, and as he entered it he came in sight of **a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth fell kambals as she spoke.** Our hero asked her what she was doing there apparently alone, for he could see no signs of any other human beings.

Our hero being also very beautiful, the damsel of the subterraneous abode was enamoured of him, but said with a sorrowful tone:—

"I am the daughter of a **rânkhas**[10] who has gone out in search of **his food,** which consists of animals and such like, and occasionally **human beings,** should any fall into his hands by chance. I am certainly glad to see you, but still I am anxious about your safety, because, should my father see you, he will have no mercy on you, but will make a meal of you in a trice."

"Then tell me where I can conceal myself with safety," said the prince.

Upon this the girl said:—"See, **I will transform you into a fly** and put you up on the wall, where you must remain till my father goes out again to-morrow. In the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before my father, the *rânkhas*, comes back, which will not be very long hence."

The prince thanked her for her kindness. She then set before him some food, which she prepared in a hurry-scurry, and to which our hero did ample justice, being very hungry, as he had not eaten for several hours. This done, the girl changed the prince into a fly and stuck him up on the wall.

Not very long after the *rânkhas* came home after his day's excursion, and, as usual, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter:—

"My dear girl, I smell **the smell of a human being** about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?"

And the daughter replied:— "What makes you think of human beings about here? Here I am alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours?"

"But" said the father, "I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shouldn't have said so."

The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being, and was, therefore, unaware of it. The *rânkhas* was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

On the next day when the *rânkhas* went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood our prince before her. She then prepared some food of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely

[10] *i. e.*, a *râkshasa* = a giant.

during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near time for the *rāṅkhas* to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly, and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the *rāṅkhas*, in what his life lay. Accordingly, in the evening, when the *rāṅkhas* returned, and she was shampooing his limbs, she said :—

"Father, tell me in what lies your life?"

The *rāṅkhas* replied:— "Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?"

"Father," said she, "if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident happen to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?"

But the *rāṅkhas* replied :— "Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life, — you know the three brab-trees[11] standing near our house. Should any person cut one of the trees with one stroke, I shall get a strong attack of fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two also with one stroke, there will be an end to my life. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe I am safe also. You see, then, that you have no cause for anxiety about me."

He then fell asleeep. The following day, when the *rāṅkhas* was gone, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she had heard from her father. Our hero now looked about and caught sight of the *rāṅkhas'* sword hanging on the wall. He took it, and, having sharpened it, went out, and, with one stroke, cut off one of the brab-trees. As soon as the tree was cut down, a strong fever came on the *rāṅkhas*, who now retraced his steps home, but before he could reach it, our hero cut down the other two brab-trees also with one stroke, and with the fall of the trees the *rāṅkhas* also fell dead.

The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the *kambals*, which fell from her mouth every time she spoke. He now thought that he had been absent for a rather long time from his foster-parents, who must be becoming anxious about him. So he made up his mind to quit the place taking with him the *kambals*, which he intended to give to his king. He, therefore, made the damsel of the subterraneous abode acquainted with his intention.

The girl, however, said :—"You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone! What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily."

The prince consented, but the difficulty was how to bring her to land. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her in a box and carried her to the place where his ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but alas! so soon as the *khalāsīs* felt the weight of the box they pulled up the chain, and to their astonishment saw that a box was tied up with it!

"Where is the boy?" they thought. "From whence comes this box? What can have become of him? We have, however, acted up to his orders and are not to blame. Let us now return home; but let us, in the first place, see the contents of the box."

Thus saying, they proceeded to open the box, but to their utter embarrassment they heard a voice coming from inside :— "Hold! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms."

11 [This is an exceedingly interesting instance of the local survival of an old forgotten Anglo-Indian word, the last previous quotation for which is 1809, so far as I know, the earliest being 1623. *Brab* is a corruption of Portuguese *brava*, and stands for the tree otherwise known as the toddy palm, the palmyra, and the fan-palm = *Borassus flabelliformis.*—ED.]

When they heard these words, they thought it best not to meddle with the box, but to take it and present it to their king for what it might be worth.

Accordingly they set sail, and with a favourable breeze reached their native shore in a very short time. When they had landed, they carried the box into the presence of the king, who was impatiently waiting to see the prince back with the *kambals*, and thus addressed him :—

" Sire, here we are after a long absence. When we had reached in the middle of the sea the young lad, who promised to bring the *kambals*, descended into the sea with the aid of the long iron chain, which he had so particularly ordered you to make, and diving under the waters disappeared. Before doing so he told us to hold the chain in its position till we felt it getting heavier, when we were to pull it up. After waiting there for many days, we felt an unusual and extraordinary weight, upon which we pulled up the chain, expecting, every moment, to see the lad, but to our surprise we found this box tied to the chain. We cannot say what has become of the lad. When we attempted to open the box, we heard a female voice speaking from inside the following words :— ' Hold ! Be cautious what you are about. Do not open the box. Any one, who dares to do it in spite of my remonstrances, will be plagued with worms.' We, therefore, refrained from opening the box, which we now present to your Majesty."

The king was pleased to accept the box, and proceeded to open it, expecting to hear the words the *khalâsîs* had told him, but our heroine let him open it. When the box was, however, opened, out popped a damsel of unequalled beauty.

The maid-servants, who saw her, at once exclaimed : — " Sire, she is fit to be your queen, while the queen ought to be made her maid-servant."

The king, thereupon, asked her if she was willing to be his queen, but she said :— " I am under a vow for twelve years ; should any one dare touch me before that period has elapsed he will be plagued with worms. If, however, you wish to keep me, you must allot me a separate room, to which no one is to be allowed admittance, except one or two maid-servants. When my twelve years of vow have passed away I will be yours."

The king did not wish her to violate the vow of twelve years which she had mentioned. He, therefore, ordered a large room to be furnished in an elegant style for her to live in separately, and provided her with maid-servants and everything else necessary to her comfort.

To return to our hero, the prince, whom we left behind in the country under the sea. As soon as he found that the chain with the box was hauled up, and there was no chance of his coming out of the sea, he walked back, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits with which the place abounded. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself fatigued and so lay down to rest under a *pimpal*-tree.

Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn*, were in the habit of breeding in that *pimpal*-tree, but, to their misfortune, as soon as they left the place in search of food or for any purpose, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. That day, too, the *gûrûpakshîn* gave birth to two littles ones, after which she and the *gûrûpakshâ* went away in search of food. During their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to gobble up the little birds, when our hero at once rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some four or five hours afterwards the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* came to the tree carrying some food in their beaks, and proceeded to feed the little ones, upon which they said :—

" Before you feed us, tell us if you had any other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born ?"

The parent-birds said :— "Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of all of them. We are certainly astonished to find you alive ; and even now we are not certain how long you will be spared to us."

(*To be continued.*)

# MISCELLANEA.

## VADDAVARA.

The details given by Prof. Kielhorn on page 111 above, in connection with certain dates which include the word **Vaḍḍavâra as the name of a day of the week,** render unnecessary the greater part of a note which I have had on hand, unfinished, for over four years. But it may be useful to now supplement what he has written.

Prof. Kielhorn has arrived at the opinion that **Vaḍḍavâra must be either Saturday or Sunday,** and that the chances are in favour of Sunday.[1]

On the other hand, I arrived at the opinion that **Vaḍḍavâra is most probably Saturday.** But I have not been able to obtain the actual proof that is needed. And that is why my note has remained unpublished.

Finding, like Prof. Kielhorn, that the available dates do not give uniform results, I was pursuing a different line of inquiry, which was suggested by the fact that, among the grants recorded in an inscription at Tâḷgund in Mysore, dated in the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, A. D. 1157-58 (*Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 219), there is mentioned (line 65-66) the item of — **Vaḍḍavâradoḷ abhyaṅga** Sômavâradal 30 manushya brâhmaṇaṁ ruguraṁ kaḷava nâvidana jîvitaṁ ga 4, — "four *gadyâṇas* (*for*) **smearing the body with oil on Vaḍḍavâra,** (*and for*) the support of a barber who is to bathe thirty sick Brâhmaṇs (or, perhaps, the thirty Brâhmaṇs, when they fall sick) on Monday."

This passage shews that at any rate **Vaḍḍavâra is not Monday.** And my object was to find out the day of the week for which the *abhyaṅga* or *tailâbhyaṅga* is prescribed by the Śâstras. Prof. Kielhorn will very probably be able to give the final passage that is required. Meanwhile, I will quote the following:—

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit supplied me with the following from Śrîpati's *Ratnamâlâ*, Vâra-prakaraṇa, verse 9:—

Ravis tâpaṁ kântim vitarati Śaśî Bhûmitanayô
mṛitim lakshmîṁ Chândriḥ Surapatigurur vitta-haraṇaṁ |
vipattiṁ Daityânâṁ Gurur akhila-bhôg-ânubhavanam
nṛiṇâṁ tail-âbhyangât sapadi kurutè Sûryatanayaḥ ||

This marks Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, as unlucky days,— Monday and Wednesday, as lucky days,— and **Saturday, as the best day of all, for the tailâbhyaṅga.**

So, also, a verse from the *Muhûrta-Mârtaṇḍa* — (*Bhadrâ-saṁkrama-pâta, &c.;* quoted in the *Dharmasindhusâra*, parichchhêda iii. para. 134) — says that one should not make the *tailâbhyaṅga*, without some sufficient reason, on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday.

And another verse, given in the same paragraph, implies the same, by stating that the *tailâbhyaṅga* confers happiness, if flowers are scattered on a Sunday, fragrant earth on a Tuesday, *durvâ*-grass on a Thursday, and cowdung on a Friday.

Also, another passage in the *Dharmasindhusâra*, parichchhêda i. para. 45, says, in general terms, that the *tailâbhyaṅga* should be avoided on a Sunday.

There are also rules prescribing the *tailâbhyaṅga* for certain *tithis* and festivals, and prohibiting it for certain other similar occasions. But the above is all that I have been able to find, on the subject of the *tailâbhyaṅga* in connection with the week-days.

**The general tendency of the passages given above is,** that the *tailâbhyaṅga* may ordinarily be preformed on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday. Of these three days, Monday is plainly excluded, as far as the meaning of Vaḍḍavâra is concerned, by the Tâḷgund inscription. And, Saturday being clearly indicated as the best day of all for the *tailâbhyaṅga*, and also answering best to the dates that I calculated, I arrived at the opinion that **Vaḍḍavâra is most probably Saturday.** But of course the result is not a conclusive one. And it remains to be seen whether it can be borne out by, for instance, any other passage to the effect that, under all ordinary circumstances, and as far as the week-days only are concerned, Saturday is the proper day for the *tailâbhyaṅga*.

[1] As regards the latter point, he seems to have been somewhat influenced by some remarks by Mr. Rice, from which he infers that *vaḍḍa* may be synonymous with *mukhya* and *âdi*. But I cannot find anything to support such a meaning of the word. — As we have, in Kanarese, *oḍâṭa*, 'dulness,' it is just possibe that *oḍḍa*, *vaḍḍa*, may be a corruption of the Sanskrit *manda*, which is used as a name of the planet Saturn. But I have not been influenced by this idea in the result at which I have arrived. — In an inscription at Tâḷgund (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 217, line 20, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 203, and note), that village is called "the glorious great *vaḍḍa*-village, Tâṇagundûr" (see *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 279, note §). But I doubt whether in that expression, or in *vaḍḍarâvuḷa* as the name of an ancient tax, and in *vaḍḍavyavahârin* which indicates a trade or profession, *vaḍḍa* has the same application as in *vaḍḍavâra*.

To the dates given by Prof. Kielhorn, I can add the following:—

An inscription on a *vîrgal* at Hûli in the Belgaum District is dated on **Vaḍḍavâra**, the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Śrâvaṇa of the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, which was the thirty-second year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla. Here, Sarvajit coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1030 current. And the given *tithi*, beginning at about 48 *gh.* 40 *p.*, = 19 hrs. 28 min., after mean sunrise, on the Friday, ended at 49 *gh.* 45 *p.*, = 19 hrs. 44 min., on **Saturday**, 10th August, A. D. 1107.

And, on the dates put forward by him, I would make the following remarks:—

The inscription of A. D. 1087. This records a grant of land and **an oil-mill**; and the latter item seems to connect the grant closely with the *tailâbhyaṅga*. I expect that in this record the fourteenth *tithi*, which began on the Saturday at about 42 *gh.* 40 *p.*, = 17 hrs. 4 min., and ended on the Sunday at 46 *gh.* 45 *p.*, = 18 hrs. 42 min , is a genuine mistake for the thirteenth, which included all the daylight hours of the Saturday.

The inscription of A. D. 1144. The resulting day for Vaḍḍavâra, with the ended *tithi*, is Friday, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. But, as Friday is mentioned in the first part of this record by the usual name, Śukravâra, it seems hardly likely that Vaḍḍavâra also can be really used here to mean Friday. — Though the two parts of the record are dated in two successive years, they seem to have been written at one and the same time. — With the *tithi*, the second, which seems, at first sight, to be given in the first part of the record, the resulting week-day there is Monday, instead of Friday. But there are indications that the 'two' was corrected into 'six.' And this would give the correct day, Friday. — It seems possible that there was some similar carelessness, left uncorrected, in respect of the *tithi* in the second part of the record. The given *tithi*, indeed, Mâgha kṛishṇa 14, is the *tithi* of the Mahâ-Śivarâtri, which is named in the record; and there ought to be no mistake in connection with at any rate the *tithi* of so very special a festival. But, plenty of cases can be turned up in which the rites have had to be celebrated on the day on which the thirteenth *tithi* ended. And the question may be, whether, on the occasion in question, there were any circumstances that necessitated the celebration of the rites during the fifteenth *tithi*, which ended on Saturday, — with the result that the writer made confusion between the ended *tithi* of that day and the *tithi* of the festival.

The inscription of A D. 1163. The *tithi* began on the Saturday, at about 3 *gh.* 15 *p.*, = 1 hr. 18 min., and ended on the Sunday, at 6 *gh.* 5 *p* , = 2 hrs. 26 min. **As a current tithi, it was connected with almost the whole of the daytime of the Saturday.** And my belief is that we have always to consider the week-day during which a *tithi* is current during an appreciable portion of the daytime, quite as much as the week-day on which it ends.

The inscription of A. D. 1187. The resulting week-day is undoubtedly **Saturday**, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The *tithi* began at about 39 *gh.* 10 *p* , = 15 hrs. 40 min., on the Friday; and ended at 35 *gh.* 10 *p.*, = 14 hrs. 4 min., on the Saturday. And both the daytime condition and the ending condition are satisfied.

The inscription of A. D. 1234. Here, again, the resulting week-day is undoubtedly **Saturday**, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn. The *tithi* began at about 33 *gh.* 40 *p.*, = 13 hrs. 28 min., on the Friday; and ended at 28 *gh.* 35 *p.*, = 11 hrs. 26 min., on the Saturday. And, here also, the daytime condition is satisfied, as well as the ending condition.

The inscription of A. D. 1284. According to all but one of the inscriptions of Râmachandra in Sir Walter Elliot's MS. Collection, the Svabhânu *saṁvatsara*, A. D. 1283-84, ought to be the thirteenth year of his reign, — not the twelfth; according to the one exception, it would be the twelfth year. My results are the same as Prof. Kielhorn's, for the three years given by him. And there must be more than one mistake in the details given in the record.

It seems to me that **the evidence decided, preponderates in favour of Vaḍḍavâra meaning Saturday.** But, as I have already said, definite proof is still wanting.

J. F. FLEET.

*24th May*, 1893.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### BASSEIN—BASSEEN.

Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v. teak*, quotes Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mogul Empire*, 1793, p. 260, to the following effect:— the teek forests, from whence the marine yard at Bombay is furnished with that excellent species of ship timber, lie along the western side of the Gaut Mountains . . . . on the north and northeast of **Basseen.**

This settles the pronounciation of **Bassein** when the word first began to be recognized, although the Bassein referred to by Rennell is I take it the town in the Bombay Presidency and not the town in Burma. See *ante*, p 18 ff.

R. C. TEMPLE.

# NOTES ON TUL'SI DAS.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, I.C.S.

(*Concluded from p.* 236.)

8. The **Kabitta Râmâyan,** or **Kabittâbalî.** The history of Râma in the *kavitta, ghanâkshari, chhappai* and *sawaiyâ* metres. It is devoted to the contemplation of the majestic side of Râma's character.[1] Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî informs me that the poem has been enlarged in later times by the addition to the last *kâṇḍ* of occasional verses written by Tul'sî Dâs in *kavitta* metres. That Tul'sî Dâs did write occasional verses, like other poets of his time, is to be expected, and they have been collected and arranged in appropriate groups by admirers of the poet. Such are *K. Râm., Ut.*, 132 ff., in praise of the *Jânakî-vaṭa,* or peepul tree at the site of Vâlmîki's hermitage, which still exists on the banks of the Ganges, and is an object of worship to the present day. So also, *Ut.* 94-96, addressed to the Kâliyuga, *Ut.*, 170 and ff., lamenting over the insults offered by the Musalmâns to Banâras, and *Ut.*, 174, which is said to have been uttered by him when at the point of death. Other collections of similar verses, frequently found appended to the *Kabitta Râmâyan* are the *Râm-stuti, Uddhav-gôpikâ-sambâd, Hanumânâdi-stuti, Jânakî-stuti, Sankar-batîsî*, and the *Hanumân bâhuṅk* (written when the poet was suffering from a severe sore in the arm).

In seven *kâṇḍs* or cantos, viz.:—

(1) The *Bâl-kâṇḍ,* Childhood. Commencing with Râma's childhood and ending with the breaking of Śiva's bow. 22 stanzas (*pada*), mostly quatrains.

(2) The *Ayôdhyâ-kâṇḍ,* Ayôdhyâ. Describes the circumstances attending Râma's departure on exile. 28 stanzas.

(3) *Âraṇya-kâṇḍ,* the Forest. Describes the chase of the golden deer. One stanza.

(4) *Kishkindhâ-kâṇḍ,* the Adventures in Kishkindhya. A description of Hanumat's famous leap. One stanza.

(5) *Sundar-kâṇḍ,* the Beautiful. Sîtâ in the garden in Laṅkâ. Hanumat's adventures there. The conflagration of Laṅkâ. Hanumat bids farewell to Sîtâ, and returns to Râma. Thirty-two stanzas.

(6) *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ,* Laṅkâ. The news of Râma's arrival in Ceylon. Trijaṭâ tells Sîtâ. Alarm of the citizens. The first battle, Aṅgada's challenge. Vibhîshaṇa's remonstrance. Mandôdarî's remonstrance. The battle resumed. Hanumat's journey for the *sañjîvanî* root. The final victory. Fifty-eight stanzas.

(7) *Uttar-kâṇḍ,* the Sequel. Verses in adoration of Râma. Miscellanea. One hundred and seventy-seven stanzas.

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1 The commentators say that there are three ways of looking at Râma (*tîni bhâṅti lîlâ*), *viz.*, the tender side of his character (*mâdhurya*), the majestic side of his character (*aiśvarya*), and the complex (*miśrita*) in which tenderness and majesty are combined. There are four ways of singing his praises, as a *mâgadha* or panegyrist, a *vandin* or bard, a *sûta* or historical poet, and an *arthin* or suppliant. A work in which the complex view of Râma's character, together with his glory and his power, is celebrated is called a *charita*, and should be sung by a *sûta* (also called a *pauraṇika*,) an historical poet. His tenderness should be sung by a *mâgadha*, and his majesty by a *vandin*; while entreaties addressed to him should be sung by an *arthin*. Tul'sî Dâs first composed the *Râma-charita-mânasa*, dealing with the complex side of Râma's character, as a *sûta*. Then, to encourage the faithful with a true idea of Râma's power, he illustrated his majesty in the *Kabittâbalî*, assuming the *rôle* of a *vandin*. Then to strengthen the love of the worshipper, he dwelt on Râma's tenderness in the *Gîtâbalî*, taking the *rôle* of a *mâgadha*. Finally becoming an *arthin*, a suppliant, he wrote the *Binay pattrikâ*. Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî gives me the following *ślôka*:—

*sûtâḥ paurâṇikâḥ prôktâ, mâgadhâ vaṁśaśaṁsakâḥ* |
*vandinas tv amala-prajñâḥ prastâva-sadriśôktayaḥ* ||

from which we gather that a *sûta* is a reader of ancient histories, a *mâgadha* praises the king's family, and a *vandin* is expert in complying with his demand for a fine poem.

The following are examples of this work. *K. Râm.* I.

Metre. *Sawaiyâ.*

*Awadhêsa kê dâre sakâre gaî suta gôda kai bhûpati lai nikasê* ।
*Abalôki haun sôcha bimôchana kô ṭhagi sî rahi, jê na ṭhagê dhika sê* ।
*Tulasî mana-rañjana rañjita añjana naina sukhañjana-jâtaka sê* ।
*Sajanî, sasi men sama sîla ubhai nava nîla sarôruha sê bikasê* ॥ 1 ॥

(One townswoman of Ayôdhyâ says to another) "I went at dawn to the portal of the Lord of Awadha (Daśaratha), as, son in arms, the king issued from the palace. As I gazed upon the babe, the releaser from sorrow, I stopped like one enchanted,—yea, shame on all who were not enchanted at the sight. (O! Tul'sî), His eyes darkened with heart-rejoicing henna were like young *khañjanas*.[2] My dear, 'twas just as though twc dark lotuses had bloomed, noble in character, upon the fair moon (of his countenance)."

We may note that the first word of the first line is said by the commentators to set the whole keynote of the poem. *Awadhêsa*, the Lord of Awadh, (*îśa=îśvara*), indicates that the subject of the poem is majesty (*aiśvarya*).

The next example (V, 14, 15) describes how Hanumat, with his flaming tail sets fire to Laṅkâ. It is a good example of Tul'sî Dâs's power over words, with which he makes the sound an echo of the sense.

Metre. *Kavitta.*

*Hâṭa-bâṭa kôṭa-ôṭa aṭani agâra pauri khôri khôri dauri dauri dînhî ati âgi hai* ।
*Ârata pukârata, sanbhârata na kôu kâhû, byâkula jahân sô tahân lôga chalyau bhâgi hai* ॥
*Bâladhî phirâwai, bâra bâra jhaharâwai, jharai bûndiyâ sî, lanka paghilâi pâgi pâgi hai* ।
*Tulasî, bilôki akulânî jâtudhânî kahai chitra hûn kê kapi sô niśâchara na lâgi hai* ॥ 14 ॥
*Lâgi lâgi âgi, bhâgi bhâgi chalê jahân tahân, dhîya kô na mâya, bâpa pûta na sanbhârahîn* ।
*Chhûṭê bâra, basana ughârê, dhûma dhundha andha, kahai bârê bûḍhê bâri bâri bâra bârahîn* ॥
*Haya hihinâta, bhâgê jâta, ghaharâta gaja, bharî bhîra ḍhîli pêli raundi khaundi ḍârahîn* ।
*Nâma lai chilâta bilalâta akulâta ati tâta tâta taunsiyata jhaunsiyata jhârahîn* ॥ 15 ॥

In the market-gulleys, on the bulwarks of the citadel, on the balconies, on the palaces, on the gateways, running along from lane to lane, Hanumat sets alight a mighty conflagration. In terror the people scream. One fails to help another, every one is in confusion, and every one only tries to run away from where he finds himself. The monkey brandishes his (blazing) tail: he jerks it from door to door; sparks fall from it like rain drops, and Laṅkâ, as it were, ripens and melts into syrup. (O Tul'sî) the distraught Râkshasa women cry out as they look at him:—'not even in a picture hath such a monkey been seen by the night-prowlers'?[3] (14)

'Fire! Fire! Fire!' They flee, they run hither and thither for their lives. Mother knows not her own daughter. Father helps not his own son. Girls with their hair dishevelled, nay, their very garments torn open, blind in the darkness of the smoke, children, old men, cry and cry again for 'water, water!' The horses neigh, the elephants trumpet, as they break from their stalls. In the vast mob men shove and trample one another, one crushing another as he falls beneath his feet. Calling each others' names, children screech, lamenting, distraught, crying 'my father, my father, I am being scorched, I am being burnt alive in the flames.' (15)

[2] The *khañjana* is a very quickly darting bird, to which eyes are frequently compared.

[3] *i.e.* Râkshasas.

9. The **Gît Râmâyan** or **Gîtâbalî.** The history of Râma, in various song-metres. Devoted to the tender side (*mâdhurya*) of Râma's character.[4] In seven *kâṇḍs*, or cantos, viz.

(1) *Bâl-kâṇḍ.* Childhood. A gospel of the infant Râma. The birth of Râma and his brothers. Rejoicings thereon. The delight and affection of the queen-mothers (7), and of Daśaratha in and for their infant children. The blessing of Vaśishṭha (13). The mothers' affection. They rock the babes to sleep. Description of the beauty of the infants. They grow older and crawl about the court of the palace (26). Râma's beauty at this age. They play in the courtyard and lisp their first words. Their first lessons in walking. The wakening of Râma, at dawn, by his mother (36). The boys run out to play. The admiration of the town folk. They play on the banks of the Sarayu (46). (The first half of the canto ends here. Forty-six songs).

Viśvâmitra comes to Ayôdhyâ. His welcome. He asks for Râma and Lakshmaṇa to relieve the hermits from the Râkshasas. They start off with him. Description of their charming appearance. Their delight and wonder at the novelties they see on the way. The slaughter of the Râkshasas. Rejoicing of the hermits. The salvation of Ahalyâ (57). They set out for Janakapura. Their reception there: admiration of the citizens. The two princes introduced to Janaka. They reach the scene of the bow-sacrifice. The appearance of the princes. The crowd assembles to see the sight. The townsfolk talk. The grandeur of the assembly. Arrival of Sîtâ in state (84). The proclamation of the conditions. The other competitor kings fail even to move the bow. Râma, at Viśvâmitra's instance, breaks the bow (90). Rejoicings thereat. Rage of the defeated kings. Delight of the townsfolk (99).

Kauśalyâ's lamentations in Râma's absence from Ayôdhyâ. The other queens comfort her. Arrival of news from Janakapura. Rejoicings in Ayôdhyâ. The marriage procession starts and arrives at Janakapura (100). The wedding. Description of the beauty of Râma and Sîtâ. Of Lakshmaṇa and Urmilâ. The townsfolk talk of Râma. His reception at Ayôdhyâ by his mother. Altogether 110 songs (*pada*) to various melodies.

(2) *Ayôdhyâ-kâṇḍ.* Ayôdhyâ. Daśaratha determines to make Râma *yuvarâja*. Kaikêyî, under Mantharâ's influence, gets Bharata made *yuvarâja*, and has Râma sent to exile (1). Lamentations of Kauśalyâ and Daśaratha. They entreat Râma to stop, but unavailingly. Sîtâ makes ready to go with Râma. He remonstrates. She insists. The townsfolk lament that Sîtâ is going (11). Lakshmaṇa also insists on going. They start (12). Sîtâ washes Râma's feet when he is weary with the road. Their pilgrimage (14). The comments of the people along the way, on their appearance. Of the village people (15-30). Their hardships. Comments of people on the road (31-41). The comments of the forest women (*kirâtinî*) in Chitrakûta. The pilgrims settle there. Their life. The forest and all nature gain new beauties (42-50). At Ayôdhyâ, the lamentations of Kauśalyâ (51-55). Return of the charioteer Sumantra. Daśaratha addresses him, laments, and dies (56-59). Bharata reproaches Kaikêyî (60, 61). He speaks humbly to Kauśalyâ. Her reply (62-64). He refuses to be made king, and sets out for Chitrakûṭa (65). Lamentations of the parrots, &c., in Râma's house (66-67). Bharata's journey to Chitrakûṭa. He meets Râma, and entreats him to return. Râma refuses (68-72). Bharata asks for Lakshmaṇa at least to return, and to let him go instead with Râma. This he also refuses. He takes Râma's shoes home with him, to set them on the throne. He himself lives in humble guise at Nandîgrâma (73-79). Praise of Bharata (80-82). Kauśalyâ's lamentations (80-87). The talk of the townsfolk (88, 89). Total eighty-nine songs (*pada*).

(3) *Âraṇya-kâṇḍ.* The Forest. The pilgrims in the forest. Râma as a hunter. The leaf hut in Pañchavaṭî (1-5). The golden deer. The circumstances of its death. The approach of Râvaṇa disguised as the mendicant devotee. The rape of Sîtâ. The conflict with Jaṭâyu (6-8); return of Râma and Lakshmaṇa to the hermitage. The search for Sîtâ. They find Jaṭâyu. He tells them of the rape (9-16). The meeting with the 'Savarî (17). Altogether 17 songs (*pada*).

[4] See note on the *Kabittâbalî*.

(4) *Kishkindhâ-kaṇḍ.* The Adventures in Kishkindhya. Sugrîva shows Râma the bracelets dropped by Sîtâ. When the rainy season is over the monkeys and bears go off to search for Sîtâ. In all two songs (*pada*).

(5) *Sundar-kâṇḍ.* The Beautiful. The monkeys and bears set out to search for Sîtâ. The meeting with Saṁpâti. Hanumat leaps over the sea. Searches for Sîtâ in Laṅkâ, and finds her (1). The meeting. Hanumat gives her Râma's ring (2). She addresses the ring (3, 4). Conversation between Hanumat and Sîtâ (5-11). Hanumat addresses Râvaṇa (12, 13). After having burnt Laṅkâ, Hanumat addresses Sîtâ and departs (14, 15). Lakshmaṇa tells Râma of the arrival of Hanumat. Hanumat arrives and tells his own story (16-20). Râma's reception of the news. They set out for Laṅkâ, build the Sêtubandha and cross the sea (21, 22). Râvaṇa receives news of the approach of Râma's army. Mandôdarî advises him to submit. Also Vibhîshaṇa. Râvaṇa spurns him. He deserts to Râma and his reception (23-46). Sîtâ awaiting Râma's arrival. She talks with Trijaṭâ (47-51). Altogether 51 songs (*pada*).

(6) *Laṅkâ-kâṇḍ.* Laṅkâ. Mandôdarî remonstrates with Râvaṇa (1). Aṅgada's challenge (2, 3). Lakshmaṇa's wound. Hanumat brings the magic root, visiting Ayôdhyâ on his way. His conversation with Bharata. Lakshmaṇa recovers (4-15). After conquering the Râkshasas (all description of the battle omitted) Râma brings the slain monkeys and bears to life (1). The period of Râma's banishment elapsed. Kauśalyâ expecting Râma at Ayôdhyâ. Good omens. Rejoicing in the city at the news of Râma's approach. The arrival of Râma (18-23). In all twenty-three songs (*pada*).

(7) *Uttar-kâṇḍ.* The Sequel. The majestic (*aiśvarya*) sway of Râma, after his return (1). The tenderness (*mâdhurya*) of his rule. The music when he wakes in the morning (2). He bathes in the Sarayû (3-5). Râma on his throne (6-8). His love, &c. (9-12). His might. Praise of his personal appearance (13-17). The swing festival in the rainy season (18). Praise of Ayôdhyâ (19). Its illumination (20). Its inhabitants (21). The Hôlî festival (22). The prosperity of the city (23). Râma's justice. The affair of the Washerman. The banishment of Sîtâ (24-32). Sîtâ's life in Vâlmîki's hermitage. Birth of Lava and Kuśa. Their growth (33-36). Râma's life in Ayôdhyâ after Sîtâ's banishment (37). Praise of Râma (38). In all thirty-eight songs (*pada*).

The following is an example of this poem. *Gît.* I. 32.

*Râg Kânharâ*

*Lalita sutahi lâlati sachu pâyên* ı
*Kausalyâ kala kanaka ajira mahaṅ sikhawata chalana aṅguriyâṅ lâyêṅ* ıı 1 ıı
*Kaṭi kiṅkinî paiṅjanî pâṅjani bâjati runu jhunu madhura reṅgâyêṅ* ı
*Pahuṅchî karani kaṇṭha kaṅṭhulâ banyau kêhari-nakha mani-jarita jarâyêṅ* ıı 2 ıı
*Pîta punîta bichitra jhaṅguliyâ sôhati syâma sarîra sohâyêṅ* ı
*Datiyâ dvai dvai manôhara mukha-chhabi aruna adhara chita lêta chorâyêṅ* ıı 3 ıı
*Chibuka kapôla nâsikâ sundara bhâla tilaka masi bindu banâyêṅ* ı
*Râjata nayana mañju añjana-juta khañjana kañja mîna madu nâyêṅ* ıı 4 ıı
*Laṭakana châru bhṛikuṭiyâ têḍhî mêḍhî subhaga sudêsa subhâyêṅ* ı
*Kilaki kilaki nâchata chuṭaki suni ḍarapati janani chhuṭukayeṅ* ıı 5 ıı
*Giri ghuṭuruani ṭêki uṭhi anujani tôtari bôlata pûpa dekhâyêṅ* ı
*Bâla-kêli abalôki mâtu saba mudita magana ânaṅda anamâyêṅ* ıı 6 ıı
*Dêkhata nabha ghana ôṭa charita muni jôga samâdhi birati bisarâyêṅ* ı
*Tulasî Dâsa jê rasik na yehi rasa tê nara jaḍa jîvata jaga jâyêṅ* ıı 7 ıı

Full of happiness Kauśalyâ caresses her darling boy. She lets him cling to her finger as she teaches him to walk in the fair golden palace court (1). *Runu jhunu, runu jhunu,* sweetly tinkles the bell-girdle on his waist, sweetly tinkle the anklet-bells on his feet, as she helps him along. On his wrists are bracelets, and round his throat a jewelled necklet studded with (evil-

fending) tiger's claws (2). A spotless saffron-coloured little silken coat adorns him, while it itself looks charming on his dark limbs. His sweet face is a picture, with two little teeth above and below, peeping out behind his cherry lips, and stealing away the hearts of all (3). Lovely is his chin, his cheek, his nose. On his forehead, like a caste mark is a drop of ink (to ward off the evil eye). His bright eyes, henna-darkened, shine, putting to shame the *khañjana*, the lotus, and the (glancing silver) fish (4). On his bow-shaped brow hang dainty curls, and over them hair-plaits of enhancing charm. As he hears his mother snap her fingers, he crows and springs with delight, and when he lets go her finger from his hand she is filled with dismay (5). He tumbles down, and pulls himself up upon his knees, and babbles (with joy) to his brothers when his mother shows him a piece of cake, and she, as she looks at all his pretty baby ways, is drowned in love, and cannot bear her joy (6). The saints in heaven gaze at his pranks from behind the clouds, and forget all their austerities. Saith Tul'sî Dâs, the man who loveth not this sweetness, hath no soul, and his life in this world is in vain (10).

10. The **Kṛishṇa Gîtabalî**. A collection of songs in honour of Kṛishṇa. In the Braj, or rather the Kanaujî, dialect. A collection of 61 songs (*pada*). The first portion deals with Kṛishṇa's babyhood and boyish pranks in Gôkula, and the latter portion with the lamentations of the herd-maidens during his visit to Mathurâ. The style is quite different from that of Tul'sî Dâs's other works, and many scholars deny its authenticity. I have only seen two lithographed editions of the text, and no commentary. The following is an example. It describes how Kṛishṇa held up Mount Gôvardhana. *Kṛishṇa Gîtâbalî*. 18.

*Râg Malâr*

*Bṛija para ghana ghamaṇḍa kari âyê* ।
*Ati apamâna bichâri âpanô, kôpi surêsa paṭhâyê* ॥
*Damakati dusaha dasa hu disi dâmini, bhayô tama gagana gaṅbhîra* ।
*Garajata ghôra vâridhara dhâvata prêrita prabala samîra* ॥
*Bâra bâra pabi-pâta upala ghana barakhata bûṅda bisâla* ।
*Sîta-sabhîta pukârata ârata gôsuta gôpî gwâla* ॥
*Râkhahu Râma Kânha ehi abasara dusaha dasâ bhai âi* ।
*Nanda birôdha kiyô surapati sauṅ sô tumharô bala pâi* ॥
*Suni haṅsi uṭhyau Nanda kô nâharu liyô kara kudhara uṭhâi* ।
*Tulasi Dâsa, Maghavâ apanê sauṅ kari gayô garba gaṅwâi* ॥

On Vraja the storm clouds have arrogantly come, for the king of the Gods (Indra) considering himself insulted has sent them. Lightning, irresistible, flashes all around; in the heaven hath been born a profound darkness. Fierce rain clouds roar and rush, impelled by a mighty wind. Again and again fall thunderbolts, and the raindrops of the clouds are huge hailstones. Terrified at the cold, the cowboys, the cow-maidens, and the cowherds scream aloud, 'Protect us, O Balarâma and Kṛishṇa. Our lot is now more than we can bear. Nanda has contended with the Lord of the Gods, trusting in your power.' When Nanda's tiger heard these words, he rose up smiling, and lifted up the mountain (of Gôvardhana) with his hand.[5] Saith Tul'sî Dâs, Maghavân (Indra) thus, by his own action, humbled his own pride.

11. The **Binay Pattrikâ**. The Book of Petitions. In this the poet writes in the character of a suppliant (*arthin*).[6] There is an interesting legend as to the way the book came to be written. Tul'sî Dâs first, as a *paurâṇika*, wrote the *Râm Charit Mânas*, in which he dwelt on the complex side of Râma's character and on his glory, might and prowess. Then, as a *vandin*, to establish the hearts of those who sought the Lord, he wrote the *Kabittâbalî* dealing with Râma's majesty. Then, to increase love in the worshippers of the Lord, he wrote as a *mâgadha*, the *Gîtâbalî*. Subsequently to all this, a murderer one day came on a pilgrimage crying, 'For the love of

[5] Using it as an umbrella to shelter the distracted cowherds.

[6] *See* footnote 1 to the account of the *Kabittâbalî*.

the Lord Râma, cast alms to me, a murderer.' Tul'sî, hearing the well-beloved name, called him to his house, gave him sacred food which had been offered to the God, declared him purified, and sang praises to his beloved deity. The Brâhmaṇs of Banâras held an assembly, and sent for the poet, asking how this murderer's sin was absolved, and how he had eaten with him. Tul'sî replied, 'Read ye your Scriptures. Their truth hath not entered yet into your hearts. Your intellects are not yet ripe, and they remove not the darkness from your souls.' They replied that they knew the power of the Name, as recorded in the Scriptures, 'but this man is a murderer. How can he obtain salvation ?' Tul'sî asked them to mention some proof by which he might convince them, and they at length agreed that, if the sacred bull of 'Siva would eat from the murderer's hand, they would confess that they were wrong, and that Tul'sî Dâs was right. The man was taken to the temple and the bull at once ate out of his hand. **Thus did Tul'sî teach that the repentance of even the greatest sinner is accepted by the Lord.** This miracle had the effect of converting thousands of men and making them lead holy lives. The result enraged the Kaliyuga[7] (the present age of sin personified), who came to the poet and threatened him, saying, 'Thou hast become a stumbling block in my kingdom of wickedness. I will straightway devour thee, unless thou promise to stop this increase of piety.' Full of terror, Tul'sî Dâs confided all this to Hanumat, who consoled him, telling him he was blameless and advising him to become a complainant in the court of the Lord himself. Write a *binay-pattrikâ*, a petition of complaint, and I will get an order passed on it by the master, and will be empowered to punish the Kaliyuga. Without such an order I cannot do so, for he is the king of the present age. According to this advice the poet wrote the *Binay Pattrikâ*.

The book is in the form of a series of hymns, adapted to singing, and addressed to the Lord, as a king in a court. According to earthly custom, the first hymns, or petitions, are addressed to the lower gods,—the door-keepers, ushers, and courtiers as it were, of heaven, and then the remainder of the book is devoted to humble petitions to the Lord Râma himself. Thus,—He first addresses Gaṇêśa (the door keeper) (1), then the Sun-god (2), Siva (3—10), Bhairava ('Siva, the protector of Banâras) (11), 'Saṁkara (12), 'Siva (13), Siva and Pârvatî in one (14), Pârvatî (15, 16), the Ganges (17—20), the Yamunâ (21), the Kshêtra-pâla of Banâras (22), Chitrakûṭa (23, 24), Hanumat (25—36), Lakshmaṇa (37, 38), Bharata (39), Satrughna (40), Sîta (41—43). With the 44th hymn the petitions to Râma begin, and are continued to the 277th. In the 278th the poet addresses the whole court, and the 279th, and last, hymn records the successful result of his petitions.[8]

The following are specimens of this work:—

*Bin.* 149.

*Kahâṅ jâuṅ, kâ sauṅ kahauṅ, aura ṭhaura na mêrê* ।
*Janma gaṅwâyô têrê-î dvârê kinkara têrê* ॥ 1 ॥
*Maiṅ tau bigârî, nâtha, sô svâratha kê lînhê* ।
*Tohi kṛipâ-nidhi kyauṅ banai mêrî sî kînhê* ॥ 2 ॥
*Dîna duradina, dina duradasâ, dina dukha dina dûkhana* ।
*Jauṅ lauṅ tûṅ na bilôkihai Raghubansa-bibhûkhana* ॥ 3 ॥
*Daî pîṭhi bina ḍîṭhi hauṅ, bisva-bilôchana* ।
*Tô sôṅ tu - hîṅ, na dûsarô, nata-sôcha-bimôchana* ॥ 4 ॥
*Parâdhîna, dêva, dîna hauṅ, svâdhîna gosâṅîṅ* ।
*Bôlanahârê sô karai, bali, binai ki jhâṅîṅ* ॥ 5 ॥
*Âpu dêkhi, mohiṅ dêkhiyê, jana jâniyê sâṅchô* ।
*Baḍî ôṭa Râma nâma, kî jehiṅ laî sô bâṅchô* ॥ 6 ॥
*Rahani rîti Râma râvarî nita hiyê hulasî hai* ।
*Jyauṅ bhâvai tyauṅ karu kṛipâla têrô Tulasî hai* ॥ 7 ॥

[7] Kaliyuga, as a person, may practically be translated by 'the devil' of Christianity. [For Kaliyuga's doings when personified as a god in popular poetry, see *Legends of the Pañjâb*, Vol. II. p. 239 ff.—ED.]

[8] Some editions make 280, not 279 hymns.

In the preceding hymn, the poet has prayed to the Lord to look upon him, — he can do nothing of himself. He now continues, — "For whither can I go? to whom can I tell (my sorrows)? No other place have I. Have I not passed my life a slave at thy door, and thine only? True, often have I turned away from thee, and grasped the things of this world; but, O thou full of mercy, how can acts like mine be done by thee (that thou shouldst hide thy face from me)? O Glory of Raghu's race, till thou wilt look upon me, my days will be days of evil, my days will be calamity, my days will be woe, my days will be defilement. When I turned my back to thee, and (it was because) I had no eyes of faith to see thee where thou art; but thou art all-seeing (and canst therefore look upon me where'er I be). Thou alone, and no other, art like unto thyself; thou who dost relieve the sorrows of the humble. O God, I am not mine own; to some one must I be the humble slave, while thou art absolutely uncontrolled, and master of thy will. I am but a sacrifice (*bali*) offered unto thee; what petition can the reflection in the mirror make to the living being who is reflected therein.[9] First, look thou upon thyself (and remember thy mercy and thy might). Then cast thine eyes upon me; and claim me as thy true servant; for the name of the Lord is a sure protection, and he who taketh it is saved. Lord, thy conduct and thy ways[10] ever give joy unto my heart; Tul'si is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto him as it seemeth good unto thee."

*Bin.* 195.

*Bali jâuṅ hauṅ Râma Gosâṅ'ṅ* ।
*Kîjai kṛipâ âpanî nâṅîṅ* ॥
*Paramâratha - surapura - sâdhana, saba svâratha sukhada, bhalâî* ।
*Kali sakôpa lôpî suchâli, nija kaṭhina kuchâli chalâî* ॥
*Jahaṅ jahaṅ chita chitawata hita, tahaṅ nita nawa bikhâda adhikâî* ।
*Ruchi bhâvati bhabhari bhâgahiṅ, samuhâi amita anabhâî* ॥
*Âdhi magana mana, byâdhi bikala tana, bachana malîna jhuṭhâî* ।
*Êtehuṅ para tumha sô Tulasî kî sakala sanêha sagâî* ॥ 95 ॥

O Râma, my Holy one, I offer myself a sacrifice unto thee. Show thou grace unto me as thou art wont. The evil age hath in its wrath cut off every good way, the means of ultimate salvation, and the means of attaining to the lower heaven, yea, every earthly happiness, every goodness,—and hath brought into use its own, hard, evil way.

Wherever the soul looketh towards good, there ever it causeth new sorrows to increase.[11] Every pleasure that delighteth fleeth in terror, while all things that delight not, stand in front of a man, in unmeasured numbers. The soul is plunged in spiritual woe: the body is distracted by disease: man's very words are foul and false. And yet, (O Lord,) with thee doth Tul'sî Dâs hold the close kinship of perfect love.

12. **Râma-charita-mânasa,** the Lake of the Gests of Râma. Written in various metres. Most commonly eight pairs (frequently more) of *chaupâîs* followed by one pair (sometimes more) of *dôhâs*, with other metres, in the more high-flown portions, interspersed. In seven *sôpâna*, or descents (into the lake), *viz.* :—

(1) Bâla kâṇḍa. (2) Ayôdhyâ kâṇḍa. (3) Âraṇya kâṇḍa. (4) Kishkindhya kâṇḍa.
(5) Sundara kâṇḍa. (6) Laṅkâ kâṇḍâ. (7) Uttara kâṇḍa.

This work, which is more usually called the *Mânas Râmâyan*, or the *Tul'sî-kṛit Râmâyan*, is, as already shown, largely quoted in the *Dôhâbalî*. The following references will show that

[9] The reflection of a man in a mirror is entirely dependent on the man who is reflected. It moves as he moves, and only acts as he wills. So man's soul, which is but a reflection of the universal Soul, is entirely dependent on the will (*prêraṇa*) of the latter for all his actions good and bad. Hence the poet asks that the Lord may will him to lead a holy life. He has no right to ask for it as a right, he can only ask for it as a favour.

[10] *Rahani* = *âcharaṇa* (*ujjvalatâ gurutâ dharmanîti âdi jis âcharan par âpu rahaiṅ; tû kô rahani kahî*, comm.). *Rîti* = *vyavahâra* (*jis vyavahâra tê mantrî mitra sêvak prajâdi par vartaiṅ.*)

[11] The commentator gives as an illustration, disease springing up at a holy festival. The late Hardwâr affair is an example in point.

certain verses occur twice in the poem itself. Whether this is due to interpolations or not I cannot say. My references are all to Chhakkan Lâl's *Corpus*, and also to the new edition published by Bâbû Râm Dîn Siṅgh.

Râm. Bâ., Ch. 77, 2 = Râm. A., Ch. 212, 3 (Râm Dîn., 213, 3)

*Sira dhari âyasu karia tumhârâ* ।
*Parama dharama yaha nâtha hamârâ* ॥

Râm. Bâ., Ch. 73, 3, 4

*Tapa-bala rachai prapañcha bidhâtâ* ।
*Tapa-bala Bishṇu sakala jaga-trâtâ* ॥
*Tapa-bala Sambhu karahiṅ sanghârâ* ।
*Tapa-bala Sêkha dharai mahi-bhârâ* ॥

Compare Râm. Bâ., Ch. 163, 23

*Tapa-bala têṅ jaga sṛijai bidhâtâ* ।
*Tapa-bala Bishṇu bhaê paritrâtâ* ॥
*Tapa-bala Sambhu karahiṅ sanghârâ* ।
*Tapa têṅ agama na kachhu sansârâ* ॥

Râm. A., Ch. 89, 2 = Râm. A., Ch. 111, 7

*Tê pitu mâtu kahahu, sakhi, kaisê* ।
*Jinha paṭhaê banu bâlaka aisê* ॥

Ram A., Ch. 123, 1, 2 = Râm. Âr., Ch. 7, 2, 3 (Râm Dîn, 9, 2, 3)

*Âgê Râma Lakhanu bane (puni) pâchhê*
*Tâpasa bêkha birâjata (banê ati) kâchhê*
*Ubhaya bîcha Siya sôhati kaisê*
*Brahma jîva bicha mâyâ jaisê.*

Note that the last half line, 'as Mâyâ exists between Brahman and the soul,' shows that Tul'sî Dâs was not altogether in accord with Râmânuja, who altogether denied the existence of the Mâyâ postulated by Saṅkarâchârya. This will be dealt with subsequently.

Ram Sun., Ch. 23, 1

*Râma charana-pankaja. ura dharahû* ।
*Lankâ achala râju tumha karahû* ॥

Râm. Lan., Ch. 1, 8

*Râma charana-pankaja ura dharahû* ।
*Kautuka êka bhâlu kapi karahû* ॥

**The poem was commenced in the year 1574 A. D. in Ayôdhyâ,** where the first three *sôpânas* were written. Thence he went to Banâras, where Tul'sî Dâs completed the work.[12]

I do not give any analysis of the contents of this excellent work. Mr. Growse's translation makes this unnecessary. I hesitate also to give any example of it. No specimen will give a fair idea of the poem's many beauties, and at the same time of its (to European taste) defects. It would be as unfair as to show a single pearl as a sample of the ocean with all its profundity and all its terrors. The *Râma-charita-mânasa* is the earliest known, and at the same time the greatest, of Tul'sî Dâs's works. But, though the earliest, it has none of the crudeness which we might expect in a poet's first attempt at song. Its metre is correct, though never monotonous; its language is appropriate without being affected, and the chain of thought, ever bound together by the one golden string of love and devotion to his master, is worthy of the greatest

[12] Râm. Ki., Sô. 1. *mukti-janma mahi jâni*, &c. Here the poet for the first time in the poem praises Kâsî (Banâras), instead of Ayôdhyâ, and this passage is to be interpreted as above. The Bâla, Ayôdhyâ and Âranya Kâṇḍas were written at Ayôdhyâ, and the Kishkindhya, Sundara, Laṅkâ and Uttara Kâṇḍas, at Banâras.

poet of any age. In the specimens taken from his other works I have shown what power the poet had over language, and how full that language would be either of tenderness, or of soul-absorbing devotion to the Deity whom he adored, and if I now give an extract from the *Tul'si-kṛit Rámáyan* it is not as a specimen of the work, but to show Tul'sî Dâs in his lighter, perhaps more artificial mood, in which, with neatness and brevity of expression worthy of Kâlidâsa or of Horace, he paints the marvellous transformation of nature which accompanies the change from one Indian season to another. I allude to the well-known passage in the *Kishkindhya-káṇḍ* which describes the rainy season, and the coming of autumn (Ch. 14 and ff). I follow Chhakkan Lâl's text, as usual, in this paper.

A word as to the style. Tu'lsî Dâs here adopts a series of balanced, antithetic sentences,—each line consisting of a statement of fact and of a simile,—the latter often of a religious nature. This method of writing closely resembles that adopted by Kâlidâsa in portions of the first book of the Raghuvaṁśa, and still more that of the Book of Proverbs. Thus, — (Prov. xxvi, 7 and ff.

'The legs of the lame are not equal;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.
As he that bindeth a stone in a sling;
So is he that giveth honour to a fool.
As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard;
So is a parable in the mouth of fools.

In the same style, Tul'sî Dâs here says—

As the sheet lightning flickereth,
So is the short-lived love of the wicked.
As the clouds heavy with rain bow down to the earth,
So boweth (humbly) the wise man full of wisdom.
As the mountains heed not the assaults of the raindrops,
So the holy man heedeth not the words of the wicked.

The translation given by me below will be found to be more full than the above, but it will be seen that, throughout, the text is built on this principle.

*Chaupâî.*

*Ghana ghamaṇḍa nabha garajata ghôrá* ।
*Priyá-hîna mana ḍarapata môrá* ॥
*Dámini damaka raha na ghana máhîn* ।
*Khala kai prîti jathá thiru náhîn* ॥
*Barakhahin jalada bhûmi niarâê* ।
*Jathá nawahin budha bidyá pâê* ॥
*Bûnda aghâta sahahin giri kaîsê* ।
*Khala kê bachana santa saha jaisê* ॥
*Chhudra nadî bhari chalî torâî* ।
*Jasa thôra hu dhana khala itarâî* ॥
*Bhûmi parata bhá ḍhâbara pânî* ।
*Janu jîvahi máyá lapaṭânî* ॥
*Samiṭi samiṭi jala bharahin taláwá* ।
*Jimi sadaguna sajjana pahin áwá* ॥
*Saritá jala jala-nidhi mahun âî* ।
*Hôi achala jimi jiva Hari pâî* ॥

*Dôhá.*

*Harita bhûmi trina sankula samujhi parahin nahin pantha* ।
*Jimi pakhaṇḍa bâda ten gupta hôhin sadagrantha* ॥ 14 ॥

*Chaupâî.*

*Dâdura dhuni chahuṅ disâ suhâî |*
*Bêda paḍhahiṅ janu baṭu samudâî ||*
*Nava pallava bhae biṭapa anêkâ |*
*Sâdhaka mana jasa milê bibêkâ ||*
*Arka jawâsa pâta binu bhayaû |*
*Jasa surâja khala udyama gayaû ||*
*Khôjata katahuṅ milai nahiṅ dhûrî |*
*Karai krôdha jimi dharamahi dûrî ||*
*Sasi-sampanna sôha mahi kaisî |*
*Upakârî kai sampati jaisî ||*
*Nisi tama ghana khadyôta birâjâ |*
*Janu dambhinha kar milâ samâjâ ||*
*Mahâbṛishṭi chali phûṭi kiârî |*
*Jimi sutantra bhaye bigarahiṅ nârî ||*
*Kṛishî nirâwahiṅ chatura kisânâ |*
*Jimi budha tajahiṅ môha mada mânâ ||*
*Dekhiyata chakrabâka khaga nâhîṅ |*
*Kalihi pâi jimi dharma parâhîṅ ||*
*Ûsara barakhai tṛina nahiṅ jâmâ |*
*Jimi Hari-jana-hiya upaja na kâmâ ||*
*Bibidha jantu-sankula mahi bhrâjâ |*
*Prajâ bâṛha jimi pâi surâjâ ||*
*Jahaṅ tahaṅ rahê pathika thaki nânâ |*
*Jimi indriya-gana upajê jñânâ ||*

*Dôhâ.*

*Kaba-huṅ prabala baha mâruta jahaṅ tahaṅ mêgha bilâhiṅ |*
*Jimi kapûta kê upajê kula saddharma nasâhiṅ ||*
*Kaba-huṅ dibasa mahuṅ nibiḍa tama kaba-huṅ ka pragaṭa patanga |*
*Binasaï upajaï jñâna jimi pâi ku-sanga su-sanga || 15 ||*

*Chaupâî.*

*Barakhâ bigata sarada-ritu âî |*
*Lachhimana dêkhahu parama suhâî ||*
*Phûlê kâsa sakala mahi chhâî |*
*Janu barakhâ-kṛita pragaṭa buḍhâî ||*
*Udita Agasti pantha-jala sôkhâ |*
*Jimi lôbhahi sôkhaï santôkhâ ||*
*Saritâ sara nirmala jala sôhâ |*
*Santa hṛidaya jasa gata-mada-môhâ ||*
*Rasa rasa sûkha sarita sara pânî ||*
*Mamatâ-tyâga karahiṅ jimi jñânî ||*
*Jâni sarada ritu khañjana âê |*
*Pâi samaya jimi sukṛita suhâê ||*
*Panka na rênu, sôha ati dharanî ||*
*Nîti nipuna nṛipa kai jasi karanî ||*
*Jala-sankôcha bikala bhai mînâ ||*
*Abudha kuṭumbî jimi dhana-hînâ ||*
*Binu ghana nirmala sôha akâsâ |*
*Hari jana iba parihari saba âsâ ||*
*Kahuṅ kahuṅ bṛishṭi sâradî thôrî |*
*Kou eka pâwa bhagati jimi môrî ||*

*Dôhâ.*

*Chalê harakhi taji nagara nripa, tâpasa, banika, bhikhâri* |
*Jimi Hari-bhagatî pâi srama tajahiṅ âsramî châri* || 16 ||

*Chaupâî.*

*Sukhî mîna jê nîra agâdhâ* |
*Jimi Hari-sarana na êkau bâdhâ* ||
*Phûlê kamala, sôha sara kaisâ* |
*Nirguna Brahma saguna bhae jaisâ* ||
*Guñjata madhukara mukhara anûpâ* |
*Sundara khaga raba nânâ rûpâ* ||
*Chakrabâka mana dukha nisi pêkhî* ||
*Jimi durjana para-sampati dêkhî* ||
*Châtaka raṭata trikhâ ati ôhî* |
*Jimi sukha lahaï na Sankara-drôhî* ||
*Saradâ tapa nisi sasi apaharaî* |
*Santa-darasa jimi pâtaka ṭaraî* ||
*Dêkhi indu chakôra samudâ* |
*Chitawahiṅ jimi Harî-jana Hari pâî* ||
*Masaka dansa bîtê hima-trâsâ* |
*Jimi dwija-drôha kiê kula-nâsâ* ||

*Dôhâ.*

*Bhûmi jîva sankula rahê gaê sarada-ritu pâi* |
*Sada-gurû milê jâhin jimi sansaya bhrama samudâî* || 17 ||

Râma addresses Lakshmaṇa, while they are waiting in the Kishkindhyâ forest for the rains to pass over, that they may start on their search for Sîtâ.

*Chaupâî.*—'The sky covered with arrogant rain-clouds fiercely roareth, while my heart is distraught, bereft of its darling. The sheet lightning flickereth amidst the heavy clouds, fitful as the short-lived love of the wicked. The heavy vapours pour forth rain, and hang close-bellied to the earth, like a wise man stooping 'neath his weight of wisdom. The mountains bear the never-ceasing assaults of the rain drops, standing proudly unconcerned; and even so the holy man heedeth not the words of the wicked. Each shallow streamlet, flooded to the brim, hasteneth eagerly on its way, like a vain fellow puffed up with a little wealth. The clear water which falleth on the earth is become mud (and hideth it from the sky), as the cares of this world envelop the soul (and hide it from its Creator). With here a drop and there a rill, the water filleth the lakes, like virtue entering a good man's heart; while the rushing rivers flow into the Ocean and find rest, even as the soul findeth rest in faith in God.

*Dôhâ.*—The grass groweth green and thick upon the ground, hiding the very paths so that they cannot be traced out; and even so the disputations of the unbelievers ever hide the true path of the scriptures.

*Chaupâî.* — The frogs shout lustily around, like a school of postulants reading holy books. Fresh shoots appear on bushes, as wisdom springeth in the hearts of the pious; and only the *arka* and *jawâs* trees lose their green leaves from the rainfall, as the schemes of the wicked fail under a righteous governor. Seek where thou wilt, thou wilt find no dust,—so when a man yieldeth to passion his piety departeth. Fair shineth the earth prosperous with its fields of corn, as fair as a charitable man blessed by prosperity; but in the dark nights the countless fire-flies are radiant, like unto hypocrites that have met their meet companion (the night of ignorance). The field banks (left uncared for) are burst and washed away by the heavy rain-storms, as a woman is ruined by being left to her own devices; but the wise and clever husbandman weedeth his crops, as the wise man weedeth his heart of delusion, passion, and pride. The Brâhmaṇî goose hath hidden itself, even as piety disappeareth in this age of sin;

and as on the barren land, for all the rain, not a blade of grass is seen, so lust is born not in the heart of a servant of the Lord. The earth is brilliant with swarms of manifold living creatures; so, under a good governor, do his subjects multiply. Here and there a wearied traveller sitteth to rest himself, as a man's senses rest when wisdom is born in him.

*Dôhâ.*—At times a mighty wind ariseth and hither and thither scattereth the clouds, as, with the birth of a disobedient son, a household's piety is destroyed. At one time, by day, here is a thick darkness, at another time the sun is visible; even so, true knowledge is destroyed or born, as a man consorteth with the vile or with the holy.

*Chaupâî.*—The rains are past, the Autumn-time is come; O Lakshmaṇa, see how fair the world appeareth. (The first sign that it cometh) is the white-bearded blossom of the tall thatch-grass, which hideth the earth as though declaring that the old age of the rains had come. Canopus shineth in the heavens, and the water which drowned the pathways is drying up, as desire drieth up when the True Content is achieved. The water glisteneth clear in the streams and lakes, like a holy man's heart from which passion and delusion have departed. Gently minisheth the depth of the streams and lakes, as the wise man gradually loseth his thoughts of self. The wagtail knoweth that the Autumn is arrived, and cometh forth from its hiding place, beautiful as a good work done in season. No mud is there, and yet no dust, fair shineth the world, yea, like unto the deeds of a lore-learned king: yet as the waters fall the fish are troubled, as a foolish spendthrift is perplexed when his possessions are wasted. The sky serene and pure, without a cloud, is like unto a servant of the Lord, who is free from all earthly desire; while now and then there fall a few drops of Autumn rain, — few, as the few, who place their faith in me.[13]

*Dôhâ.*—Joyfully issue forth from the cities, kings and eremites, merchants and beggars, even as the four orders of mankind desert all care when they find faith in the Lord.

*Chaupâî.*—Happy are the fish where the water is deep; and happy is he who findeth naught between him and the fathomless mercy of the Lord. The lotuses bloom, and the lakes take from them a charm, as the pure Spirit becometh lovely when it taketh material form.[14] The noisy bees hum busily, and birds of many kinds sing tuneful notes. The Brâhmaṇî goose alone is mournful when it seeth the night approach (which separateth it from its mate), as the evil man mourneth when he seeth the prosperity of another. The *châtak* waileth in its ever waxing thirst, even as an enemy of the deity never findeth peace. The moon by night consoleth for the heat of the autumn sun, as sin vanisheth at the sight of a holy man. The partridge-coveys gaze intent upon the moon, like pious men whose only thought is for the Lord. The gnat and the gadfly disappear in fear of winter, as surely as a house is destroyed which persecuteth Brahmaṇs.

*Dôhâ.*—The swarms of living creatures with which, in the rainy season, the earth was fulfilled, are gone. When they found the Autumn approaching, they departed. So, when a man findeth a holy spiritual guide, all doubts and errors vanish.

### (3) Legends and Traditions.

In conclusion, it will be interesting to record such legends regarding the poet, as have not been already given in this paper. Some of these have been published before, but others are, I believe, new to English scholars.

I commence by giving some valuable facts communicated to me by Mahâmahôpadhyâya Sudhâkara Dvivêdî. **Some say that the poet was a Kânyakubja, and others that he was a Sarayûparîṇa-Brâhmaṇ.** Brâhmaṇs of the former clan condemn the receipt of presents, begging for alms, and the like; but Tul'sî Dâs in *Kabittâvalî*, Ut., 73, says distinctly, '*jâyô kula maṅgana*, I was born in a family which begged,' and hence he must be considered to have been a Sarayûparîṇa. Tradition adds that he was a Dubê of the Parâśara *gôtra* of that clan. **The most trustworthy accounts state that he was born in Samvat 1589 (A. D. 1532),** so that he must

[13] Râma was of course an incarnation of the Lord.

[14] Here Tûl'sî Dâs certainly speaks both of a Nirguṇaṁ and not of a Saguṇaṁ, Brahman.

have been 42 years of age when he commenced writing the *Râmâyaṇa*, and this conclusion is borne out by the nature of the work, which is that of a mature intellect, — of a man who had lived.

In former days, before the British rule, children born at the end of the asterism Jyêshṭhâ, and at the beginning of that of Mûla, were said to be born in *Abhukta-mûla*. Such a child was considered to be of the worst possible nature, and destined to destroy his father. On this account he would usually be abandoned by his parents, or, at the best, if from natural affection they could not be so inhuman, they would not look upon its face for eight years. Thus, in the *Muhûrtta-chintâmaṇi* (composed about Tul'sî Dâs's time), it is written, '*jâtaṁ śiśuṁ tatra parityajêd vâ mukhaṁ pitâ 'syâ 'shṭasamâna paśyêt.*' In *the purâṇas*, Nârantaka is mentioned as having been born to Râvaṇa in *Abhukta-mûla*, and to have been abandoned in this way. He did not die, but grew up and had many children and grandchildren. At Nârada's instigation, Râvaṇa sent for them, and they were all killed in the conflict with Râma.

**Tul'sî Dâs was one of these children born in Abhukta-mûla**, and, when his parents abandoned him he must have been picked up by some wandering *sâdhu*, for no respectable householder would have had aught to do with such a child. He tells us himself in *Binay Pattrikâ*, 227, 2, '*janani janaka tajô janami, karama binu bidhi-hûṅ sirajyô abaḍêrê*,' 'My father and mother brought me into being and then abandoned me, and God himself created me without good fortune, and forsook me.' Compare, also, the whole passage above quoted from the *Kabittâbalî*, *Ut.*, 73. He must, as a boy, have lived and wandered over India with this *sâdhû*, and learnt from him and his companions the story of Râma, as he himself tells us.[15]

**He was probably named Tulasî Dâsa by the sâdhu**, according to a custom which these men have. When they desire to purify any person, they cause him to eat a *tulasî* leaf which has been dedicated to an image of Vishṇu. This was probably done in the unfortunate lad's case, and hence his name.

He is popularly supposed to have been a profound *paṇḍit*, but this is an evident error, as is shewn by his works. His Sanskṛit is full of mistakes, *e. g.*, in the introductory *ślôkas* to *Râm. Ut.*, he writes *kêkîkaṇṭhâbhanîlaṁ* for *kêki°*, and *chintakasya manabhṛingasanginau* for *°manôbhṛinga°*, or in the *Rudrâshṭaka*,[16] *Rudrâshṭakaṁ idaṁ prôktaṁ viprêṇa hara-tôshayê*, for *°tôshâya*.

According to tradition, his father's name was Âtmâ Râm 'Sukla Dûbê, and his mother's Hulasî. His real name was, as he tells us in *K. Râm. Ut.*, 94, Râm Bôlâ. His spiritual preceptor was named Narahari. His father-in-law's name was Dînabandhu Pâṭhak, his wife's Ratnâvalî, and his son's Târak.[17] **Various places claim the honour of his birth**, *viz.* Tarî in the Doâb, Hastinâpur, Hâjîpur near Chitrakûṭ, and Râjâpur, in the district of Bâṅdâ, on the banks of the Yamunâ. Of these, **Tarî appears to have the best claim.** In his youth, he studied at Sûkarakshêtra, the modern Sôrôn (*Râm. Ba.*, dô. 30). He married in his father's lifetime, and after the latter's death, he lived contentedly as a householder, and begat a son. As explained elsewhere, Tul'sî Dâs was a follower of the *viśishṭâdvaita* Vedantic teaching of Râmânuja, as modified by Râmânanda. It would be incorrect, however, to call him a strict adherent of that sect. I have previously pointed out that, in Ayôdhyâ he was a Smârta, not

15 Râm. Bâ., dô. 30, 1 (*Maiṅ puni nija gura, &c.*) and the following *chaupâîs*. This passage also tells us that he learned the Râma-story from this *sâdhu*, or *guru*, as he called him, in Sanskṛit, and why he determined to tell it in the vernacular (*bhâkhâ-baddha*, &c.)

16 See remarks above on the *Kabittâbalî*.

17 The following *dohâs* give the above particulars :—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Dûbê Âtamârâma hai* | *pitâ-nâma jaga jâna* I |
| *Mâtâ Hulasî kahata saba* | *Tulasî kai suna kâna* II |
| *(Praha)lâda-udhârana nâma-kari* | *guru kô suniê sâdhu* I |
| *Pragaṭa nâma nahi kahata jaga* | *kahê hôta aparâdhu* II |
| *Dînabandhu Pâṭhaka kahata* | *sasura nâma saba kôi* I |
| *Ratnâvalî tiya nâma hai* | *suta Târaka gata hôi* II |

The Guru's name cannot be plainly given without sin, but it is that form of Vishṇu which saved Prahlâda, *i.e.*, Narahari. From the last line it appears that the poet's son died at an early age.

The poet also mentions his Guru's name in a similarly disguised fashion in Râm. Bâ., sô. I, 5 '*bandauṅ guru-pada-kañja kripâ-sindhu* NARA-*rûpa* HARI.' With regard to his mother's name, *vide*, *post*.

a Vairâgî Vaishṇava, and also worshipped Mahâdêva to some extent. In the *Râmâyan*[18] he himself states that he has followed many scriptures, and now and then he even alludes to the *nirviśêsha advaita* Vedantic teaching of 'Saṅkarâchârya, with its *mâyâ* and its *nirguṇaṁ Brahma.* A great friend of his was Madhu-sûdana Sarasvatî, who was a follower of the doctrine of 'Saṅkarâchârya. As a whole, however, his teaching may be taken as that of the *viśishṭâdvaita vêdânta,* with a liberality, leaning sometimes to approval of strange or more esoteric doctrines. I have obtained from Bâbâ Môhan Dâs Sâdhu the following genealogical table showing the line of succession of the teachers of the poet. It starts from Śrî-Mannârâyaṇa, who was twelfth in ascent of teachers before Râmânuja. I have no means of checking it, and give it for what it is worth, and with the warning that it is probably largely based upon unwritten tradition. Some of the names are interesting and well known. I give in a parallel column another list of names received from Paṭ'nâ, which differs in a few particulars, and the authority of which is unknown to me.

| | Môhan Dâs's List. | Paṭ'nâ List. | | Môhan Dâs's List. | Paṭ'nâ List. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Śrî Mannârâyaṇa ... | | 21 | Śrî Purushôttamâchârya. | As in Môhan Dâs. |
| 2 | Śrî Lakshmî ... ... | | 22 | Śrî Gangâdharânanda.. | Ditto. |
| 3 | Śrî Dharamuni ... | | 23 | Śrî Râmêśvarânanda... | Śrî Râmamiśra. |
| 4 | Śrî Sênâpatimuni ... | | 24 | Śrî Dvârânanda ... | As in Môhan Dâs. |
| 5 | Śrî Kârisunumuni ... | | 25 | Śrî Dêvânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 6 | Śrî Sainyanâthamuni... | Not given. | 26 | Śrî Śyâmânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 7 | Śrî Nâthamuni ... | | 27 | Śrî Śrutânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 8 | Śrî Puṇḍarîka... ... | | 28 | Śrî Nityânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 9 | Śrî Râmamiśra ... | | 29 | Śrî Pûrṇânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 10 | Śrî Pârânkuśa... ... | | 30 | Śrî Haryânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 11 | Śrî Yâmunâchârya ... | | 31 | Śrî Śrayyânanda ... | Not given. |
| 12 | ŚRI RÂMÂNUJASVÂMIN. | Śrî Râmânujasvâmin. | 32 | Śrî Harivaryânanda ... | As in Môhan Dâs. |
| 13 | Śrî Śaṭakôpâchârya ... | Not given. | 33 | Śrî Râghavânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 14 | Śrî Kurêśâchârya ... | | 34 | ŚRI RÂMÂNANDA[19] ... | Ditto. |
| 15 | Śrî Lôkâchârya ... | As in Môhan Dâs. | 35 | Śrî Surasurânanda[20] ... | Ditto. |
| 16 | Śrî Parâśarâchârya ... | Ditto. | 36 | Śrî Mâdhavânanda ... | Ditto. |
| 17 | Śrî Vâkâchârya ... | Śrî Maghatîndrâchârya. | 37 | Śrî Garîbânanda ... | Śrî Garîbadâsajî. |
| | | | 38 | Śrî Lakshmîdâsajî ... | As in Môhan Dâs. |
| 18 | Śrî Lôkârya ... ... | As in Môhan Dâs. | 39 | Śrî Gôpâladâsajî ... | Ditto. |
| 19 | Śrî Dêvâdhipâchârya ... | Ditto. | 40 | Śrî Naraharidâsajî ... | Ditto. |
| 20 | Śrî Śailêśâchârya ... | Ditto. | 41 | ŚRI TULASÎDÂSAJÎ ... | Ditto. |

[18] *Bâ. slô. 7. nânâ-purâṇa-nigamâgama-sammataṁ.*

[19] Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindûs,* gives a much shorter line of descent between Râmânuja and Râmânanda. On p. 35, *n.* 1, he concludes that Râmânuja was born about the end of the 11th century, and that the first half of the 12th century was the period at which his fame as teacher was established. On p. 47, he says "Râmânand is sometimes said to have been the immediate disciple of Râmânuja, but this appears to be an error." He adds that a more particular account gives the following succession :—

1 Râmânuja (No. 12 in above list)
2 Dêvânanda (No. 25)
3 Harinanda (? No. 32)
4 Râghavânanda (No. 33)
5 Râmânanda (No. 34)

which would place the last about the end of the 13th century. The *Bhaktamâlâ* omits No. 4 in the above list. Wilson, himself, doubts the accuracy of the list given by him, and believes that Râmânanda was not earlier than the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, thus putting three centuries between the two masters.

[20] Wilson, l. c. p. 59.

His father-in-law, Dînabandhu, was devoted to the adoration of Râma, and his daughter, who had been married to Tul'sî Dâs in her girl-hood, but who, according to custom, lived with her family till she was grown up, became also imbued with the same faith, and, when holy men visited her father used to tend them, and entreat them hospitably. When she grew up she went to live with her husband, who became passionately devoted to her. After a son had been born, one day, Tul'sî Dâs came home, and discovered that his wife, without letting him know, had gone to her father's house. Full of anxiety he followed her there, and was received by her with the following *dôhâs*:—

*Lâja na lâgata âpu kî dhaurê âyehu sâtha* |
*Dhika dhika aisê prêma kî kahâ kahauṅ maiṅ nâtha* ||
*Asthi-charma-maya dêha mama tâ môṅ jaisî prîti* |
*Taisî jauṅ Srî Râma mahaṅ hôta na tau bhava-bhîti* ||

'Are you not filled with shame, that you have pursued me here? Fie on such love. What can I say to you, my Lord? My body is but made of perishable bone and skin, and if such love as you have for it, had been but devoted to the holy Râma, the terrors of existence would not have existed for you.'

Immediately on hearing these words, Tul'sî Dâs became 'converted,' and set out again for his own home. His wife, who had by no means intended to produce so violent a reaction, followed, calling him back, and asking him to stay and eat, that she might return with him. But 'what could a fan do, in the face of a whirlwind?' Tul'sî Dâs from that moment became an ascetic and, abandoning house and home, wandered about as a 'released' worshipper of Râma. He made Ayôdhyâ, and subsequently Banâras, his head-quarters, from which he frequently visited such places as Maṭhurâ, Vṛindâvana, Kurukshêtra, Prayâga (Allahabad) and Purushôttamapurî.

After he had left his home, his wife wrote to him the following letter—

*Kaṭi kî khînî kanaka sî rahata sakhina saṅga sôi* |
*Môhi phaṭê kî ḍara nahîṅ anata kaṭê*[21] *ḍara hôi* ||

'Slender of loin am I, and, fair like gold, I dwell amid my girl-companions. I fear, not that my own (heart) may break, but that thou may perchance be captured by some other woman.'

To this Tul'sî Dâs replied—

*Kaṭê êka Raghunâtha saṅga bâṅdhi jaṭâ sira-kêsa* |
*Hama tô châkhâ prêma-rasa patnî kê upadêsa* ||

'Captured alone by Raghunâtha am I, with my locks bounded in matted curls. That is flavour of the love which I have tasted, taught by my own wife.'

On receiving this reply, his wife sent him her blessing, and praised him for the course he had adopted.

Years afterwards, when Tul'sî was an old man, he was returning from Chitrakûṭa, and, rapt in devotion he came to his father-in-law's village, and called at his house for hospitality, without recognizing it, or knowing where he was. His wife, who was now also very old, came out, according to custom, to tend the venerable guest, and asked him what he desired to eat. He replied, 'I will make a mess of pottage,' and so she prepared him an eating place (*chaukâ*) and brought him wood, rice, pease, vegetables, and clarified butter. Tul'sî Dâs, as is the custom of Smârta Vaishṇavas, began to cook his food with his own hands. After his wife had heard him speak once or twice she recognized him, and became full of joy that her husband had so manifestly become a devotee of Râma. She, however, did not disclose herself, but only said, 'Reverend sir, may I bring you some pepper?' He replied 'there is some in my wallet.' 'May

[21] *Kaṭnâ = phaṅs jânâ.*

I bring you some sour condiment?' 'There is some in my wallet.' 'May I bring you some camphor?' 'There is some in my wallet.' Then, without asking permission, she attempted to wash his feet; but he would not let her. After this she passed the whole night thinking to herself, 'How can I manage to stay with him, and to spend my time at once serving the Lord and my husband?' At one time she would wish to do so, and at another time she would remember that her husband had left her and become an ascetic, and that her company would only embarrass him. Finally she made up her mind that, as he carried about with him, in his bag, delicacies like pepper, sour condiments, and camphor, she as his wife, would be no impediment to him. Accordingly, at early dawn she invited Tul'sî to stay there, and worship. He refused, in spite of all her entreaties. He would not even stay to eat. Then she said 'Reverend sir, do you not know me?' He replied 'No.' 'Reverend sir, do you not know whose house this is?' 'No.' 'Do you not know what town this is?' 'No.' Then she told him who she was, and asked that she might be allowed to stay with him; to which he would in no way agree. She continued,[22] —

*Khariyâ*[23] *kharî kapûra lôn uchita na piya tiya tyâga* ।
*Kai khariyâ mohi mêli kai achala karau anurâga* ॥

'If there be in your wallet everything from chalk to camphor, you should not, my love, have abandoned your wife. Either take me also in your wallet, or else (abandon it) and devote yourself entirely to love for the Omnipotent (giving up all care for earthly things).'[24] Thereupon Tûl'sî Dâs departed, and gave away all the things in his wallet to Brâhmaṇs, and his wife's knowledge of things divine (*jñâna*) became fuller than before.

On one of his journeys, Tul'sî Dâs, after visiting Bhṛigurâśram,[25] Hâṅsanagar and Parasiyâ, being attracted by the devotion of Gambhîra Dêva, Râjâ of Gây Ghâṭ, stayed there a short time, and thence went to Brahmapur[26] to visit the shrine of Brahmêśvaranâtha Mahâdêva. From Brahmapur he went to the village of Kâṅṭ.[27] There not only did he find no place, where he could get any food, but was distressed to see the people devoted to the manners and customs of female demons (Râkshasî). He went on his way, and met a cowherd (*ahîr, abhîra*) of Kâṅt, named Maṅgar or Maṅgarû, the son of Saṅwarû Ahîr.[28] He had a cattle yard in the open plain, where he used to offer hospitality to holy men. With great humility, he invited Tul'sî Dâs thither and gave him some milk, which the poet boiled down into *khôâ*, and ate. He then asked Maṅgar to ask a boon, and the latter begged first that he might be endowed with perfect faith in the Lord, and secondly that his family, which was short lived, might be a long lived one. Tul'sî Dâs replied, 'If you and your family commit no thefts,[29] and avoid causing affliction to any person, your desire will be fulfilled.' It is now claimed that the blessing has been fulfilled. The story is still well known both in Baliyâ and Shâhâbâd districts. In 1889 A.D. the representative of his family was an old man named Bihârî Ahîr. Maṅgar's descendants have always been well known, ever since, for the ready hospitality they offer to holy men, and are said never to commit theft, though other Ahîrs of the same village have by no means so good a reputation.

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[22] This verse is *Dôhabalî* 255, with slight differences of reading.

[23] *Khariyâ* is the technical name for a Vaishṇava mendicant's wallet. It is made of *khâruâ*-cloth, and carried on the shoulder.

[24] The meaning is that he keeps himself too well supplied with delicacies, to be a pure mendicant. He should be either a pure mendicant, or not at all.

[25] Bhṛigurâśrama (*sic*) is the chief town of the District of Baliyâ, opposite Shâhâbâd, and east of Banâras, in the N. W. P. Parasiyâ is in the same district. It is said to be the site of Parâśara's hermitage. So also Hâṅsanagar and Gây Ghât are in Baliyâ. The latter is no longer the seat of a Râjâ. The family of the Râjâ of Gây Ghâṭ is now settled at Hal'dî in the same district. They are Kshattriyas of the Hayahô clan.

[26] Brahmapur is in the District of Shâhâbâd (Arrah). A *mêlâ* is held there at the festival of the Śivarâtri.

[27] Also in Shâhâbâd, about two miles east of Brahmapur. It is in fact commonly known as Kâṅṭ-Brahmapur.

[28] Two men of the same names are prominent figures in the well known folk song of Lôrik.

[29] Ahîrs are notorious thieves.

From Kâṅṭ, Tul'sî Dâs went on to Bêlâ Pataut where he met a Paṇḍit, a Śakadvîpî Brâhmaṇ, named Gobind Miśra, and a Kshattriya, named Raghunâth Singh. These received him with great hospitality. He complained that the name of the town, Bêlâ Pataut, was not a good one, and suggested its being changed to Raghunâth'pur, by which both Raghunâth Singh's name would be preserved, and also hundreds of thousands of men would be continually uttering a name of Râma, (*i. e.*, Raghunâtha) when speaking of it. This proposal was agreed to and the place is now known as Raghunâth'pur ; it is a station on the East Indian Railway, and is about two miles south of Brahmapur.[30] The *chaurâ*, or place where Tul'sî Dâs used to sit, is still shown there. Another village in the neighbourhood is called Kaithî, where the principal man, Jôrâwar Singh, is said to have received the poet, and to have been initiated by him.

Tul'sî Dâs at first resided in Ayôdhyâ, as a Smârta Vaishṇava, and here the Lord Râma is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and to have commanded him to write a *Râmâyaṇa* in the vernacular language used by the common people. He commenced it in the year 1574 A.D. and had got as far as the end of the *Âraṇya-kâṇḍ*, when his differences with the Vairâgî Vaishṇavas, with whose regulations about food he could not comply, induced him to go to Banâras, where he completed the poem.

He settled in Banâras at Asî-ghâṭ, near the Lôlârka-kuṇḍ, and here he died in the year 1623 A.D. A *ghâṭ* on the Ganges near this place is still called the Tul'sî-ghâṭ. Close by is a temple in honour of Hanumân, said to have been built by the poet, as mentioned, when describing the legend as to manner in which the *Râmâjñâ* came to be written.

It is said that, after he had finished his great poem, he was one day bathing at Maṇikarṇikâ-ghâṭ, when a *paṇḍit*, who was proud of his knowledge of Sanskṛit came up to him and said, ' Reverend sir, Your Honour is a learned Sanskṛit Paṇḍit. Why, therefore, did Your Honour compose an epic poem in the vulgar tongue.' Tul'sî Dâs replied ; ' My language in the vulgar tongue is imperfect, I admit, but it is better than the erotics[31] of you Sanskṛit-knowing gentlemen.' ' How is that ?' said the Paṇḍit. ' Because,' said Tul'sî,

*Mani bhâjana bikha pârai pûrana amî nihâri* |
*Kâ chhâṅḍiya kâ sangrahiya kahahu bibêka bichâri* || [32]

' If thou find a jewelled vessel full of poison, and an earthen cup (*pûrana=puravâ*) full of ambrosia, which wilt thou refuse, and which wilt thou accept ? Tell me this after thou hast considered the matter.'

Ghana Śyâma Śukla[33] was a great Sanskṛit poet, but used to prefer to write poems in the vernacular. Some of the latter were on religious topics, and a paṇḍit reproached him for this, telling him to write for the future in the pure Sanskṛit language, and God would be pleased thereby. Ghana Syâma replied that he would ask Tul'sî Dâs, and do what he advised. He then laid the whole matter before the poet, who replied,—

*Kâ bhâkhâ kâ saṁskṛita prêma châhiyê sâṅcha* |
*Kâma jo âwai kâmarî kâ lai karai kumâṅchâ* || [34]

' Whether it be in the vulgar tongue, or whether it be in Sanskṛit, all that is necessary is true Love for the Lord. When a rough woollen blanket is wanted (to protect one in the storm), who takes out a silken vest ? '

It was the custom of Tul'sî Dâs to cross the river Asî every morning for purificatory purposes. On his way back, he used to throw the water, which remained unused in his *lôṭâ*,

[30] It was originally two villages, Bêla and Pataut, which have grown into one.

[31] *Nâyikâ-varṇana*. More literally, description of heroines.

[32] This is *Dôhâbalî* 351, with slight variations of reading.

[33] *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân*, § 92.

[34] *Dôhâbalî* 572, and Śat'saî VII. 125. The Kaliyuga is the time of *sturm und drang*, when the rough protection of the vernacular is wanted, and not the silken graces of Sanskrit to teach people the right way. *Kumâṅch* explained as equivalent to *qamâsh* (Arabic) ' close texture,' hence as above.

upon a mango tree which grew there. A ghost (*prêtâ*) lived in that tree, and one day he appeared to the poet, thanked him for the daily draught of water, and told him to ask a boon. Tul'sî asked to be shown the Lord Râma with his attendants. The ghost replied, 'I have no power to show you Râma, but I can show you how to get to see him. In a certain temple the story of the *Râmâyaṇâ* is being recited. There you will find a very poor miserable looking man, who comes before every one else to hear the reading, and goes away last of all. That is Hanumân. Go to him privately, fall at his feet, and make known your petition to him. If he be willing, he will show you Râma.'[35] Tul'sî Dâs went home, bathed and worshipped, and then went and sat where the reading was to go on. Sure enough, as the ghost had said, a wretched looking man came first of all and stayed till the very end. When he went away, Tul'sî followed him, and when they got to a lonely place, fell at his feet, calling him Hanumân and making known his petition. Hanumân said: 'Go thou to Chitrakûṭa and there wilt thou be vouchsafed a sight of Râma Chandra.' With these words he disappeared.

Tul'sî Dâs started for Chitrakûṭa with his heart full of love and joy; stayed there a few days to visit the various holy places, and then, one day, took a walk outside the city, where all of a sudden he came upon a *Râm Lîlâ*, or dramatic representation of the history of Râma. The scene which was being acted was the Conquest of Laṅkâ, including the giving of the kingdom to Vibhîshaṇa, and the return to Ayôdhyâ. There were Râma, Lakshmaṇa, Sîtâ, Hanumân, and all their friends. When Tul'sî Dâs had finished looking on he turned to go home, and met a Brâhmaṇ, who was no other than Hanumân in disguise. 'Sir,' said Tul'sî Dâs, 'this is a very excellent *Râm Lîlâ*.' The Brahmaṇ said, 'Are you mad, talking of *Râm Lîlâs* at this time of year? Here they only take place in Âśvin and Kârtik (October and November). This is not the season for the *Râm Lîlâ*.' Tul'sî Dâs, feeling annoyed at the brusque answer which he received, replied, 'No, Sir, I have just seen one with my own eyes, come along, and I will show it to you.' He took the Brâhmaṇ back to the scene of the *Lîlâ*, but, when they got there, there was nothing visible. Tul'sî asked all the people about, 'Where is the *Râm Lîlâ* I saw just now going on here? Where have the actors gone to? Did not you see it?' Everyone said, 'Who would see a *Lîlâ* at this season?' Then Tul'sî remembered what Hanumân had said to him at Banâras, and recognized that what he had thought was a *Lîlâ* was really a vision of the actual heroes of the drama. Full of shame at not having recognized his Lord and done honour to him, he went home weeping, and refused to eat. At night, when he had gone to rest, Hanumân came to him in a dream, and said to him 'Tul'sî, regret not. In this Kali Yuga, even gods get no opportunity of seeing Râma. Blessed art thou among men, that he hath shown himself to thee. Now abandon sorrow, and adore him more.' Comforted by these words, the holy man returned to Banâras, and spent his days adoring his Master. It was on his way home on this occasion, that he met his wife as already recorded.

As Tul'sî Dâs was going home one dark night in Banâras, he was set upon by robbers, who rushed at him crying '*mâr, mâr*.' He did not attempt to protect himself, but stood his ground fearlessly, saying:—

*Bâsara ḍhâsani kê ḍhakâ rajanî chahuṅ disi chôrâ* |
*Dalata dayânidhi dêkhiyê kapi kêsari kisôra* ||[36]

[35] The ghost was a wicked man who had died under the tree just outside Banâras. He had thus not gone to Heaven, but had been saved, by propinquity to the holy place, from going to hell. He was accordingly settled in the mango tree. The story goes that after his interview with Tul'sî Dâs, he was allowed entrance into the city, and thereby obtained salvation.

[36] Compare *Dohâbalî* 239, in which the second half line runs,

'*Sankara nija pura râkhiyê chitai sulôchana kôra.*'

'O Śiva, protect thine own city (Banâras), with a glance (*literally* margin) of thy propitious eye.' Śiva had three eyes: two were propitious, and the third turned to ashes him on whom its glance fell (*e.g.*, Kâmadeva. Cf. *Râm. Ba.*, *ch.* 87, 6, *taba siwa tîsara nayana ughârâ*). I am indebted to Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî for this explanation of this difficult verse of which I have seen several attempted translations The sixty-year cycle of Jupiter is divided into three periods of 20 years each, sacred to Brahmâ, to Vishṇu and to Śiva, respectively. The last score or '*Rudravîśî*.' commenced in Tul'sî Dâs's time about V. S. 1655 (1598 A. D.), just when the Musalmâns commenced to oppress

'By day, I am rudely thrust aside by scoffers; by night, robbers surround me. O Hanumân, thou monkey-prince, thou son of Kêsarin, gaze in compassion as they oppress me.'

Whereupon Hanumân appeared and so terrified the robbers that they fell to the ground in fear, and Tul'sî went on his way unmolested.

Another thief-legend is better known. A thief came by night to break into his house, but as he was about to enter, he was alarmed to see a mysterious watchman, armed with bow and arrow standing in his way. The thief retreated, to come again two or three times the same night, but always with the same result. The same thing happened for two nights more. On the morning of the third day, the thief approached Tul'sî Dâs and asked who the handsome dark-complexioned man was that was living in his house. Tul'sî asked him when he had seen him, and the thief confessed the whole affair. Then the poet recognized that the mysterious stranger could be no other than his master, Râma, and grieved that his possessing property should have given his Lord such trouble to guard it, distributed all he had to Brâhmaṇs, offering some to the thief also. The latter, overwhelmed with remorse, gave up his house and home, and became a follower of Tul'sî Dâs.

A mendicant of the Alakh[37] Sect came to Banâras, and every one gave him alms except Tul'sî Dâs. Annoyed at this he came to the poet's residence with his usual cry '*Alakh kahô, Alakh kô lakho,*' 'Tell of the Unseen. See the Unseen.' Tul'sî made no reply. Then the mendicant began to abuse him, but Tul'sî replied; 'Why do you abuse me, and call upon the Unseen? Call upon Râma,"—

*Hama lakhu hama-hi hamâra lakhu* *hama hamâra kê bîcha* ।
*Tulasî alakhahi kâ lakhahu* *Râma-nâma japu nîcha* ॥

'Thou who art in the midst of "I" and of "mine," see (that which thou callest) "I" and (that which is) really "I." See (that which is really) "mine." Why dost thou endeavour to see the Unseen? Vile one, utter prayer in the name of Râma.'

Here "I" and "mine" mean the illusion, *mâyâ*, of the Vêdântins, in which the ignorant man is enveloped. This is well brought out in the oft-quoted line,

*maiṅ aru môra tôra taiṅ mâyâ,*
"I and my, thy and thou, are illusion."

Tul'sî Dâs tells the Alakhiyâ to distinguish what he calls self from his real self, the Antaryâmi Brahma. When a man is in the midst of illusion, all he can see is the illusion. The Alakhiyâ is to break the veil, and to understand what his real self is. Without breaking that veil it is impossible to see Brahman. The only way to break it is to worship Râma.

At the village of Mairawâ in the district of Sâran is a Brahma-sthâna, where one called Hari Râma committed suicide, compelled thereto by the tyranny of Kanak Shâhi Bisên. Throughout the districts of Gôrakh'pur and Sâran, there is a widely believed tradition that Tul'sî Dâs was present when he was invested with the Brahmanical thread. The *sthân* is called Hari Râm Brahm, and a large fair is held here on the ninth of the bright half of Chaitra (the Râma-navamî). The place is a station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

The celebrated 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm Khânkhânâ[38] used frequently to correspond with Tul'sî Dâs. On one occasion Tul'sî Dâs sent him half a *dôhâ* as follows:—

'*Sura-tiya, nara-tiya, nâga-tiya,* *saha bêdana saba kôi* ।'

Benares. The verse (the original is certainly the *Dôhâbalî* version) refers to this. The *dhâṅsnêwâlê*, the calumniators, were the Musalmâns. *Ḍhakâ* is equivalent to *dhakkâ*, a shove. Cf. *K. Râm.*, *Ut.* 76, *Âṅdharô adhama*, &c. Cf. also *Dôhâbalî*, 240, and *K. Râm.*, *Ut.* 170-176, in which the *Rudravîsî* is specially mentioned.

[37] The *Alakh-jagânêwâlâs* are Śaivas. The name is derived from *alakshya*, invisible. They are a sub-division of the Pûrî division of the Dasnâmî sect. They are also called *Alakhiyâ*. Some of the Gôrakhpanthîs also call themselves Alakhiyâs, but the true Alakhîyâs do not slit their ears as the Gôrakhpanthîs do.

[38] See *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân*, § 108.

To which the Nawâb replied,

*'Garbha liyê Hulasî phirê Tulasî sô suta hôi* ॥.'

'Women of the gods, women of the mortals, women of the Nâgas, all suffer pain (in child-birth).'

'Yet Hulasî[39] (the poet's mother) let herself become with child, that she might have a son like Tul'sî.'

Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî gives a variant of the legend, with a slightly different reading of the verse. A poor Brâhmaṇ is said to have worried the poet for money to meet the expenses of his daughter's marriage. Finally Tul'sî gave him the following half line :—

*'Sura-tiya nara-tiya nâga-tiya saba châhata asa hôi* ।'

'These three kinds of women all desire a son like thee,' and told him to present it to the Emperor's Governor. The latter on receiving it rewarded the Brâhmaṇ, and wrote the answer

*'Gôda liê hulasî phirain Tulasî sô suta hôi* ॥'

'But all women desire that they may joyfully (*hulasî*) carry in their arms, a son like Tulasî.' This verse, the Paṇḍit explains, is probably the foundation of the tradition that the name of the poet's mother was Hulasî.

The famous Ṭôḍar Mall[40] was another of Tul'sî Dâs's friends and was an ardent devotee of Râma. When he died (1589 A.D.) the poet wrote the following verses *in memoriam* :—

*Mahatô chârô gâṅva kô mana kô baḍaü mahîpa* ।
*Tulasî yâ kali-kâla mêṅ athayô Ṭôḍara dîpa* ॥
*Tulasî Râma sanêha kô sira dhara bhârî bhâra* ।
*Ṭôḍara dharê na kâṅdha hû jaga kara raheu utâra* ॥
*Tulasî ura thâlâ bimala Ṭôḍara guna-gana bâga* ।
*Samujhi sulôchana sîṅchihêṅ umagi umagi anurâga* ॥
*Râma-dhâma Ṭôḍara gayê Tulasî bhayeu nisôcha* ।
*Jiyabô mîta punîta binu yahî baḍê saṅkôcha* ॥

'A master of but four villages,[41] but a mighty monarch of himself. Tul'sî, in this age of evil the light of Ṭôḍar hath set. Tul'sî placed on his head the heavy burden of love for the Lord, but Ṭôḍar could not bear the burden of the world upon his shoulders, and laid it down.[42] Tul'sî's heart was a pure watering-basin in the garden of Ṭôḍar's virtues. When I think of this mine eyes o'erflow and water them with affection. Ṭôḍar hath gone to the dwelling place of the Lord, and therefore Tul'sî refraineth his grief, but hard it is for him to live without his pure friend.'

The famous Mahârâj Mân Siṅgh[43] (d. 1618) of Ambêr (Jaipur), and his brother Jagat Siṅgh and other great princes were in the habit of coming to pay reverence to the poet. A man once asked why such great people came to see him now-a-days. In former days no one came to see him. Tul'sî Dâs replied :[44]

*Lahai na phûṭî kauḍi-hû kô chahai kahi kâja* ।
*Sô Tulasî mahaṅgô kiyô Râma garîba-niwâja* ॥

[39] It is an idea expressed frequently in Tul'sî Dâs's poetry, that the mother of a son devoted to Râma is blessed above all others.

[40] *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindûstân*, § 105. The deed of arbitration already alluded to was devoted to settling a quarrel between his descendants. We have already seen that Tul'sî Dâs is said to have compiled the *Dôhâbalî*, after the year 1598 A. D. at his request. Tul'sî Dâs objected on principle to praising any great man, see *Râm. Bâ., Ch.*, 11, 7 (*kînhê prâkrita jana, &c.*)

[41] This may be either taken literally, or if *chârôn gâṇwa* be used in its idiomatic meaning of 'landed property,' the sentence may mean 'respected in his own property.'

[42] The meaning of this *dôhâ* is doubtful to me. [43] *Vernacular Lit.* § 109. [44] *Dôhâbalî*, 108, 109.

*Ghara ghara mângê ṭûka puni bhûpati pûjê pâi* |
*Tê Tulasî taba Râma binu tê aba Râma sahâi* ||

'(Once did I beg) and collected not even a cracked cowry in alms. Who wanted me then for any need? But Râma, the cherisher of the poor, made me of great price. I used to beg from door to door for alms, now kings worship my feet. Saith Tul'sî: *then* it was without Râma. *Now* Râma is my helper.'

One day a Brâhmaṇ woman, whose husband had just died, and who was on her way to become suttee, passed Tul'sî Dâs and made obeisance to him. The holy man, in absence of mind, blessed her, saying '*saubhâgyavatî hô*,' 'blessed be your wedded life.' Her relations who accompanied her said: 'Reverend sir, this woman only to-day became a widow, and is on her way to become a suttee with her husband. You have just now given her a blessing, which must turn out unfulfilled,—but, still, all men know your might.' Tul'sî replied, '*Achchhá*, do not burn her husband till I come.' He then went to the Ganges and bathed, put a new garment on to the corpse, and began to repeat the name of Râma. He remained praying and praising the Lord in this way for nearly three hours, when the corpse rose, as one awakened from sleep, and sitting up in the presence of thousands of men, said 'Why have you brought me here?' His relations explained to him that he had died, and that Tul'sî had brought him to life, at hearing which he fell at the poet's feet. Thereupon all the people praised the name of Râma, and took him who was dead, and was now alive, to his home.

News of this reached the emperor at Dehlî,[45] who sent for Tul'sî Dâs. When the poet arrived in court, the emperor received him with much honour, gave him a high seat, and then asked him to perform a miracle. Tul'sî smiled and answered, 'Your Majesty, I have no power to perform miracles. I know not magic. One thing, and only one, I know, — the name of the Lord, Râma Chandra.' The emperor, on this, flew into a rage, and ordered the poet to be imprisoned till he should perform some miracle. He sat in prison, repeating the name of Râma and praising Hanumân.

Seeing the trouble in which this faithful devotee of Râma was involved, Hanumân sent myriads of monkeys, who entered the city and began to destroy the palace and all its contents. They even went so far as to make faces at and threaten the emperor and his wives. When nothing could stop their devastation, the emperor's eyes became opened, and going with his chief queen he fell at Tul'sî Dâs's feet and implored his forgiveness. The poet then prayed again to Hanumân and the army of monkeys withdrew, after the emperor had promised to leave Dehlî (a city of holy memories to Hindus), and found a new city. This new city is that now known as Shâhjahânâbâd. From Dehlî, Tul'sî Das went to Vṛindâvana, where he met Nâbhâ Das, the worshipper of Kṛishṇa and the author of the *Bhakt Mâlâ*.[46] One day, the two poets went, with other Vaishṇavas, to worship at the temple of Gôpâla (Kṛishṇa). Some of the Vaishṇavas said to him sarcastically, 'He has deserted his own God (Râma), and come to worship in the temple of another (Kṛishṇa).' To this Tul'sî replied :—

*Kâ baranaun chhabi âja kî bhalê birâjau nâtha* |
*Tulasî mastaka taba nawai dhanukha bâna lie hâtha* ||

'How am I to describe the representation (of Kṛishṇa) which I see to-day. Noble indeed doth he seem, but not till he appear with bow and arrow in his hands (*i. e.*, in the character of Râma), will Tul'sî bow his head to him.'

While he was yet speaking, behold the image of Kṛishṇa changed its appearance. His flute became an arrow, and his reed a bow. Seeing this miracle, all were astonished, and praised Tul'sî.

45 Some legends say this was Shâh Jahân, who reigned from 1628 to 1658 A. D. But the poet died in 1624 A.D.
46 *Vernacular Lit.* § 51.

The following are said to have been Tul'sî Dâs's dying words:—

*Râma-nâma-jasa barani kai* *bhayau chahata aba mauna* ।
*Tulasî kê mukha dîjiyê* *aba-hî tulasî sauna* ॥

'I have sung the glory of the name of Râma, and now would I be silent. Now place ye the gold, and the leaf of *tul'sî*, into Tul'sî's mouth."[47]

I may add that *K. Râm. Ut.*, 180 (*kunkuma ranga su-anga jitô, &c.*), is said to have been composed by the poet, when his eye fell upon a *kshêmakarî* falcon, a bird of good omen, as he sat on the banks of the Ganges awaiting death.

In conclusion, I must again thank the various scholars who have helped me to compile these notes, more especially Mahâmahôpadhyâya Paṇḍit Sudhâkar Dvivêdî, and Bâbû Râm Dîn Singh. Without their kind assistance, I should never have been able to place on record the information here made public.

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## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE KALYANI INSCRIPTIONS.

(*Concluded from page* 243.)

### Postscript.

[BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.]

In May 1892 the Local Government in Burma authorized me to arrange for the restoration of the three Pâḷi stones of these inscriptions, if possible.

Through the kindness of Messrs. E. W. Oates, Algie and Griffin, of the Public Works Department, preliminary works were undertaken, with a view to finding out what remained of the stones and how far they could be put back into their original condition.

Mr. Griffin took a great deal of trouble over the matter, and the immediate result of his labours was the following report:—

"The stones, of which there are ten, *i. e.*, including both the Pâḷi and the Talaing inscriptions, are all more or less broken. Their original form was approximately that shewn in the sketch (see the six Plates entitled "Restored Portions of the Pâḷi Stones of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions"). They stood 6 ft. high above the ground surface and had their tops curved, as shewn in the Plate, "Stones 1 to 10 of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions." Only one retains any part of the top curvature, the rest being broken off much nearer the ground. Their thickness averages about 13 inches, but they differ in this respect from each other, and each stone varies in itself. The broken pieces shewn in the Plate, "Broken Portions of the Kalyâṇî Stones," are numbered as belonging to the various stones; but this selection depends partly on the position in which they are lying, and partly on their thickness. Consequently, since the thickness is variable, the selection is only approximate and cannot be absolutely determined mechanically till the pieces are fitted together. The material from which the stones were cut is a moderately hard sandstone.

"The stones are inscribed on both sides, and, consequently, many of the broken pieces have been lying with one surface in contact with the soil. In some cases this has decayed the stone, and a few portions of the inscriptions have been thereby entirely destroyed. Other portions have also been destroyed by the stone having flaked off, not by the action of the weather, but when the stones were broken. These flakes it will, of course, be impossible to recover. It will, therefore, be impossible to entirely restore the inscriptions.

"The sketches in the Plates above mentioned shew those portions of the stones, which are still left standing above ground, and also those pieces lying on the ground, which are above one

[47] Amongst members of the Vaishṇava sect, it is customary to place Ganges water, gold, and a leaf of the *tul'sî* plant into a dying person's mouth.

Plate I. Restored portions of the Pâli stones of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions of Dhammachêtî, 1476 A.D. Obverse face of the first stone.

(76 lines).

TAW SEIN KO

SCALE ·09.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Plate II.

# Reverse face of the first stone.

(70 lines)

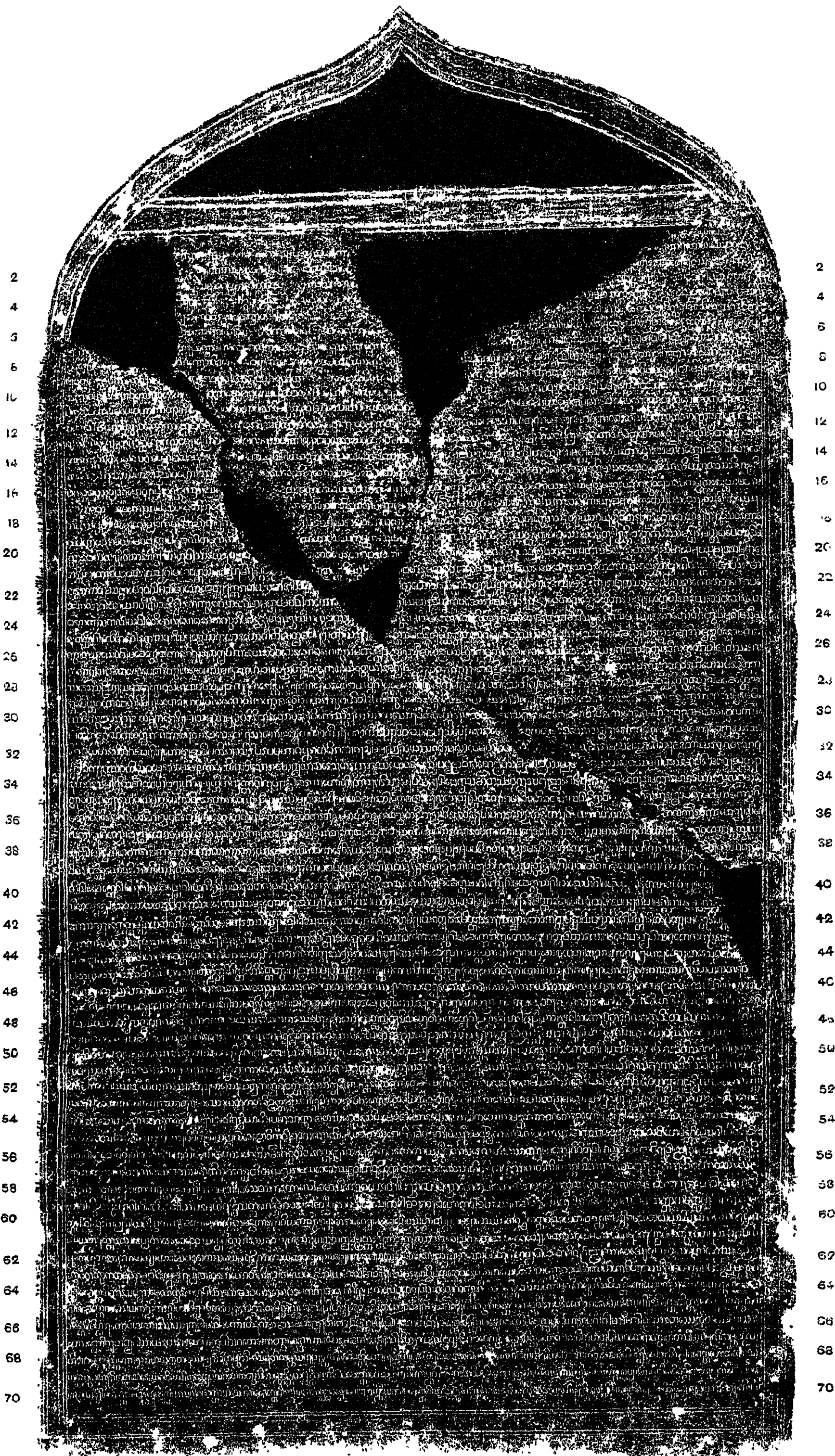


Plate III.

Obverse face of the second stone.

(67 lines).

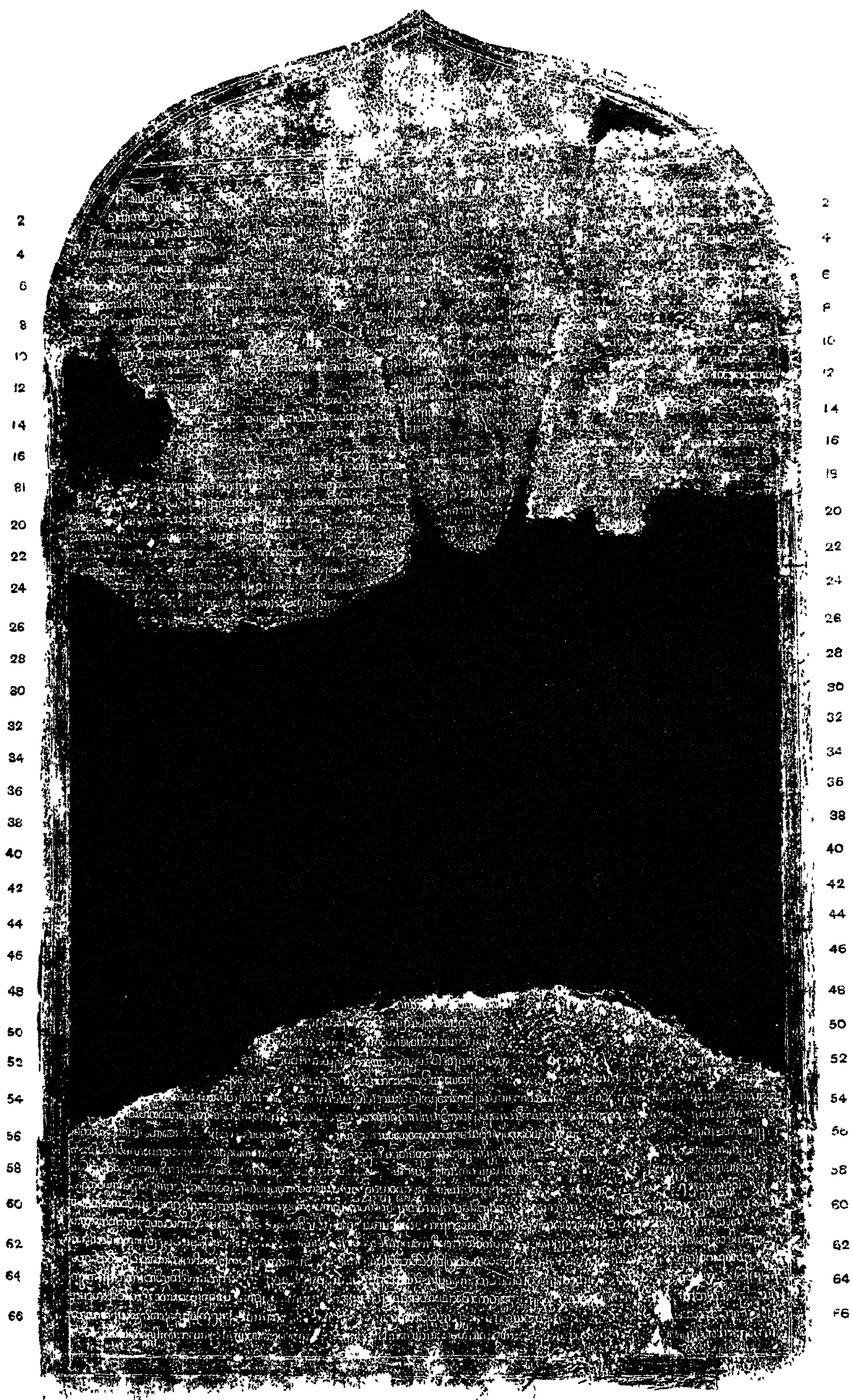


Plate IV. Reverse face of the second stone.

(67 lines)

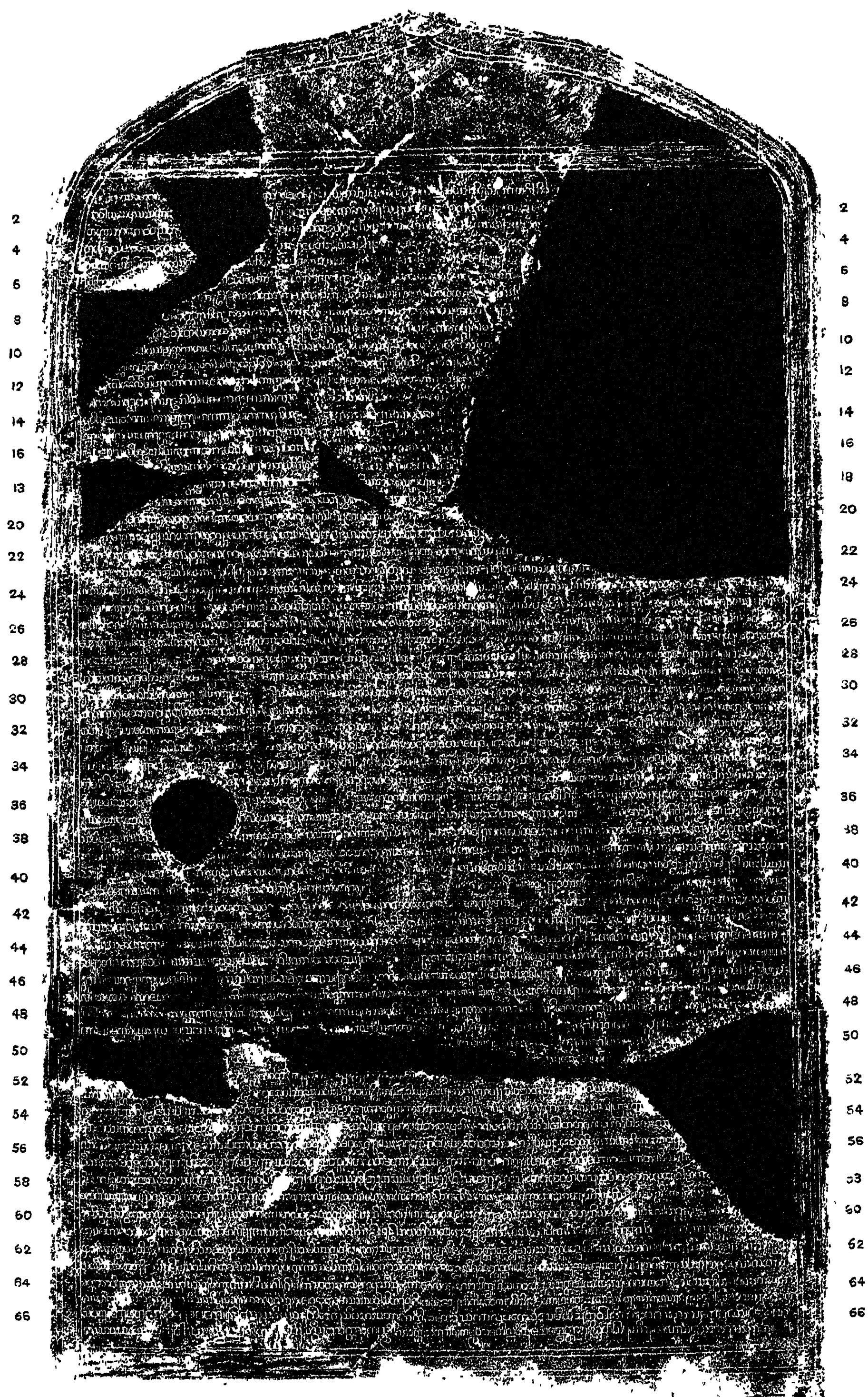


Plate V. Obverse face of the third stone.

(78 lines)

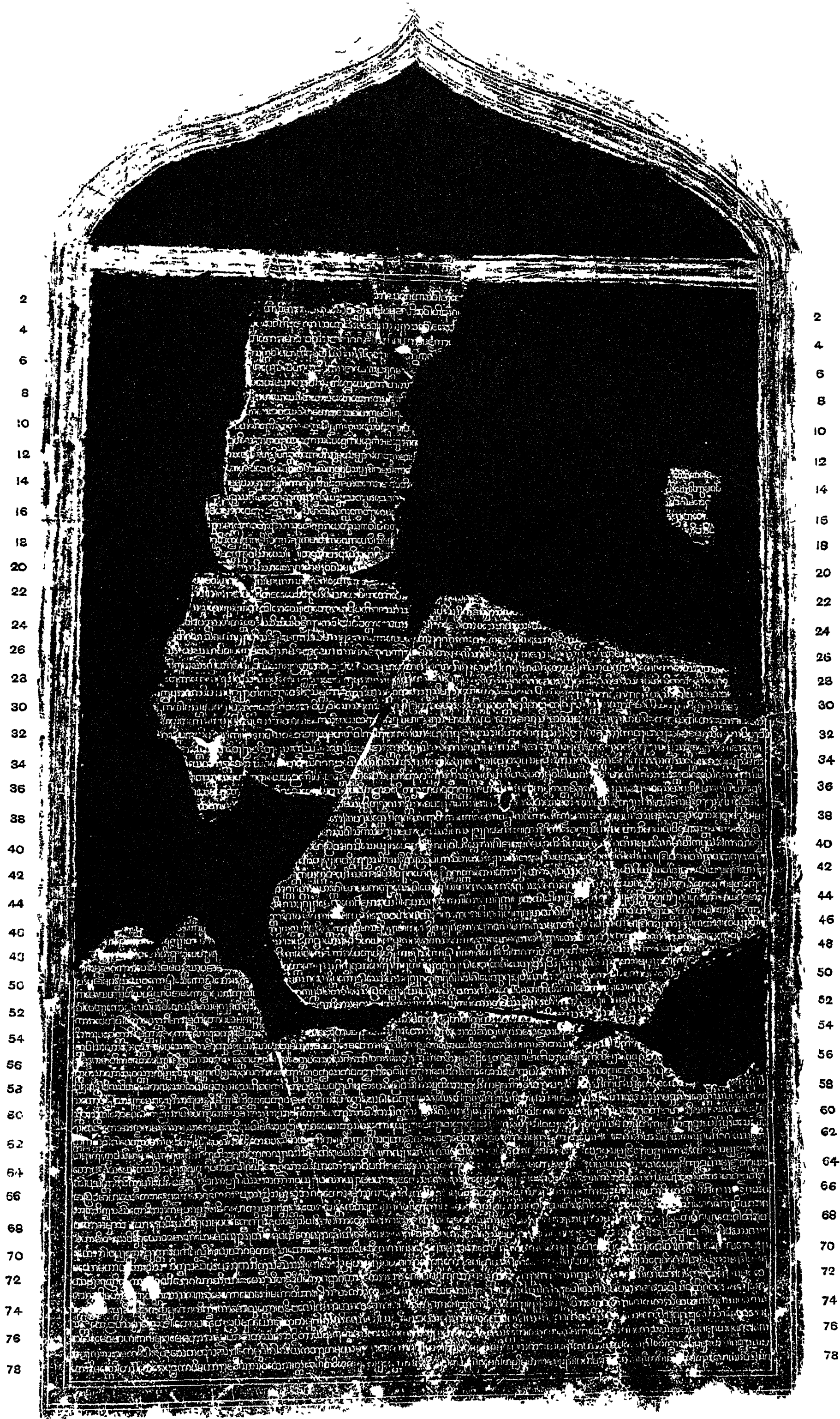
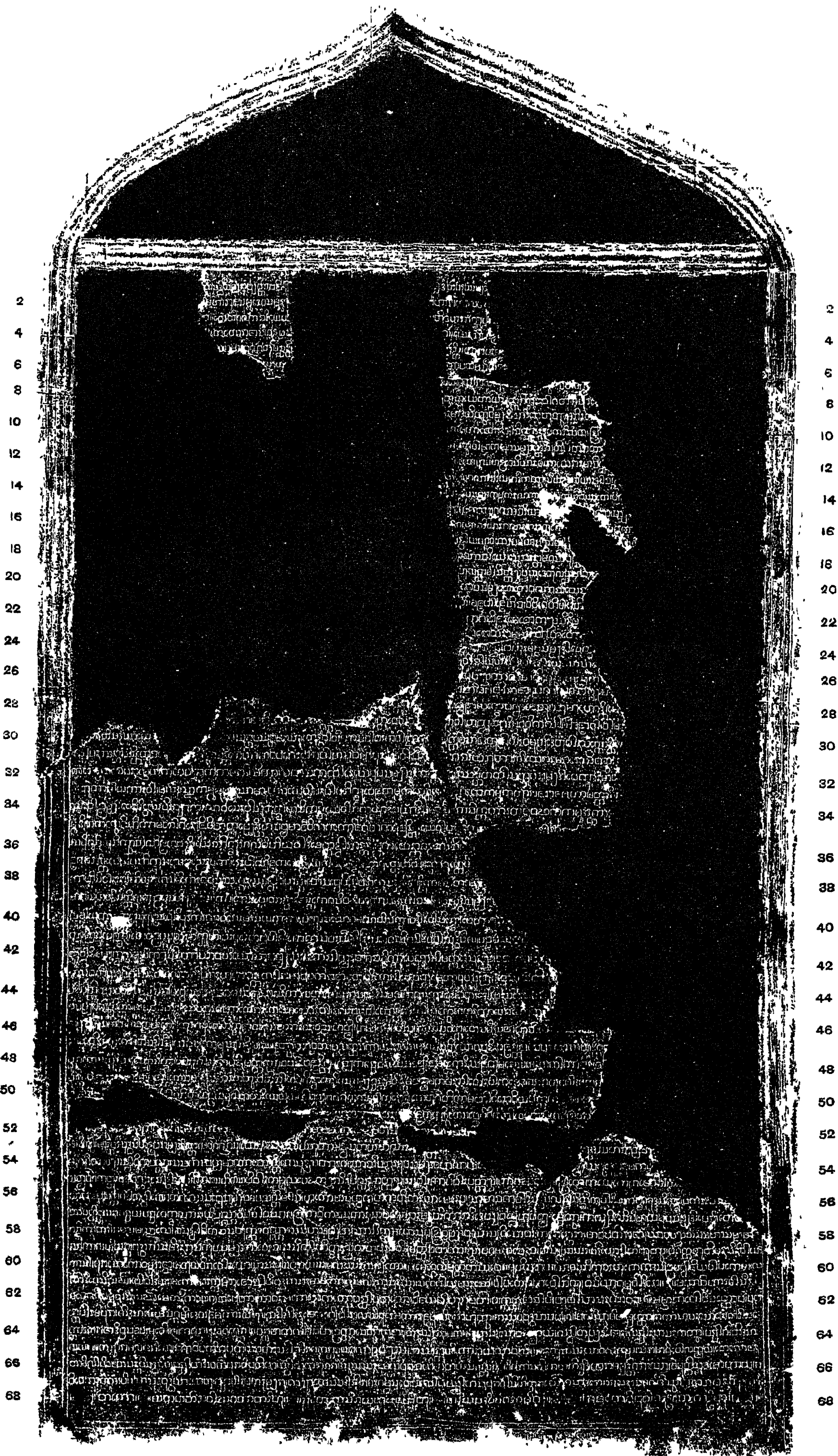
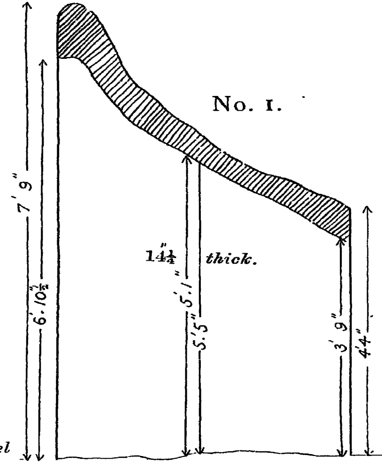


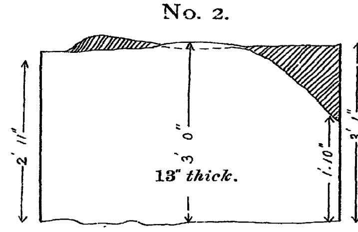
Plate VI.

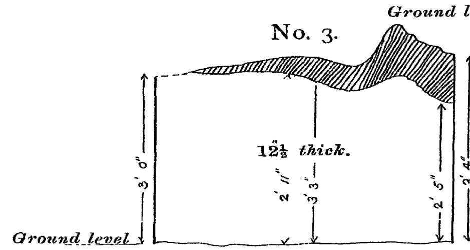
## Reverse face of the third stone.

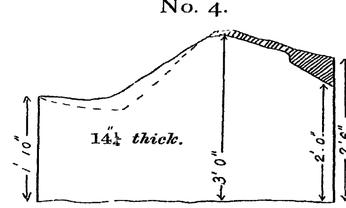
(68 lines).

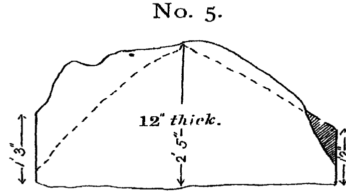


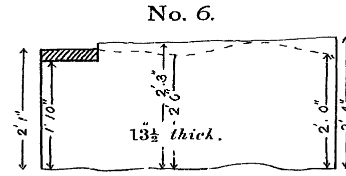


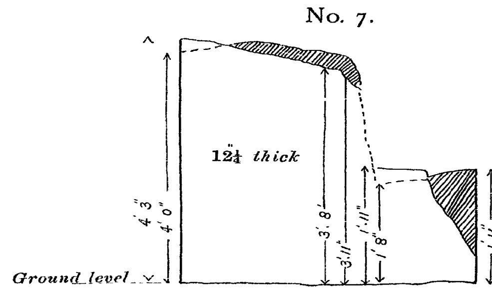



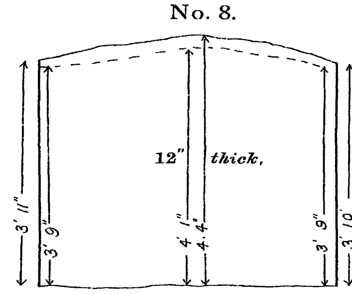



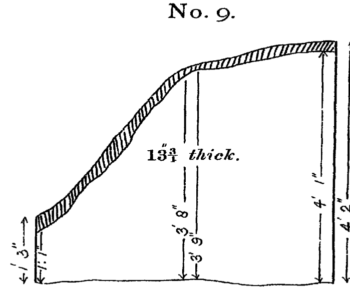



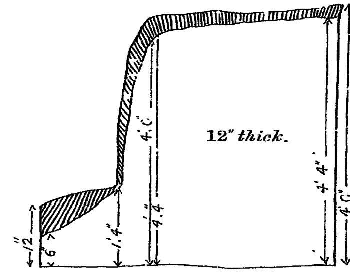



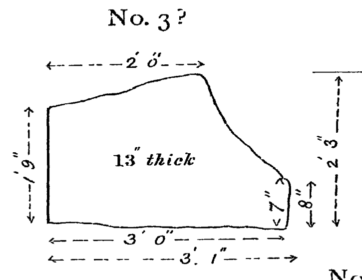



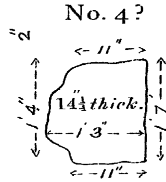



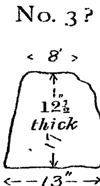



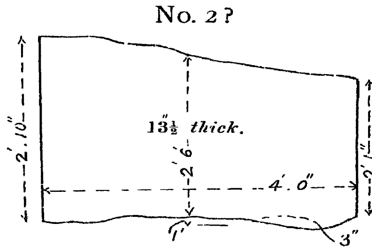



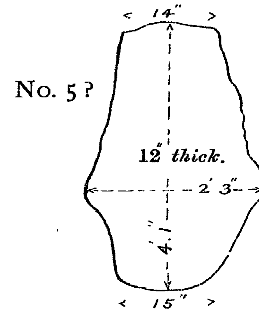

Stones 1 to 10 of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions.

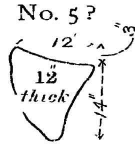


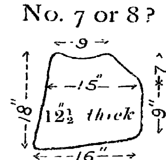



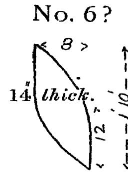



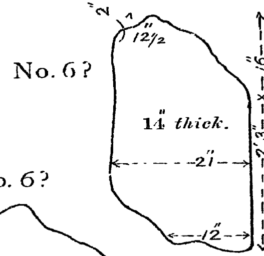



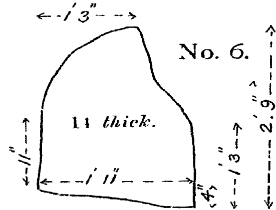




No. 6?

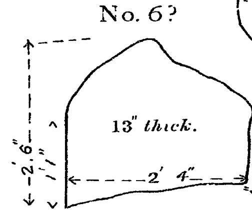
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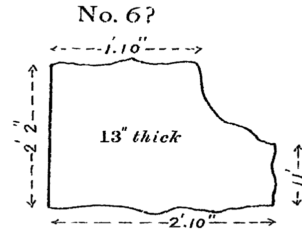
17"

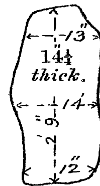
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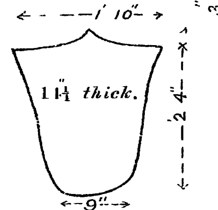
1' 10

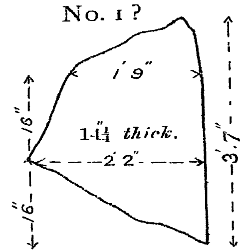
2' 5"



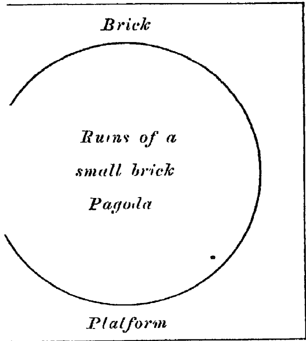



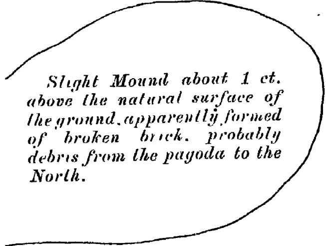



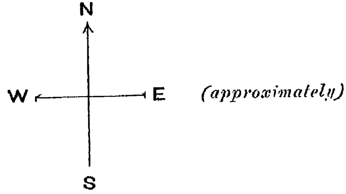



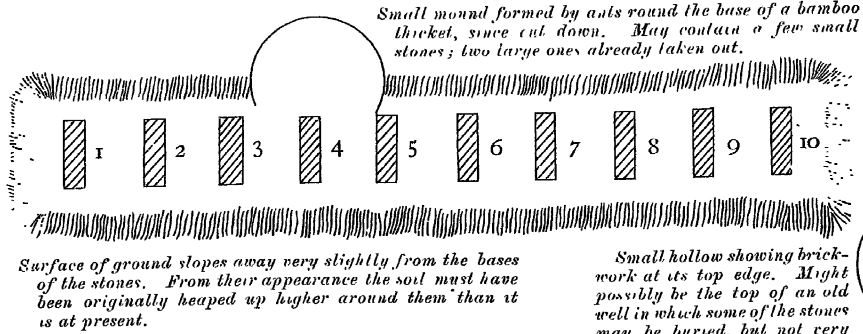


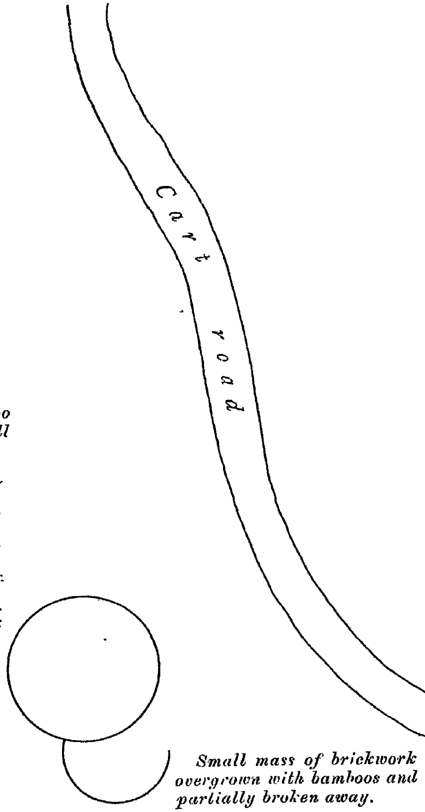

Broken Portions of the Kalyâṇî Stones.




General Plan of the Site of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions.

cubic foot in size and which bear a portion of both inscribed surfaces. The total volume of all these is approximately 200 cubic feet; while the total volume of the original stones above ground must have been at least 325 cubic feet, taking an average thickness of 13 inches. This leaves a difference of 125 cubic feet, representing the volume of the missing portions.

"All that is now visible does not exceed half of this, if, indeed, it is as much. It is clear, then, that some portions of the stones have either been removed from the site, or are lying buried near it.

"With regard to the possibility of some pieces of inscribed stone being buried near the site, the Plate, "General Plan of the Site of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions," shews a slight mound near the south-west corner and a small hollow at the south-east. The former does not rise more than twelve to eighteen inches above the natural surface of the ground and appears to be composed of broken brick, possibly debris from a ruined pagoda opposite. The hollow is circular, and about two feet deep, with brickwork shewing round its edge. This may possibly be the top of a well which has been filled in, but this is doubtful. There is a small mound at its edge, which is made up of brickwork, partially broken away and overgrown by bamboos. The only other mound is that shewn in the "General Plan" about the centre of the line of stones. This is very small, having been formed by ants round the base of an old bamboo clump, now cut down. Two stones have already been taken out of this and it could not possibly contain more of any consequence. The ground slopes slightly from the base of the stones and the pieces shewn in the plates were lying on the slopes, either on the surface, or partially buried to a depth of only three to four inches below it.

"The general inference, then, is that the probability of finding any considerable amount of inscribed stone buried in the vicinity is very small.

"Building up the various parts of the stones would be attended with considerable difficulty, since the stones are inscribed on both sides. The only portions available for connecting the parts are, therefore, the broken surfaces (these in many cases have a considerable slope to the horizontal) and the outside edges; so it would be exceedingly difficult to fix the centre portions. For the same reasons, also, it will be necessary to build them up in a vertical position."

The above report, having made it clear that the restoration of the stones, if possible at all, would be attended with much difficulty, advantage was taken of a set of ink impressions taken by the late Prof. Forchhammer, and found among his papers, to aid in piecing the broken stones together.

The work of restoring the stones on paper from Prof. Forchhammer's fragments was in itself a matter of no small difficulty, but it has been successfully accomplished, so far as the materials at hand sufficed for the purpose. For this work the MSS., from which the text given in this *Journal* was compiled, were of great value, and their general accuracy was proved by the fact that with their aid the text of the original stones could be followed so closely as to admit of the fragmentary impressions collected by Prof. Forchhammer being arranged in the order, in which they must have originally been inscribed on the stones.

When the fragments of the text were thus restored, they were fixed on to large sheets of paper, the original forms of the stones were roughly drawn in, and the spaces left between fragments blackened over. The sheets were then photo-lithographed and the results reproduced in Plates I. to VI., entitled "Restored Portions of the Pâḷi Stones of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions of Dhammachêtî, 1476 A. D."

These plates are now in the hands of the engineers, and it may be possible yet to restore these most important stones and preserve them from further destruction.

The credit of the difficult and ingenious work of piecing together Prof. Forchhammer's fragments is due to Mr. Taw Sein-Ko.

# FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

## *No.* 16.—*The Prince and the Kambals.*

(*Continued from p.* 250).

The little birds then said :— "We thought as much. We did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that boy there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the wild bird trying to devour us, he got up and killed it, and there lies the carcase of it. Go down, therefore, and thank him first as our deliverer. You must also try and render him some help, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other."

The *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* then came down and saw that all that their children said was true. They, therefore, thanked our hero very heartily, and asked him why he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could help him in any way. The prince told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of *kambals;* how he killed the *rânkhas;* how he packed the *rânkhas'* daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain was drawn up, and he was left behind without any chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety.

When the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* heard his story they said to him :— "Is this all that you are anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will each give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the *gûrûpakshâ* in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear that of the *gûrûpakshîn,* you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go."

Upon this our hero took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more going to see his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* then both joined their wings and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him into the air, and in a few moments put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away, after again thanking him for rescuing their children's life, and each of them gave him a feather.

The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night for the supposed loss of their child, were taken by surprise, as they heard the prince's voice suddenly fall on their ears, calling out to them as father and mother. They were now very glad to see him back, and asked him where he had been and what he had been doing for so long. He told them everything from the moment he had left them to the time of speaking. They listened, with amazement, to the exploits of their son, and were proud of him. Now that their son was again with them safe, they shook off their cares and anxieties, and, recovering slowly, regained their strength. Thus they were again themselves in a short time.

A few months after this, there happened to be a great festival, and every one was supposed to eat and drink merrily for the day. The old fisherman called the prince, and, handing him some money, told him to go to the *bâzâr* and buy some meat and vegetables and fruit, and other nice things for dinner. The prince at once obeyed. Going to the *bâzâr,* he bought what was necessary, and, hiring a cooly, sent it to his house, while he himself kept roaming about the place, as he had not been there since he had left in search of the *kambals,* diverting himself with sweets and fruits. Rambling from one place to another, he happened to come to where the palace of the king was located. Just then he remembered the feathers given to him by the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn,* and of their virtue. So wishing to amuse himself by passing off for an old man, he wore in his turban the feather of the *gûrûpakshâ,* when, at once, he was transformed into an old man of a thousand years!

In this guise he went past the king's palace. The king, who happened to be standing in the balcony of his palace, saw him, and thought to himself:

"How old that man looks! Surely, he must have seen many countries, and must be acquainted with many stories. It will certainly be worth while to hear some tale or other from him."

Thus thinking, he called him in, addressing him as *âjjâ* (grand-father), and said: — "*Âjjâ*, you look a thousand years old. Won't you oblige me with one of the old tales of which you must be full?"

But our hero modestly said: — "No, no; what do I know about old stories?"

The king then again said: — "Come, come, *âjjâ*, who will believe that you are not acquainted with stories? Do oblige me."

After much begging and coaxing, the supposed old man began: —

"Sire, as I told you, I do not know any old stories, but listen to what little I can tell you. Once upon a time, there lived a king with his queen, whose dominions extended far and wide, and who possessed an immense hoard of treasure, but, to their great grief, they had had no issue, to procure which the queen every day gave away one *sûplî* (sieve) full of gold in alms to beggars, hoping that the recipients of the alms would pray and thereby obtain them a son.

"One day she was seated in the balcony with a sieve full of gold for the purpose of distributing among the beggars, when a *gôsâṅvi*, who happened to come to beg, saw this gold, and asked her what she had in the sieve. The queen told him it was gold, upon which the *gôsâṅvi* asked her: — 'Is there any one that will eat it?' And the queen answered in a sorrowful tone: — 'No; and that is the reason why I am sitting here with this sieve full of gold, hoping that, by distributing it, the receivers of it may pray and obtain a son for me, but to this day it seems that their prayers have not been heard.' The *gôsâṅvi* then asked her if the king, her husband, was at home, but she said that he had gone out. 'Very well,' said the *gôsâṅvi*. 'Tell him, when he returns, to come to my *maṭ* in a certain village, and then I will tell him what to do in order that your desires may be satisfied.' The queen promised to send the king on his return, and the *gôsâṅvi*, after receiving alms, went away.

"This is the story, O king, I know; and now let me go."

The king, who suspected that this story was all about himself, was anxious to hear more, and so said to him: — "Go on, *âjjâ*, tell me further. It is a very interesting tale."

But the supposed old man pretended to know nothing more. The king, however, begged of him, and urged him to tell more, upon which he continued: —

"Then, Sire, when the king returned in the evening, the queen laid out supper for him, and while he was partaking of it, the queen said: — 'My dear husband, this morning, as I was seated as usual in the balcony with a sieve full of gold to distribute to beggars, a *gôsâṅvi*, who says his hut is in a certain village, came up and asked me what I had in the sieve, and when I told him it was gold, he asked me if there was any one who would eat it, but I said there was no one, and that was the reason why I distributed it among beggars, in order that, through their prayers at any rate, we may get a son. Upon this he asked me if you were at home, and when I told him you were gone out, he asked me to send you to his *maṭ* on your return.'

"The king listened to her very attentively, and, when she had finished speaking, said: — 'My dear wife, you are distributing a sieve full of gold every morning, besides which we are performing other charitable acts, and all to no avail. What can a *gôsâṅvi* tell, and much less do. that our desires may be fulfilled?' But the queen pressed and begged of him to go, saying: — 'Let us see what he may have to say. Who knows but that he may help us to obtain our wishes.'

"After much entreaty, however, the king consented to go, and, having finished his supper, he set out for the *gôsâṅvi's maṭ*. When he had reached it, the *gôsâṅvi* asked him what he wanted. The king said:— 'Did you not go to the palace this morning and tell my wife to send me over to you when I came home?' 'Yes, my lord,' answered the *gôsâṅvi*. 'I will now tell you what to do. Go to a certain place where you will see a tree laden with fruit. Climb up the tree and shake it. Come down and take two of the fruit. Mind you do not take more than two. Eat one yourself and give the other to your wife, the queen; thereby you will obtain your desires.'

"The king went in the direction he was told by the *gôsâṅvi*, and saw a large tree which was bent down by the weight of its fruit. He climbed up and shook and shook the tree, till he saw hundreds of the fruit fall on the ground, but when he came down and went to pick up the fruit he found only two. So he climbed again, and again shook the tree for a long while, and he again heard the sound of hundreds of fruit falling, but, as before, when he was picking them up he got only two. The king was astonished at this occurrence, and climbed up in the tree a third time, and shook and shook the tree with all his might for a very long time, till he was tired, and he heard the sound of some thousands of the fruit dropping on the ground. When he came down, the ground under the tree was so covered by the fruit that he could not put his feet down without treading on heaps of them, which made him glad to think that he had at last plenty, but, to his great astonishment, as he proceeded to gather them, all the fruit went up again into the tree, and there remained for him to carry away only two. The king now thought to himself:— 'The *gôsâṅvi* told me to take only two of these fruit, but though I wished to take more, and I knocked down so many, I cannot get more than two. There must be some meaning in it. I will, therefore, abide by the instructions of the *gôsâṅvi*; or, who knows, if I should take more, they may lose their virtue?'

"He then took the fruit and shewed them to the *gôsâṅvi*, who again told him to take them home, and to eat one himself and to give the other to the queen to eat.

"The king, after thanking the *gôsâṅvi* for his kind advice, went home with the fruit, and, giving one to his queen, told her to eat it, while he ate the other himself. From that moment the queen became pregnant, and, in due time, she gave birth to a very beautiful boy. This event was the cause of great joy to the old king and queen, and they feasted the palace servants very sumptuously.

"This much, O king, I know; I shall thank you to let me go."

The king, however, could not be persuaded to believe that the old *âjjâ* knew only so much, and again prayed and urged him to tell something more, upon which the thousand-year-old man continued:—

"Five days passed after the birth of the child and they celebrated the *pâñchvî*, and on the following day, the sixth day, was the *saṭṭî*. On the day of the *saṭṭî* a fortune-teller was called in to consult about the future of the infant-prince. When the fortune-teller was going away, after consulting the horoscope, the *pardhan* of the palace, who was watching outside, stopped her and asked her what would be the future career of the king's son. The fortune-teller, after much reluctance on her part, and much entreaty on the part of the *pardhan*, said:— 'It is written in the fortune of the prince that on the twelfth day after his birth the boy will be drowned in the sea!' Thus saying she went away, and the *pardhan*, too, did not divulge what he heard from the fortune-teller.

"Eleven days passed after the birth of the prince, and on the twelfth day was to be celebrated the *bârâvî* ceremony. For this purpose they fitted a ship to convey them to a certain temple, to come to which they had to cross a sea. Hundreds of guests were invited to be present at the ceremony, and the king and queen made grand preparations to celebrate the auspicious event of naming the child, with great joy and befitting pomp.

"At the appointed time, the king and the queen, with all their guests, embarked on board the ship, and soon set sail. On the way, the guests vied with each other for the honour of carrying the child, though it was only for a moment. Scarcely one had lifted the child, when a second person asked and took it from him. In another moment a third person came and took up the child, and then a fourth, and a fifth, and so on. When they had sailed for several hours they came to the middle of the sea. The child happened to be in the arms of a woman, who, by accident, let fall the child, and in a moment more the prince was drowned. Hundreds of people dived into the sea after the child, and made a long search, but in vain, and with tears in their eyes and broken hearts the king and the queen returned home with their guests. When they reached their home, the king sentenced the woman, who had so carelessly let fall the child, to a rigorous imprisonment for twelve years.

"Thus far, O king, I know the story, and can't tell what happened afterwards. I am now getting late for my meal, do let me go."

The king, who was now almost certain that the story was about himself and his child, for whom he had not yet left off mourning, was now more anxious to hear further. He made himself sure that an old man of the story-teller's age knew everything.

So he said :— "O *ájjá*, come, finish your story. You are only pretending not to know further."

But the supposed old man said :—"No, no ; I know no further. I have told you all I knew."

Nothing, however, could convince the king of the ignorance of the old *ájjá*, as he called him, and he begged hard of him to continue the story. So at last the old man said :—

"Listen, O king; as it was written in the fate of the king's son, so it came to pass. As soon as the child fell into the sea, he was swallowed by a large *magalmásá*, which was carried by the tide and thrown on dry land in a certain village of the king's dominions. In the morning a fisherman, who lived with his wife, and possessed great wealth, was walking along in pursuit of his vocation, and he happened to see the *magalmásá*. He dragged it to shore, and cut it open, when to his great surprise and confusion he saw a child come out of the belly of the *magalmásá* alive. The fisherman, too, with all his wealth had no children. He, therefore, gladly took up the child in his arms, and, going home, handed him to his wife, who was also very glad, saying:—'Dear wife, God has, at last, given us a child in this miraculous manner.'

"Thus they constituted themselves the prince's foster-parents, and, possessing great wealth, took every possible care, and brought him up with great tenderness. With such care the prince grew up rapidly. When he was only a month old he looked a child of two months; when two months only he appeared as four months old, and so on. He grew strong and beautiful, and was the pride of his foster-parents. He was known in the neighbourhood as the fisherman's son, and the prince, too, always addressed the fisherman and his wife as father and mother.

"When he was about six or seven years old he used to run about and play with the children from the neighbourhood. One day they ran to the shore, and the prince, too, wishing to go with them, asked the foster-parents permission to go, but the fisherman said :—'No, my dear child. Do not go to play near the seabeach. You know how mischievous the children are. Who knows but that some accident or other may befall you? Then, what shall I do? Tell me what you require, and I will get you any toys you may wish for, with which you can play about the house in safety.' The prince, however, in spite of the kind advice of the old man, ran at full speed, and joined his playmates at the seabeach.

"Now it happened that, as the children were playing and running about on the sand, they spied a beautiful *kambal* floating on the waves. Every one of the children attempted to get it,

but with no success. At last our hero said he would bring it, but all of them laughed at his folly, saying:—'What a silly child you are. Boys bigger than yourself have failed to get it, and you say that you can bring it.' But the prince said he would bring it, though he was younger than the rest of the children. Upon this they laid a wager, to which the prince consented, and immediately dived headlong into the water, and in a few moments came on the shore triumph antly carrying the *kambal*, and thus won the wager. The prince then carried the *kambal* to his foster-parents, who asked him whence he got it, or whether he had come by it through stealing. The prince told them how, as he and other children were playing on the shore, they spied it floating on the water, and how, when all the children had failed, they laid a wager for it, upon which he dived into the sea and came out safely with the *kambal*.

"Now, in that country *kambals* were so rare, that even kings could seldom get them. The fisherman thought to himself:— 'This is a very beautiful *kambal*, but of what use can it be to a poor man like me? I will go and present it to the king.'

"So one day he took the *kambal*, and, going to the palace, made a present of it to the king. The king was certainly very much pleased with it, and asked the fisherman whence he had obtained it. The fisherman told him how, while his son and other children were playing on the seabeach, they saw it floating on the sea, and how, when all the children had failed in their attempts to get at it, his son succeeded in bringing it out. The king accepted the *kambal* at the hands of the fisherman with thanks, and rewarding him handsomely, dismissed him. Afterwards the king took the *kambal* and hung it on to his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room at the time, praised the *kambal* for its beauty, but said that if there two more hung up, then it would really lend beauty to the bed, and not otherwise. The king, thereupon, sent for the fisherman, and told him to order his son to fetch him two other *kambals*. The fisherman protested against the idea, saying:— 'My lord, it was by sheer chance that my son got that *kambal*, and it is simply impossible to get any more.' The king, however, would not be persuaded of the impossibility of getting more *kambals*, and told the fisherman that if his son failed to bring him two more *kambals* he would forfeit his head.

"Such, my lord, was the cruelty of the king. The poor fisherman went away downhearted, thinking upon the unreasonableness of the king. He went home, and, refusing to take any food or drink, took to his bed. Now, the love of the fisherman for the prince was so great that though he was now a lad of about eight years, he used to feed him like a child. That evening, therefore, the prince missed him at supper, and asked his foster-mother why his father did not come and eat with him. She said she was unaware of the reason why he did not take supper, but, perhaps, he was unwell. The prince, however, was not satisfied with the answer of his foster-mother. So he went and asked the old man why he lay in bed, and why he did not join him at supper; but the old man said:— 'Go, my child, and take your supper. I do not want any.' 'But, father,' said the prince, 'you fed me every day, and why don't you do so to-day? What is the matter with you? What misfortune has befallen you that you look so downcast, and won't touch your food? Tell me, father, all about your cares and anxieties.' The old man, thereupon, much pleased with the kind words of the prince, said:—'My dear child, the *kambal* which you found in the sea, and which I presented to the king, is the cause of misfortune to me. The king took the *kambal* and hung it upon his bed, but a maid-servant, who chanced to come into the room, said that the *kambal*, no doubt, looked very beautiful in itself, but that, to impart beauty to the bed, there were required two more. The king, therefore, wants you to fetch him two more *kambals*. I tried hard to persuade him that it was impossible to get any more *kambals*, but in vain, for he will not convince himself of the impossibility, and says that, if you fail to carry out his orders, you run the risk of forfeiting your head. We have had no children, and God gave you to us in a miraculous manner in our old age, but this cruel king wants to deprive us of you. This, my child, is the cause of my grief, and I will rather starve myself to death, than see you snatched away from me. Go, my dear boy, and take your supper,

and do not think about me.' Thus said the fisherman, and heaved a deep sigh, and shed tears in profusion.

"Upon this the prince said:—'Is this all that has caused you so much anxiety? Go and tell the king to-morrow that I promise to fetch him the *kambals*. He must, for that purpose, provide me with a ship fitted out with servants and provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain many yards long. Then I will go and bring him the *kambals*. In the meanwhile, father, calm your fears, and get up and take your supper.'

"At these words the fisherman took courage, and, getting up, took his supper. The following morning he went to the palace and told the king that his son had offered to fetch him *kambals*, provided the king supplied him with a ship and everything else requisite for a long voyage, with provisions to last for several months, and also an iron chain several yards long. The king agreed to the conditions, and ordered a ship to be built. He engaged numerous workmen, and a job, that would take some months, was finished in about a fortnight. The ship was then manned by a number of *khalâsîs* and other servants, and the king did not forget to provide also a long iron chain. Provisions were also stored in the ship that would last, not for months, but for years.

"Everything was now ready, and the prince, taking a tender leave of his foster-parents, embarked on board the ship, and set sail. They went on and on for many days. When they had reached the middle of the sea, they cast anchor. The prince now hooked the iron chain to the side of the ship, and said to the *khalâsîs*:—'I am now going into the sea. Keep hold of the chain till you feel extra weight on it, when you must pull it up, and return home.' Thus saying, the prince descended along the chain, and disappeared under the waters.

"Did you hear, O king? Such was the cruelty of the monarch, that for the sake of two *kambals*, he was determined even to deprive the poor fisherman of a son, whom he had obtained so miraculously. Here ends my story, O king, and now let me go."

The king listened with wrapt attention, for he had now not the least particle of doubt that the story was his own. At the same time it gladdened him to find that his son was miraculously saved and was living. He wished to know more about his son, and would not believe the supposed old man that that was the end of his story.

So he begged of him to tell the whole story, saying:—"O *âjjâ*, this cannot be the end of the story; do tell me the whole of it. An old man of your age must know more."

And thus he kept pressing him and begging of him to finish the story. Thereupon the supposed old man continued, saying:—

"After the prince had disappeared under the waters, he walked on and on, and came upon a beautiful country, where he saw large gardens full of fruit-trees of all sorts bent down with the weight of their fruit.

"Here he walked for a couple of hours and came upon a large but solitary mansion, furnished in a manner better imagined than described. He entered the mansion, in which he saw a damsel of unparalleled beauty, from whose mouth, as she spoke, fell *kambals*. Our hero asked her who she was and what she was doing there all by herself, for wherever he cast his eyes, outside the mansion, he could see no vestige of human beings. The damsel was at first glad to see him, and she was also enamoured of him for his beauty, but said with a sorrowful tone:—'I am the daughter of a *rânkhas*, who has gone out in search of his prey, which consists of animals and such like things, and occasionally human beings, should any unluckily fall into his hands. I am certainly very glad to see you, but am still anxious about your safety, for should my father, the *rânkhas*, see you, he will, without fail, make a meal of you.'

"'Then tell me where I can go or conceal myself with safety,' said the prince. The girl then said:—'See, I will transform you into a fly and put you up on the wall, where you must

remain till my father goes out again to-morrow. In the meanwhile you must be hungry; so take some food at my hands and be ready for the transformation before the *râṅkhas*, my father, comes back, which will not be very long hence.' The prince thanked her for her kindness, and being very hungry did ample justice to the dishes set before him. After this the girl transformed him into a fly and put him up on the wall.

"A little while afterwards the *râṅkhas* came home after his day's excursion, and, as was his custom, lay down to rest, while his daughter shampooed his body. As he lay there he said to his daughter: —'My dear girl, I smell the smell of a human being about the place. Are you aware of any one having come or gone this way?' In reply the girl said: — 'What makes you think of human beings being about here? Here I am, alone from one hour of the day to the other. What a silly idea this is of yours?' 'But,' said the *râṅkhas*, 'I do smell the smell of a human being; otherwise I shouldn't have said so.' The girl, however, said that she had seen no human being anywhere, and was, therefore, unaware of it. *The râṅkhas* was now quieted, and fell fast asleep.

"On the next day when the *râṅkhas* went, as usual, in search of prey, his daughter transformed the fly on the wall into its original shape, and there stood the prince before her. She then prepared some food, of which they partook together, and conversed with each other freely during the whole day. At the close of the day, when it was near the time for the *râṅkhas* to return, the girl again transformed him into a fly and stuck him up on the wall. Thus matters continued for several days.

"One day the prince told the girl to ask her father, the *râṅkhas*, in what lay his life. Accordingly, in the evening, when the *râṅkhas* returned, and she was shampooing him, she said: — 'Father, tell me in what lies your life.' The *râṅkhas* replied: — 'Why are you so anxious about knowing in what my life lies?' 'Father,' said she, 'if I am not to be anxious about your life, who should be? Every day you go in quest of food, which consists generally of animals. Should any accident occur to you, how could I know it, and what shall I do in the event of your death?' But the *râṅkhas* replied: — 'Cast off your fears and anxieties, for there is no likelihood of my ever dying. However, to calm your fears, I may tell you as regards my life, — you know the three brab-trees standing near our house. Should any person, with one stroke, cut down one of the trees, I shall get an attack of strong fever; and if he succeeds in cutting the other two trees, also with one stroke, then shall I die. So long, therefore, as the trees are safe and intact, I, too, am safe. You see, therefore, you have no cause for anxiety about my life.' He then went into sound sleep.

"The following day when the *râṅkhas* had gone out, the girl, after transforming the prince, told him everything she heard from her father concerning his life. The prince now looked about and saw the sword of the *râṅkhas* hanging on the wall. He took it down, and, after sharpening it, went where the three brab-trees stood. He first cut down, with one stroke, one of the trees. As soon as the tree was cut down a strong fever came on the *râṅkhas*, who now retraced his steps homewards, but before he could reach it, our hero, using all his strength, cut down the other two trees also with one stroke of the sword, and with the fall of the brab-trees the *râṅkhas* fell down dead.

"The prince then lived with the damsel for several days, during which he gathered plenty of the *kambals*, which dropped from her mouth every time she spoke. At last he got tired of the life in the subterraneous abode, and thought to himself that he had absented himself for rather a long time from his home and foster-parents, who must be growing anxious about him. So he determined to quit the place at the earliest opportunity, taking with him the *kambals*, which he intended presenting to the king. So he one day told the girl of his intention. The girl, however, said: —'You have killed my father, and now wish to go away, leaving me alone! What can I do here all by myself? Under whose protection shall I live? Take me with you, and we will be husband and wife, and live together happily.'

"The prince consented to take her with him and to marry her, but the difficulty was how to carry her to his house. He then hit upon the following plan. He put her into a box and carried her to where the ship was waiting. He then tied the box to the chain, but misfortune of misfortunes! as soon as the *khalâsîs* felt the weight of the box, they pulled the chain up, as instructed, and our prince, to his confusion and distress, was left behind, with little or no chance of his ever seeing his home and parents, who, he thought, must now die of grief.

"He now retraced his steps, and wandered about in the gardens, subsisting on the various fruits, which the gardens yielded in abundance. He lived in this way for many days. One day he felt himself quite fatigued; so he laid down to rest under a *pimpal*-tree.

"Now it happened that two birds, a male and a female, called *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn*, had made their nest in that tree, and were in the habit of breeding there, but to their great sorrow, some wild animal or bird used to come and eat up their young ones. On the day that the prince came under the tree the *gûrûpakshîn* gave birth to two little ones, after which she and the *gûrûpakshâ* went in search of food. In their absence a huge wild bird came and was about to eat up the little ones, when our hero, seeing its cruel intention, rose up to their help, and killed their enemy. Some time afterwards the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* returned, carrying some food in their beaks, and found, for once, their little ones alive, and proceeded to feed them, upon which the young birds said:— 'Before you feed us, tell us if you had other issue besides ourselves, or are we your first-born?' The parent-birds answered:— 'Dear little ones, we had many children born before you, but some cruel bird deprived us of them all. We are certainly astonished to find you alive; and still we cannot say for certain, how long you will be spared to us.' Upon this the young ones said:— 'We thought as much. We did see some huge bird falling upon us, and had it not been for that lad there under the tree, we, too, should have been lost to you. As soon as he saw the cruel bird trying to make a meal of us, he got up and killed it, and there lies its carcase. Go down, therefore, and first of all thank him as our deliverer. You must also try and render him any assistance that may be within your power, for he appears to be in great anxiety about something or other.'

"When the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* heard these words, they flew down immediately, and found that what their children told them was only too true. They, therefore, thanked the prince with all their heart, and then asked him what was his trouble, that he looked so dejected and care-worn, and if they could be of any service to him in any way. The prince then told them everything: how he had come to that land in search of *kambals*; how he killed the *rânkhas*; how he packed the *rânkhas*' daughter in a box and tied it to the chain of the ship in which he came; how the chain with the box was hauled up; and how he was left behind with little or no chance of his ever getting back to his parents, which thought caused him the greatest pain and anxiety. Upon this the *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* said to him:— 'Is this all you are so anxious about? Order us and we will bear you in a short time to your home in safety. But before you go, take a little present from us. We will each give you a feather. When you wear the feather of the *gûrûpakshâ* in your turban, at any age, you will look like a person a thousand years old; again, when you wear the feather of the *gûrûpakshîn*, you will look like a lad of twelve years. Now tell us where you wish to go.'

"Upon this the prince took heart at the opportunity offered him of once more seeing his parents, and told them where he wished to be carried. The *gûrûpakshâ* and *gûrûpakshîn* then joined their wings together, and thus made a fine seat, and having seated the prince thereon, bore him in the air, and in a few moments more put him down near the fisherman's house, and went away after again thanking him for rescuing their children, and each of them gave him a feather.

"The fisherman and his wife, who were nearly blind from the effects of crying day and night at the loss of their supposed child, were taken by surprise, as they suddenly heard the prince's voice calling to them as father and mother. They were, of course, very glad to see

him, and asked him where he had been so long and what he had been doing. He thereupon related to them his adventures, from the moment he took leave of them to depart in search of *kambals* to the moment of speaking. Now that their son was back, they slowly recovered their sight as well as health, and were again themselves.

"And, here, O king, ends the story. And, now that you have heard the whole of it, do let me go."

Just then the king happened to look behind him, when, at once, our hero removed the feather of the *gûrûpakshâ* from his turban, and replaced it by that of the *gûrûpakshin*, when lo! he appeared like a child of twelve years. When the king again turned towards him, he recognised in him his son, and folded him in his arms, saying:—"You are my son, my long lost son." The *râṅkhas'* daughter, too, who was close by, also made sure that this was no other than the prince, to whom she promised to be a wife, and she too rushed into his arms, and said:—

"This is my husband, on whose account I had made a vow of twelve years."

The prince, however, said:—"No, no, I am the fisherman's son. They brought me up; I am not your son. Let me go to my parents; they must be waiting for me." But the king would on no account let him go, for he was more than sure that he was no other than his son, whose story he had just heard from his own mouth. The king then sent a palanquin to fetch the fisherman and his wife to the palace, and as a reward for their kindness in nursing and bringing up the prince, they were asked to live in the palace. The fisherman and his wife could not but accept the good offer of the king, and lived with the king and their foster-child very happily to the end of their lives. The prince was shortly afterwards married to the damsel of the subterraneous abode, and on this auspicious occasion the king feasted not only his relatives, but all his subjects for several days. The king now being very old preferred a more quiet life; so he made over the reins of government to his son, the hero of our tale, who ruled the vast kingdom with wisdom, dealing justice to all, making the welfare of his subjects his own, loved and respected by every one.[12]

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## FOLKLORE OF THE SGAW-KARENS.

TRANSLATED BY B. HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S., FROM THE PAPERS OF SAYA KYAW ZAN IN THE 'SA-TU-WAW.[1]

### *I.—How the Karen was the Eldest Son of God.*

Here is written what our elders relate of the mighty things that happened in the beginning of time, in order that those who come after may hear, and hearing, understand.

See and consider these things carefully, O ye who come after! May you estimate properly how these matters happened. O fellow tribesmen, do not slumber nor sleep!

What the people of the world say is as follows:—There were three brethren and their father was God[2] (Ywâ). And the eldest of these three was the Karen, and the second

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[12] [Is it not possible that the *râkshasa* is merely the meat-eating aboriginal, as distinguished from the vegetarian invader of an ancient India?—ED.]

[1] A Sgaw-Karen periodical published monthly in Rangoon at the American Baptist Mission Press.

[2] *Ywâ.* This word is used by the Missionaries to translate "God" in the Bible, and it is the word used for the deity in the curious old Karen semi-Christian traditions. My impression is that the Karens, when in high Asia, were converted by the Nestorian Missionaries, and, after the expulsion of these, have retained in a mutilated form the teachings they received from them, in addition to the old fairy-worship, which they had before their probably merely partial conversion to Christianity. If this is so, it is possible that *Ywâ* is merely a corruption of the Hebrew *Yahveh* = Jehovah in our version. I hope to produce evidence in support of this theory hereafter. The present folklore, though not older than the irruption of the Karens into Lower Burma, has, excepting one obvious interpolation (to be noted hereafter), nothing to do with Christianity.

[I am glad to see Mr. Houghton take this view, which is that I have always maintained, and it is in accord with the recent tracing back of the once supposed indigenous "Great Spirit" of the North American Indians to the teachings of 17th Century Roman Catholic Missionaries.—ED.]

was the Burman, whilst the youngest was the 'Kulā.'[3] The Karen grew up the biggest, but, if there was any work to do or journey to make, he did not like to do it. The younger brethren did the work and the elder one oppressed them beyond measure.

After a long time the younger brethren could not endure this oppression any longer, and they went away, one to one place and one to another. They could not remain together. But their father, God, thought to himself: "Cannot my children live together? I will remove a little way, and instruct them, and they will live together."

*II.—How the Karens procured liquor.*

Now there was a good piece of level ground near, and God made the Karen cut a clearing there, and said to him, "Clear this ground thoroughly and well, and your father will plant it nicely with wheat.

And God thought: "If I instruct my children, they will certainly again live together."

The Karen took his *dá*[4] and axe and went at once to the level spot. And he saw that there were very many big trees (to cut), and a fit of laziness came over him, and, seeing some pleasant shade, he put down his *dá* and axe, and slept comfortably.

And one big tree was conspicuous amongst the others, but it was swollen in the middle and there was a hollow in it, in which was water. The latter, being visible, was drunk by various small birds, and those who drank it, becoming exceedingly excited and noisy, fell headlong on to the ground. But some fought and pecked each other on the tree. The excitement was entirely causeless. However, the Karen, having awaked from his sleep, looked and saw the great excitement of the birds, and said, "How is this?"

He slept no longer and went quickly to look. He climbed up the tree and saw the water that was in the hollow, and it was transparent and pure and good in his eyes. And the Karen touched it with his hands, and smelt it and tasted it. However, the Karen, not being yet stupefied, took up some more in the hollow of his hand and drank it, saying, "It is very sweet to my taste," and, having taken up and drank some more, he became aware that he was getting drunk! His heart and mind became different, and he became very brave and fierce. He descended quickly to the bottom of the tree. He became very brave until he became stupefied, after which, recovering his senses, he took up his *dá* and axe and returned home. He then went to drink of the water of that tree every day. O friends! Thus have our elders related how the Karens first drank intoxicating liquors!

A long time then elapsed and the Lord God, his father, asked the Karen if he had finished cultivating the piece of flat ground that he had sent him to do. And the Karen replied: "Let my father, God, have patience with me. I will work until it is finished, and will then inform my father."

But though the Karen had thus replied, in his inmost heart he did not wish at all to do his father's business. And if his father had sent him to go and do any work whatever, he had no wish for it. He had become lazy from getting drunk from the water in the tree, and did not want to do any work. However, his father said, "This son of mine is of no use at all."

And there was an orphan living with God. And God ordered him to cut down that tree, telling him to go to it by night.

And the orphan replied, "But my father, by night I cannot see, and I cannot cut at all."

And God answered, "You shall most certainly go."

Whereupon the orphan said, "I will go, but I cannot see, as it will be night."

And God said, "Come close to me."

[3] Burmese word = Barbarian or Foreigner.

[4] The universal knife of Burma.

And when the orphan did so, God passed the palm of his hand over the orphan's face, so that he saw as well in the night time as by day. And God instructed him to go to the level ground and look for a tree, which was bigger than the others, and to split and fell it. As soon as the orphan had cut the tree and it cracked, ready to fall, he was to run away quickly and save himself; because, if the lazy man caught him, he would be killed. And the orphan went during the night and cut that tree, so that at dawn it broke and fell. The orphan put down his axe quickly, clenched his fists and made his escape at once. But the great tree cracked, and the entire trunk split and crashed down, all the water being spilt (on the ground). When the Karen heard the noise his mind was uneasy, as he considered the crash must be that of his big tree. With an evil mind he ran quickly at once to it, and finding the liquor evaporating, he said, "If I see the man who has felled this big tree of mine, I will kill him off hand."

At this time, then, the Karen got no liquor, and was ill at ease, and he went about inquiring for some from this man and that, but no one could tell him (where to get it.) However, on his inquiring of Satan,[5] the latter asked him in reply: — "O Karen, what is it you are seeking?"

The Karen replied: — "O Satan, the sap of the tree that I used to drink was pure and clear, but now there is nothing for me to drink. Have you ever chanced to drink from such a tree?"

Satan asked, "What happens if one drinks such sap?"

The Karen answered, "O Satan, if one drinks that water, one becomes exceedingly fierce and strong."

Satan immediately got up and going to the liquor jar, filled a cup with liquor and gave it to the Karen to drink. After the latter had drunk, he addressed Satan and asked him whence he had procured it.

Satan replied, "O Karen, we know where to make that liquor."

The Karen said, "Please tell me exactly how."

Satan replied, "It is made as follows. Steep some unboiled rice in some water for a short time, and then take it again out of the pot, and pound it up with yeast powder, press it down with a lever and put it aside for seven days; then boil some rice and mix it with it. After letting it settle in water for three days you get a clear liquid, which is the one (you have drunk)."

And the Karen did carefully as Satan had instructed him, and brewed some liquor. The Karen drank it and said, "This is indeed the liquor."

He told Satan: "You have been kind to me and I will not forget you. My death I will die with you and my life I will live with you.[6]

Then his father, God, knew that his son was friendly with Satan, and, being grieved, he abandoned again the place where he had been staying.

So God, from dislike at the Karen drinking liquor, left him.

### *III.—How the Kulâs procured boats.*

And the Lord God said, "These, my children, are no longer, of any use to me. I will return and go to another country. I will get each of my children to come and accompany me on the way."

And God arose, and going to the Karen said to him, "My child, come and accompany your father on his way."

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[5] This is obviously an interpolation by the worthy Sayâ, the object being to father the introduction of drinking liquor on this personage, who is unknown in Karen tradition. Doubtless in the original story it must have been some *nâ* or *mû-ka*.

[6] *Mê* ꝺ*i dä ya ka* ꝺ*i-ü-dä-nâ da nâ; dä mû dä ya ka mû-kü dä nâ law.*

Now the Karen was fast asleep by the side of a liquor jar. After God had called him many times, he partially woke up and said, "I cannot go with you. Return in my old sow's trough. I have neither boat nor paddle, only this trough. Do you please go in it, my father, and he dragged the trough down to the water."

God then went and called the Burman. The latter replied, "How can I possibly go with you? Please go and call my elder brother, the Karen."

God replied, "Your elder brother also is not able to go. He only gave me a pig's trough."

The Burman replied, "You could only get the pig's trough, I will give you my paddle, to paddle it with."

So God went to the Kulâ and said to him, "My nephew,[7] please come and accompany your father."

The Kulâ replied, "My father, have nothing in which to come and accompany you."

God replied, "You *can* come. The Karen has given me his pig's trough and the Burman his paddle. Come along with your father."

The Kulâ got up quickly and followed behind God to the sea. There God grasped the paddle and got into the trough, whereupon the trough became a great ship and the paddle became its masts and sails. Then the ship started forthwith and God came to his own country.

*IV.—How the writing of the Karens came to them.*

God wrote Karen writing on a piece of leather, Burmese writing on a palm-leaf, and the Kulâ's (Foreigner's) writing on a piece of cloth.

And God commanded the Kulâ and said to him:—"You, my nephew, have indeed approached near to your Lord. Your father has written for you writing on cloth. But the Karen's writing is on leather, and the Burman's on a palm-leaf. Do you without fail learn your writing carefully until you understand it. Take back also the writing for the Karen and the Burman, and instruct them to learn carefully the writings, which their father has sent them."

And the Kulâ answered, "O Lord God, my father, I will do faithfully what you have commanded me."

Then he asked, "How shall I return?"

God replied, "Go into the sow's trough again and remain there. Your father will send you away."

The Kulâ went into the trough again and returned quickly. He came first to the Karen, and producing the leather scroll, gave it to him at once.

And he said to the Karen, "Our father, God, has commanded me to tell you to learn your writing carefully. Also please take back your old sow's trough." And the Karen went near to the sea, and seeing that the trough was not as before, said to the Kulâ, "My youngest brother, the trough is not as before. Your elder brother no longer cares for it. If you care for it, take it back with you."

The Kulâ turned and went back to the Burman. He produced the palm-leaf with the Burmese writing on it and giving it to the Burman, commanded him, saying, "Our father has directed that you must certainly learn your writing, which is on this palm-leaf. Take back also your paddle."

7 *Pô-dâ.* Observe the altered form of address.

And the Burman replied to the Kulâ, "You will have to paddle the trough you are in with this paddle. Take it back with you."

The Kulâ went back forthwith, and, coming to his house, he arranged suitably the masts and sails of a big ship. And as the Lord God, his father, had commanded him, he studied and learnt his writing thoroughly.

And the Kulâs increased in all that is good, and right, and fair to look upon.

*V.—How the Writing of the Karens was lost.*

The Karen's country was very pleasant and fair, and if difficulties of any kind whatsoever, or disease, or anything else, came to him, he took medicine, but did not do anything else. And the Karens increased and became very numerous. However, the Burmans did as the Kulâ had told them, but not so the Karens. For, although the writing, which the Kulâ brought, had reached them, they took no heed of it at all, but put it on a tree-stump, and went on clearing the weeds (in their clearings), nor did they take it away when the rain came and wetted it. At eventide they took the writing, and, returning home, put it on the shelf over the hearth. And as the rice was cooked and chillies were pounded and food stirred up, many times the leathern scroll fell on to the hearth.

And after many goings to and fro, the fowls came up and scratched in the hearth, so that the leathern scroll fell down under the hut. Now the Karens were not of a mind to look after things, and they forgot about the scroll. They did not care about the scroll in the least, and saying, "We work hard and we eat. If we learn writing we shall only bother ourselves. Eating good food and drinking good liquor always suits us," they let the matter drop.

Now the Karen's old sow was under the hut and grubbed up (the ground) diligently all day long, and it grubbed about the scroll, so that it was utterly lost.

Thus the Karens never saw their writing again.

*VI.—How Charcoal was first rubbed on yokes.*

After a long long time the homes of the Karens became bad, and their food was bad, and even their wise men did not know how to make anything. If any forest was to be cleared, they had to go and ask the Burman for his *dâ* and axe, and if they wished to cook any food they had to ask the Burman for a pot. And behold, the Burman and the Kulâ were happy and became great. There were wise men with them and they multiplied exceedingly. But the Karens were without implements and knew not how to forge them, or how to make pots, and had to ask the Burman for everything.

However, they remembered the former times somewhat, and, resolving to turn over a new leaf, they consulted one with another, but were unable to devise anything. They said to each other, "We must instruct ourselves anew from the writing."

They asked one another for it, and at last some said, "We were weeding, when the Kulâs brought us the writing and we put it on the stump of a tree. When the rain came it got wet, and we put it on the drying shelf (over the fire,) and as we were continually pounding and scraping the food for cooking, it was shaken off and fell on to the earth. We neglected to take it up again, so when the fowls came and scratched, the writing was scratched away and fell under the hut. Then the pig came and grubbed it about, and it was utterly lost."

However, some said, "The fowl's feet when they were scratching must have trodden on and knocked against some charcoal. Let us, therefore, take the charcoal and rub it on our yokes. We will cast lots, and when they are favorable, we will unite again."

The Karens did in this manner, and so amongst all people they are distinguished as those who rub charcoal on their yokes!

# FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

## *No. 6. — Princess Fireflower.*[1]

Once upon a time there was a Râjâ who had two sons, the elder of whom was married, while the younger was a bachelor. The younger prince used to come for his food to the house of his elder brother, but one day, when he asked for something to eat very early in the morning, his sister-in-law tauntingly said to him :—

"How can I get up to cook for you ? If you want your breakfast so early, you had better marry the Princess Fireflower,[2] and she can do your cooking for you."

"Well ! I will find Princess Fireflower," said he. And off he went on his travels in search of her.

On he went the whole day and in the evening reached the Brindaban Khakharapur[3] forest. There he found a faqîr, who used to sleep for twelve years at a time and remain awake again for twelve whole years. When the Prince saw the *faqîr* asleep, he began to fan him, so that he soon awoke and said :—

"Son ! Thou hast done me good service. Ask now the boon that thou most desirest."

"Father !"[4] replied the Prince, "if thou wishest to do me a service, give me Princess Fireflower in search of whom I have come hither."

"My son," he answered, "ask any boon but this."

"Nay," said the Prince, "through your kindness I want naught else but her. Paramêsar has given me all else I lack."

The *faqîr* meditated for some time and said :—

"Well ! If you long so for Princess Fireflower, I will tell you how you can win her. But mind my words, and if you disobey me it will be your ruin. I am going to turn you into a parrot.[5] Then fly to the island where Princess Fireflower lives, which is across the seven oceans.[6] This island is guarded by demons (*dêô*) and you can escape them only by watching when they are engaged in playing ball (*gênd khêltê haiṅ*). When you reach the island pluck a flower and fly away with it in your beak. If the demons call you, do not look back. Otherwise ruin will befall you."[7]

So saying the *faqîr* transformed the Prince into a parrot, and he flew across the seven oceans to the island of Princess Fireflower. Arriving there, he plucked the flower and was carrying it off in his beak, when the demons called out to him :—

"You thief ! Come back and pluck one flower more. We will not hurt you."

Hearing this he turned a little back and was at once burnt to ashes.

Meanwhile the *faqîr* was awaiting his return, and when he did not return in two days, he knew that disaster had befallen the Prince. He went in search of him, and when he reached the place he found only one of the tail feathers of the parrot, which had escaped the burning.

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1 A tale told by Chhabinâth Mahtô, a Mâñjhî, one of the Drâvidian races, resident of Jârôkhâr, Dudhî, Mirzâpur District, recorded by Paṇḍit Râmgharîb Chaubê. The number of the last tale of this series, published at p. 75 [illegible], should have been No. 5 and not No. 4 as printed.

2 Angârkalî Rânî, the title of the princess means "the flower of blazing charcoal."

3 Brindaban is of course in the Mathurâ District—where Khakharapur is I do not know. It is not given in Mr Growse's list of village names in Taḥsîl Mathurâ. Possibly it is merely an imaginary name.

4 The word used is *Bâbâ*, a common way of addressing *faqîrs*.

5 For many instances of similar metamorphosis see Temple, *Wideawake Stories*, 420 sqq. : Tawney, *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, II. 215, &c.

6 The *sât samundar*, or seven oceans, constantly appear in Indian folktales, see Temple, *loc. cit.* 432.

7 For the "looking back" taboo, see Grimm, *Household Tales*, II. 400 : Miss Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, 282-3, and the legends of Orpheus and Eurydice and Lot's Wife.

Over this he breathed his spells (*mantra*), and bringing the Prince to life again, returned with him to his hut. When they arrived there he said:—

"Ask me for another boon. This quest of yours is too dangerous."

The Prince replied:—

"Bâbâ! as I said before, through your kindness I lack nothing but the Princess Fireflower. Only grant me that I may find her."

"Well!" answered the *faqîr*, "if you will not heed my advice, go again to the island in the form of a crow and pluck another flower. But, take care, look not back a second time, or you will be turned to ashes and then I am helpless to serve you."

The Prince promised to obey, and in the form of a crow flew again to the island, and on reaching there, plucked a flower which he took in his beak and flew back towards the *faqîr's* hut. The guardian demons tried in vain to induce him to look back, but he would not, and came back safe to the *faqîr*.

The demons followed close behind and, standing at the door, called out:—

"Bâbâ! a thief has robbed us and entered your hut. Restore him to us at once."

Meanwhile the *faqîr* turned the Prince into a cat, and called out to the demons:—

"Come and look. There is no one here but my cat and myself. If you do not trust me, you can come in and search for yourselves."

The demons came in and looked everywhere, but when they found no one there, except the *faqîr* and the cat, they returned home. When they had gone, the *faqîr* restored the Prince again to the form of a man, and gave the prince a little red-lead box (*sindûrdân*) and said:— "Take care not to open it till you reach your home."

The Prince started for home with the box, but when he reached close to his father's city he began to think:—

"Perhaps the *faqîr* has cheated me: and my sister-in-law will laugh at me again."

So he opened the box, and immediately a lovely girl, twelve years old,[8] came out, and so beautiful was she that the sun lost its brightness. The Prince made her sit down and was going to a well close by to draw water. She said:—"Where are you going?"

He answered:—"I am going to draw water for you and for me."

She answered:—"Do not bring water for me. If you do, I shall fall into Pâtâla. It is my task to serve you, not for you to serve me."

So she went to the well to draw water: and it so happened that at that very time the handmaid of the Râjâ came too to draw water. When she saw Princess Fireflower, she said:—

"Who are you and where are you going?"

The Princess answered:—"I am Princess Fireflower, and the Râjâ's son has brought me hither."

The handmaid said:—"Let us change our clothes and see which is the lovelier."

The Princess agreed and made over her dress and ornaments to the handmaid: and when she went to the edge of the well to draw water, the handmaid pushed her in.[9] She then filled a vessel of water and took it to the prince who said:—

"How black you have grown by walking in the sun!"

He drank the water from her hand, and, believing her to be Princess Fireflower, told her to wait there while he went to the palace.

[8] The Oriental equivalent of our "sweet seventeen."

[9] The analogy to Grimm's charming story of the "Goose Girl," No. 89 of the *Household Tales* is obvious.

When his sister-in-law saw him, she said :—

"Well! have you found Fireflower Princess ?"

"She is at the well," he answered.

So he took a retinue and brought her home, and lived with her as his wife.

But a month after, a blaze, like that of a lamp, appeared over the well, and all who saw it were astonished; but whenever they went near the well the light was quenched. By-and-by this news reached the ear of the Râjâ, and he sent the Prince to see what had happened.

At break of day the Prince went to the well, and saw the place ablaze with light. So he threw himself into the water, and found there a flower bud, which he tied in his handkerchief and brought home. For many a day he kept the handkerchief carefully by him, but one day he happened to drop it in the courtyard, and his son, who had meanwhile been born of the handmaid, saw it and took it to his mother. She found the bud tied up inside, and threw it on the dunghill behind the palace.

In one night it grew into a large mango tree, and next morning the false queen saw it and fell ill of fright.

Her mother-in-law asked :— "What ails you ?"

"I have fallen ill," said she, "since I have seen this mango tree. Have it cut down and I will soon recover."[10]

Her mother-in-law told this to the old Râjâ, and he sent for labourers to cut down the tree. The Prince went to his father and said :—

"To cut down a green mango tree is a sin. Let me remove it elsewhere, and the princess will not see the cause of her illness and recover."

"Be it so," said the Râjâ.

So the Prince removed the tree to his own orchard and said to his gardener :—

"When this tree fruits, let no one touch it but myself."

By-and-by the tree blossomed and bore fruit, and one of them fell on the ground. This the gardener's wife picked up and laid on a shelf to keep till the Prince should come. Meanwhile she went to buy grain and her cat knocked down the mango, and the moment it dropped, a lovely girl twelve years old stepped out of it.

When the gardener's wife returned and saw her, she was afraid, and said to the girl :—

"Stay here, but never leave the house even for a moment."

But one day she ventured into the courtyard, and the handmaid of the false queen saw her and told her mistress. The queen called the keeper of the elephants, and said :—

"Go to the gardener's house and crush the girl you will find there to dust under your elephant's feet."

When the keeper of the elephants went to kill the girl, she brought out a great club and beat them and routed all the Râjâ's elephants.

Then the queen fell ill again and her mother-in-law asked her what ailed her.

"If the heart of the gardener's daughter be not brought to me I shall die," she said.

The Râjâ sent for the gardener and his wife and ordered them to bring out their daughter.

"We have had neither chick nor child all the days we tended Your Majesty's garden. How can we give our daughter when we have none ?" they answered. But the Râjâ did not

[10] So the mother is changed into a tree in the "Wonderful Birch," Lang, *Red Fairy Book*, 123 sqq.

believe them and had their house searched, and finding the girl delivered her over to the executioner.[11]

They were about to kill her in the forest, when an old Ḍom said to the others :—

"What is the good of killing such a pretty girl for the sake of a few rupees. Let us spare her life and reach paradise (*swarga*); even if we kill her, the Râjâ won't give us his *râj* for our trouble. Let us kill a goat and take its heart to the queen and she will be cured."[12] The others obeyed his words and spared the life of the girl. When they took the goat's heart to the queen, she recovered at once.

The Princess Fireflower then went on to Brindaban Khakharapur, and there with her hand she struck four blows upon the earth, when a splendid palace appeared and there she lived. She kept several parrots and used to amuse herself by teaching them to say 'Râm! Râm'![13]

A long time after the old Râjâ and his son, the Prince, came into the forest to hunt, and being thirsty came to the palace for water and the Princess entertained them hospitably. At night they slept in the portico, and early in the morning, while they were half-asleep, the parrots began to talk to each other, and they told how the Prince had brought Princess Fireflower, and how the handmaid had cheated him, and became queen, and how the life of the Princess had been saved, and how she had come to the palace.[14]

At this the Râja and the Prince were much astonished, and going at once to the Princess Fireflower, asked her if all this was true. She began to shed tears and told them the whole story from beginning to end. They brought her home in triumph.

Then the Râjâ had a deep pit dug and buried the false queen alive. The Prince and Princess Fireflower lived happily ever after, and the Râjâ became a Sannyâsî *faqîr* and made over his kingdom to them.

**As Paramêsar overruled the fate of Princess Fireflower, so may he do to all of us.**[15]

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## FROG-WORSHIP AMONGST THE NEWARS, WITH A NOTE ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD 'NEPAL.'

BY A. L. WADDELL, M.B., M. R. A. S.

In his work on Nêpâl,[1] Dr. (Buchanan-) Hamilton incidentally noted that **the Nêwârs worship frogs.** I have ascertained some interesting details of this worship.

**The Nêwârs are the aborigines of Nêpâl Proper,** that is, of the valley in which the present capital Khâṭmâṇḍû stands; and their present tribal name appears to be of territorial origin. **The etymology of the word Nêpâl** seems to me to be thus accounted for :—The whole of the hill territory of the Gôrkhâs is called by the Non-Hinduized hillmen of the Himâlayas

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[11] The word in the original is Ḍom, the most degraded caste, who act as executioners.

[12] This, it need hardly be said, is a stock folktale incident.

[13] The common form of invocation and salutation, constantly taught to parrots.

[14] These guardian, friendly parrots appear in many of the tales as *dei ex machinâ* : see *The Wonderful Ring* in Temple's *Wideawake Stories*, 205.

[15] This is the common refrain of the rustic story teller. [This tale is interesting as to the following points. It exhibits the spread of the belief in the wonder-working "saint:" see *Legends of the Panjâb*, index, *s. vv.* miracle and metamorphosis, for a large number of instances. This wonder-working saint is a counterpart of the wonder-working devil (*bhûta*) of Southern India, as will be seen by comparing the tales about to be published in this *Journal*, under the title of the "Devil-worship of the Tuluvas," with those in the *Legends of the Panjâb*. It also exhibits the wide-spread idea of the "substituted person": see indices to *Wide-awake Stories* and *Legends of the Panjâb*, *s. v.* And it exhibits strongly the anthropomorphic nature of the folk-tale parrot: see *Legends of the Panjâb*, index, *s. v.* parrot, and especially Vol. I. p. 354, where the parrot is a holy personage versed in the Four *Vêdas!* For a number of variants of the tale as a whole see remarks on the Egg-hero in *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 399 f.—ED.]

[1] *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, &c., by Francis Hamilton, M.D., F.R.S., &c., Edinburgh, 1819.

and the Tibetans **Pal**[2]; and the original name of this section of the Pàl country, which contained the home of the Nêwârs, seems to have been **Nê**, while the people were hence called by the Hindus **Nêwâr, or "Inhabitants of Nê."** Eastern Nêpâl, as well as Sikkim, is still called **Nê** by the Lepcha autochthones, and the Lepchas interpret the word as meaning **the place of Caves for shelter or residence.** *Nê* in most of the cognate tribal dialects of the Indo-Chinese —to whom, I find,[3] both Nêwârs and Lepchas belong—means 'residence;' the same root also appears with similar meaning in the Tibeto-Burman group; and in Lamaism[4] it is usually restricted to sacred caves and other sacred spots and shrines. It was very probably used in a similar sense by the pre-Lamaist Nêwârs. who were the originators of the so-called Nepalese form of Buddhism, and early gave up the greater portion of their original language for a Sanskritized speech. Some of the Nêwârs are still Buddhists under the title of Baudhamârgîs or followers of the Buddhist path, but the vast majority, as is well-known, have lately followed the fashion set by their Gôrkhâ rulers of adopting the externals of Hinduism and call themselves 'Saivamârgîs or 'followers of the 'Siva path.'[5] **Now the chief Buddhist nês or shrines in the Cis-Himalâyas of any antiquity** *viz.*, the Kashar[6] and 'Sambhunâth *stûpas*, **are all situated in the valley (Nêpâl Proper) of the Pâl country.** Thus the word 'Nêpâl' seems to mean the Nê (*i. e.*, 'the residence, or head-quarters,' or 'the shrine') of the Pâl country, and is so distinguished from the adjoining Nê country of the Lepchas.

**The frog** is worshipped by the Nêwârs, not as a tribal totem, but in its supposed capacity of an amphibious (water and earth) divinity subordinate to the Nâga demi-gods, and **associated with the latter in the production and control of rain and water-supply,** on the sufficiency of which the welfare of the crops depends. This elevation of so insignificant an animal as the frog to the dignity of an assistant to the Nâgas, is all the more curious in view of the fact that frogs form the chief prey of the hooded cobra—the prototype of the Nâga. But the Nêwârs justify their worship of the frog by pointing to the sympathetic and intimate relation of the frog with water, and saying that frogs, although terrestrial animals, are only found in moist localities, and herald by their appearance and croaking[7] the onset of the rains. They are also found especially at springs, and also on digging deep down into the bowels of the earth, where lies, according to the Nêwârs, the primary store of water. It is interesting to note here that frogs are also worshipped by the Japanese in the Kiûshiû marshes as metempsychosed heroes.[8]

Frog-worship is performed by the Nêwârs at a different season and place from that required for the Nâgas. The Nâgas, of whom the Nêwârs consider Karkôta[9] the greatest, are worshipped on the fifth day (Nâgpañchamî) of the month of Sâwan (July) at the commencement of the rainy season, when the Nâgas (water-dragons) are thundering in the sky. The site for the worship is selected by preference at a place where four or five streams meet. A Nêwâr priest is needed for this ceremony. On the morning of the eventful day, the priest ceremonially washes his face and hands and collects the following offerings, namely:— whole rice, vermillion for making the *ṭîkâ* mark of beauty on the forehead, milk mixed with an equal bulk of water, rice-flour and water, flowers, *ghî* and butter, *jaiphal* spice, sandalwood

[2] Which in Tibetan means 'wool.' It is doubtful, however, whether the name was really intended to mean 'the *wool*-country,' for sheep are equally plentiful across the Himâlayas.

[3] The leading results of these observations I hope shortly to publish.

[4] Spelt in Tibetan *gnas*,—but pronounced *nê*.

[5] [See Sir R. Temple's and R. C. Temple's *Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, Vol. II. p. 234.—Ed.]

[6] *Vide* an account of this *stûpa* by the present writer in the *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for December 1892.

[7] *Bhêng*, the vernacular word for frog, is an onomatopoetic attempt at reproducing the frog's call.

[8] Satow in Murray's *Handbook to Central and Northern Japan*, 1884.

[9] The pre-eminence thus given to Karkôta is evidently due to his being considered the tutelary Nâga of the lacustrine valley of Khâṭmâṇḍû, which traditionally was formerly a vast lake reclaimed for the use of man by the saint Mañjûsri cutting the southern bank, and the escaping water was thus named the Bhâgmatî or 'the fleeing one' — the present name of the river.

a mistake for *52neya*; the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* was Śaka-Saṁvat 1050 current, — the second year of the reign of Sômêśvara III.

B.— The dates of the second class shew **an imaginary continuation of the reign itself of Vikramâditya VI.**, as well as a continuation of the era.

Of this there is an indisputable instance in the inscription on a stone lying on the road on the north of **Kyâsanûr** in the Hângal Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 636; and *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 193, No. 40). The preamble contains the words *śrîmat-*[*T**]*ribhuvanamalladêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivridhdhi-*( read *°vriddhi*)*-pravarddhamânam=â-chandr-ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ saluttam-ire*, which do expressly refer it to the reign of Vikramâditya VI. But, as regards the date, the words *Châlukya-Vikrama-śakha* (sic), which I gave when I first noticed this date, are a pure invention of Sir Walter Elliot's copyist. What the original really has is (from an ink-impression) simply — aivat-êṭeneya (*read* aivatt-êḷeneya) Paridhâvi-saṁvachcha(tsa)raḍa Chaitra-sudhda-(*read* śuddha)-paṁchamî-Brêhaśpati( *read* Bṛihaspati)vârad-aṁdu. The *saṁvatsara* was the fifty-seventh year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla, and the seventh year of the reign of Sômêśvara III. And the year is Śaka-Saṁvat 1055 current.

And there is another equally clear instance in an inscription near the large tank at Hunagund in the Baṅkâpur Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District. The preamble refers the record, in just the same way, to the reign of Vikramâditya VI. But the actual date (from an ink-impresion) is — śrîmach-Châḷukya-Bhûlôkamalla-varshada 3neya Saumya-saṁvatsa . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . spativâra-mum=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâtaṁ kûḍida puṇya-tithiyoḷ. The year is Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 current, — which was properly the fourth, not the third, year of Sômêśvara III.

If reliance may be placed on the transcripts, the following records also, though dated in years which fall within the reign of Sômêśvara III., similarly refer themselves to the reign of Vikramâditya VI.:— An inscription at the temple of Bhôgêśvara at **Gobbûr** in the Raichûr Tâlukâ, Nizâm's Dominions, dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, in the month Jyêshṭha falling in A.D. 1127 (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 623); an inscription at the temple of Hanumanta at **Kânâpur** in the Kôlhâpur territory, dated in the fifty-fourth year, the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, in Vaiśâkha falling in A. D. 1129 (*ibid.* p. 627); an inscription at the temple of Kallêśvara at **Narêgal** in the Rôṇ Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District, dated in the month Pausha of the same *saṁvatsara*, coupled, not with the fifty-fourth year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla, but with Śaka-Saṁvat 1051 (expired) (*ibid.* p. 630); and an inscription at the temple of Śaṁkaralinga at **Kurtakôṭi** in the Gadag Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District, dated in the Paridhâvin *saṁvatsara*, coupled, not with the fifty-seventh year of the Châlukya-Vikrama-kâla, but with Śaka-Saṁvat 1054 (expired) (*ibid.* p. 638). As regards these records, however, I have to remark (1) that I cannot make out such a date in the ink-impression, which I have seen, of the Kurtakôṭi inscription; and (2) that, whereas the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 626, represents an inscription at Lakshmêshwar as similarly referring itself to the reign of Vikramâditya VI., and as being dated in the fifty-second year, the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, I find, from an ink-impression, that the original refers itself, as plainly as could possibly be, to the reign of Vîra-Sômêśvara IV., and that the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara* is mentioned as the second year of his reign.

It may be useful, to give here **the latest date, known to me, that is undoubtedly attributable to the actual reign of Vikramâditya VI.** There are several records dated in his fiftieth year, the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*, which was Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current. And the latest of them is an inscription at the temple of Sarvêśvara at **Narêgal** in the Hângal Tâlukâ, Dhârwâr District (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 613). The name of the reigning king, in the preamble, is illegible; but there is no doubt that the *biruda* Tribhuvanamalladêva stood there, in the usual manner. And the date (from an ink-impression) runs — śrîmach-Châḷukya-Vikrama-varsha[da*] 50neya Viśvâvasu-saṁvatsarada Mâgha-sudhdha-( *read* śuddha)-saptamî-Sômavârad-aṁdu samasta-puṇya-tithi-gaḷo . . . . . . . . . The date does not work out satisfactorily. Thus :— The year is Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current. And the given *tithi* ended at about 2 *ghaṭis*, 5 *palas*, = 50 minutes, after mean sunrise, on Sunday, 3rd January, A. D. 1126; and so it cannot be connected with the Monday at all. This is the more remarkable, because, though the *aksharas* are now illegible, the *tithi* was evidently described as an emphatically auspicious one; in consequence of which, one would imagine, special care would be taken to compute all the details accurately. Still, there is nothing else in the record, to lead to its being looked upon as not genuine.

J. F. FLEET.

28*th June*, 1893.



SCALE .17

*B.*—Sahasram Rock Edict of Devanampiya.—The Year 256.

SCALE .25

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

# ASOKA'S SAHASRAM, RUPNATH AND BAIRAT EDICTS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

THE subjoined new edition of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth Edicts has been made according to most excellent materials, rubbings (A) and paper-casts (B) made over to me by Dr. J. F. Fleet. The casts show the letters reversed in high relievo and indicate even the smallest flaws, abrasions and exfoliations in the rocks. It is in fact chiefly owing to them that a really trustworthy edition has become possible. Though, thanks to Sir A. Cunninham's kindness, a direct photograph of the Sahasrâm rock and a very fine rubbing of the Rûpnâth inscription were available for the first edition,[1] they could not render the same services. For, the nature of such reproductions makes it impossible to answer a good many questions, which the decipherer must put to himself. They give merely surface-views, and necessarily leave one in doubt regarding the depth of the strokes and the minor details of the state of the stones. Nevertheless, one portion of the old materials, the photograph of the Sahasrâm rock, still retains a considerable value. For, since it was taken, the rock has suffered a good deal. Pieces have peeled off at the edges of the old exfoliations, and a new one has formed. Thus, to the left of the old exfoliation the letters *vaṁ â* have disappeared in line 1, and on its right side the signs *-iyâni savachhal-*. Similarly line 2 has lost, after *sâdhike*, a stop and the syllable *aṁ*, and to the right of the exfoliation the letters *t.-êna cha aṁta*. The new exfoliation has destroyed some letters in the middle of lines 6-8.[2]

The most important changes in the text of the Sahasrâm Edict, which the new edition exhibits, are l. 2, *saḍvachhalê* for *saviṁchhalê*, *saṁt[â]* for the conjectural *husaṁ te* and l. 8, *-i*, *i. e.*, *ti*, for *yi*. With respect to the first word it must be noted that the paper cast proves distinctly (1) that there is no Anusvâra after the second sign, (2) that the shape of this second sign slightly differs from that used for *vi*. The corresponding passage of the Rûpnâth Edict has according to B quite distinctly *chhavachharê*, which represents exactly the Sanskrit *shaḍvatsaram*, "a period of six years." There is not the slightest doubt that the sign may be equivalent to and , and that it is possible to read *saḍvachhalê*. The form *saḍ* for Sanskrit *shaḍ* occurs in the dates of the Pillar Edicts I.—VI., where we have *saḍ-u-vîsati* "twenty-six," and it must be noted that the dialect of the Pillar Edicts and of the Sahasrâm inscription is the same. The forms *tadatva* (Kâlsi, Dhauli, Jaugada X.), *dvo* (Girnâr I.), *dve* (Girnâr II.), and *dvâdasa* (Girnâr III., IV.) prove that groups with *va* are admissible in the ancient Pâli of the inscriptions just as in that of the Buddhist scriptures.[3] Hence the word *saḍvachhalê* is also grammatically unobjectionable.

These reasons appear to me sufficiently strong to warrant the assertion that the reading *savichhalê* can only be upheld in defiance of the fundamental principles of philology. He who still adopts it, has first to select an interpretation of the second sign which yields a word without any meaning, and next has to emend it as well as the perfectly intelligible form of the Rûpnâth version.[4] I, of course, have to plead guilty to having committed both these mistakes. My excuse must be that in 1876 I was still under the erroneous impression that the Aśoka

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 149ff. The facsimile of the Rûpnâth version is an exact reproduction of the rubbing, which has not been touched up or corrected in any way.

[2] For further details see the notes to the transcripts.

[3] See E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of Pali*, p. 54.

[4] It is quite possible that the lovers of emendations will point to the readings *savachhalê* or *saṁvachhalê* in the Mysore versions, as to proofs for the necessity of correcting those of Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth. I have shewn in my paper on the new inscriptions, to be published in Dr. Hultzsch's continuation of the *Epigraphia Indica*, that *sa* and *saṁ* may likewise be equivalents of Sanskrit *shaḍ*.

inscriptions required corrections in every line, and were full of the most absurd mistakes. Thanks to Drs. Burgess and Fleet, it is now evident that they have been well incised and that most of them show only few and trifling mistakes. Moreover, the necessity for, nay the inclination to make, extensive or even more frequent alterations disappears, in the same degree as the character of the language and the contents of the edicts come to be better understood. The retention of the forms *saḍvachhalê* and *chhavachharê* with the sense of "a period of six years" has, of course, a most important bearing. With this explanation it appears that the Beloved of the gods had been an adherent of the Saṁgha not about four, but about nine years, and that when the inscriptions were incised his reign must have been longer than those of most of the later Maurya princes.

With respect to the substitution of the reading *saṁt[â]* for Dr. Bhagvânlâl's conjectural emendation *husaṁ te,* I have to add that M. Senart has vindicated its correctness long ago,[5] and has been the first to recognise that the reading of the Mysore versions *samânâ,* the present participle of the Âtmanêpada of the verb *as,* fully agrees.[6] I must also acknowledge that the division of the words *likhâpayâthâ* (l. 7) and *likhâpayatha* have been taken over from his edition.

Turning to the Rûpnâth version the most important new readings are *sâtilêkâni* for *sâtirakêkâni, aḍhatiyâni* for *aḍhitisâni,* and *sagha up.te* for *saṁgha-papite,* all in line 1. M. Senart had long ago given *sâti(lê)kâni.* Dr. Fleet's paper-cast shews that the indistinctness of the sign is due to an attempt at correcting the Mâgadhî *sâtilêka* to *sâtirêka,* which the ancient dialect of the Central Provinces, no doubt, required. My old reading *aḍhitisâni,* on which I based one half of the historical deductions given in the introduction to my first edition, has been objected to by Professor Oldenberg and afterwards by M. Senart, who have proposed *aḍhitiyâni* or *aḍhatiyâni* equivalent to Pâli *aḍḍhatiya* or *aḍḍhateyya* "two and a half." The paper-cast certainly makes the second form very probable, and the distinct reading of Mr. Rice's Brahmagiri version *aḍhâtiyâni* fully confirms it. With respect to the third change, I must confess that, looking now at my old facsimile, I cannot understand how I ever came to read *papite.* The first letter is their clearly an *u,* not a *pa.* But, I fear, the recognition of the truth has only come to me, after seeing the Mysore versions, where Mr. Rice has at once given correctly *upayite.* The paper-cast of Rûpnâth shews *up.te* quite plainly, but it proves also that the vowel attached to the second consonant has been destroyed. There are flaws both to the right and to the left of the top of the *pa,* one of which in the rubbing has assumed the appearance of an *i.* But, the real reading of the stone was probably *upêtê.* The new division of the words *lâkhapêtavaya-ta* has been taken over from M. Senart's edition. The text of the fragments of the Bairât Edict has been prepared according to two impressions on thick country paper, likewise sent to me by Dr. Fleet. They shew the shallow letters reversed, and give a faithful picture of the state of the rock, which apparently has a very uneven surface, and has been greatly injured by the peeling of the uppermost layer. The letters are very large, between an inch and a half and two inches high, but few among them stand out quite clear.

I am unable to give at present a new translation and discussion of the contents of the New Edicts, since that would necessitate a reproduction of the exact text of the Mysore versions according to Dr. Hultzsch's new impressions, which I have agreed to reprint only after my article on the Southern edicts has been published in the continuation of the *Epigraphia Indica.* But, there are two points on which I must say a few words. First, I must point out that the position of those scholars, who deny the identity of the Dêvânâṁ Piyê of the New Edicts with Dêvânaṁ Piyê Piyadasi, has become exceedingly difficult and precarious since the discovery of the Mysore versions. For, there a brief *résumé* of Aśoka's well-known Dhaṁma is tacked on to a free reproduction of the contents of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth texts, and the writer gives a

[5] *Ante,* Vol. XX. pp. 154ff.

[6] See, *Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne,* No. 4, p. 11 (*Jour. Asiatique,* 1892, p. 482).

portion of his signature in the Northern characters, used in Gandhâra and in the Panjâb. We now know that their author, Devânâṁ Piyê, was a king who ruled from the extreme Northwest of India as far as Magadha in the East and Mahishamaṇḍala in the South, and who not only used in his inscriptions many of the phrases and terms peculiar to Piyadasi, Beloved of the gods, but also tried to spread those particular principles of morality, which the third Maurya king recommended to his subjects as the Dhaṁma ensuring endless merit and bliss in heaven.

Secondly, as the heading of Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published with this paper, mentions "the year 256," I think it only right to say a word regarding the question, how the passages with the numerals are to be interpreted, and to state more distinctly, than I have done on other occasions, that neither the objections raised against my translations nor the new explanations substituted for them by Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart,[7] tempt me to give them up. Further researches have, however, taught me that the sentence of Sahasrâm, *iyaṁ cha sa[sâ]vanê Vivuthêna; duvê sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ ti*, may be appropriately rendered into Sanskṛit (as Professor Pischel first demanded) by *iyaṁ cha śrâvaṇâ Vyushṭena [kṛitâ] dvê shaṭpañchâśadadhikaśatê [varshâṇâṁ] vyushṭê iti.* For *vyushṭa*, an irregular form of the participle passive of *vivas*, certainly occurs with the sense of "passed away, elapsed." Thus we read in the Gobhila Gṛihyasûtra II. 8, 8, *jananâd daśarâtrê vyushṭê śatarâtrê saṁvatsarê vâ nâmadheyam* ‖ "When a period of ten (days and) nights, a period of one hundred (days and) nights or a year has elapsed, the name-giving (takes place)."[8] Further, I will state that when I render *ati* by *adhika*, I simply mean to declare the meaning of the two words to be equivalent. *Ati* appears not rarely for *adhi* in the older language. Thus we have *râjâtirâja*[9] for *râjâdhirâja*, *atipadâ śakvarî* "a Sakvarî verse with a foot in excess," Mahâbhâshya, Vol. IV. p. 139 (Kielhorn)[10] and so forth. Finally, the omission of *varshâṇâm*, which has caused such difficulties to my two critics, appears to me quite in keeping with the character of the ancient Indian prose, where with numerals nouns like "cows, men, pieces of gold" and so forth are frequently omitted, provided that some other word, which occurs in the sentence and is incompatible with the *śakya artha*, makes it necessary to supply the omitted word by *lakshaṇâ*. This incompatible word is in our case *vivuthâ* 'elapsed,' which requires a noun denoting a period of time to be understood.

The new explanations of Professor Oldenberg and M. Senart are made unacceptable by various hazardous assumptions. Both scholars separate *satâ*, which they take to be the representative of *sattvâḥ*, from the numerals and assume that, among the remaining syllables *sapaṁnâlâti*, *sa* stands for *sa[tâ]* (100) and *paṁnâ* for *paṁnâ[sa]* (50). They further emend *lâ* to *chhâ* (6) and explain the final *ti* by *iti*. The result is, *duvê sa[tâ] paṁnâ[sa] lâ[chhâ] ti satâ vivuthâ ti* or in Sanskṛit, *dvê śatê pañchâśat shaḍ iti sattvâ vyushṭâ iti*, which

[7] *Zeitschriftder D. Morg. Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXXV. pp. 474 ff., and *Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*

[8] The passage has been correctly rendered by Professor Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX. p. 57. Professor Knauer's translation, "*Ist von der Geburt der zehnte Tag oder der hundertste oder auch ein Jahr angebrochen*, involves two mistakes against the grammar, as *daśarâtra* does not mean "the tenth day" nor *śatarâtra* "the hundredth." Moreover the words "Ist . . . . ein Jahr *angebrochen*," *i.e.* "has a year begun" do not express what the author means to say. The commentators, of course, correctly explain *vyushṭê* by *atikrântê*.

[9] This is the form which occurs invariably on the coins and inscriptions of the Indo-Skythian period, see e. g. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 386 and 391, No. VIII. and No. XIX.

[10] With respect to M. Senart's other objections I may add that he is quite right in saying that "two by-fifty-six-exceeded-hundreds" for "two hundreds exceeded by fifty six" is not a good or correct expression. But the Hindus are very loose in the use of their compounds, and similar bad idioms, where an independent word has to be connected not with a whole compound but only with one of its parts, are not rare. In the second edition of his Sanskrit grammar, para. 1316, Professor Whitney has collected a few examples among which Manu's (VI. 54) *dârupâtraṁ cha mṛinmayam* is the most striking. I have given a few others in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL. pp. 532 and 544. Among them *anâchariyakulê vasaṁ* is from the Pali, where, by the bye, they are even more common than in Sanskrit. In the dates of the inscriptions a good many turns occur, which are much worse than Aśoka's little slip. Thus we have, *śrîvikramakâlâtîtasaṁvatsaraikanavatyadhikaśataikâdaśeshu* for Vikramasaṁvat 1199, and in the Aihole inscription, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 70, in order to express the figure 3735,

*triṁśatsu trisahasrêshu bhâratâd âhavâd itaḥ* |
*saptâbdaśatayuktêshu gatêshv abdêshu pañchasu* ‖,

It lasted some time, until the verse was correctly interpreted.

means according to Professor Oldenberg "256 beings have passed (into Nirvâṇa)," and according to M. Senart "256 men have been sent forth on missions."

My special objections against this very unceremonious treatment of the text are, (1) that cardinal numerals are never shortened, in the manner assumed, neither in ancient nor in modern Indian inscriptions,[11] while in those of the seventh and later centuries the first syllable of an ordinal is put occasionally for the whole, see e. g. *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 84, l. 40, and Vol. XV. p. 340, l. 57, where *dvi* occurs for *dvitîya*, (2) that, to judge from the analogies, furnished by the forms *saḍ-u-vîsati* and *â-saṁ-mâsikê* in the Pillar Edicts, the form *chha* is not admissible in the dialect of the Sahasrâm inscription, and (3) that the phrase *duvê sa[tâ] paṁnâ[sa] [chh]â ti* would not be idiomatic, *chha cha* being required instead of *chhâ ti*. The meaning, which Professor Oldenberg elicits by his remarkable interpolations and emendations, is more curious than interesting. M. Senart's translation is on the contrary very interesting, and would make the passage historically valuable, if it could be upheld. This is, however, not possible, because it rests on the same doubtful assumptions as Professor Oldenberg's, and because the proofs for various minor auxiliary statements, such as, that *vivas* means 'to depart on missions,' and *vivutha* 'missionary,' and that the Rûpnâth text has the reading *vivasêtaviyê*, have been omitted. Under these circumstances I can only adhere to my former interpretation, which makes it unnecessary to do violence to the authentic text. And it is a matter of course that I still hold the passage to refer to the time elapsed since Buddha's death and the 257th year after Buddha to coincide with the last of Aśoka's reign. As according to the beginning of these edicts Aśoka's connection with the Buddhists had lasted upwards of eight years, his conversion falls about the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

<table>
<tr><th>The Sahasrâm Edict.</th><th>The Rûpnâth Edict.</th><th>The Bairât Edict.</th></tr>
<tr><td>Dêvânâṁ Piyê hê . . . . .</td><td>Dêvânaṁ - Piyê-hêvaṁ - âhâ [:]</td><td>Dêvânâṁ Piyê âhâ [:]</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . . . . . . . . .</td><td>sâti[lê]kâni[12] aḍhati[y]âni[13]</td><td>sâti . . . . . . . . . [1]</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . âni | aṁ upâsa-</td><td>va-ya[14] — sumi — pâkâ[15]</td><td>vasân[i] ya haka[37] upâsa-</td></tr>
<tr><td>kê[1] sumi | n[a][2] chu bâḍhaṁ</td><td>[sa][va]kê[16] nô-chu bâḍhi</td><td>kê ṅ . . bâḍha[ṁ]</td></tr>
<tr><td>pa[la]kaṁtê [1] saḍvachhalê[3]</td><td>pakatê[;] sâtilêkê — chu-</td><td>. . . . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>sâdhi[k]ê . . .</td><td>chhavacharê ya sumi—</td><td>. . . . . [2] a[ṁ]mamayâ</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . . . . . .</td><td>hakaṁ[17] sagha[18]- up.te[19]</td><td>sa[ṁ]ghê upayâtê[38]</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . . . . .</td><td>[1] bâḍhi- chu[20]- pakatê</td><td>bâḍha ch. . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>. [êt . . . lêna |</td><td>[.] Y[i][21] - imâya — kâlâya —</td><td>. . . . . . . [3]</td></tr>
<tr><td>[J]aṁbudîpasi | aṁmisaṁ dêvâ |</td><td>Jaṁbudipasi amisâ-dêvâ —</td><td>Jaṁbudîpasi amisâ n. dêvê [h]i[39]</td></tr>
<tr><td>saṁ[tâ][2][4]munisâ misaṁ dêv.</td><td>husu tê - dâni m[i]s.- kaṭâ[22]</td><td>. . . . . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . . . . . . . . . .</td><td>[.] Pakamasi - hi-êsa[23] — phale</td><td>. . . masa êsa . lê [4]</td></tr>
<tr><td>. . . . mahatatâ va</td><td>nô-cha — êsâ - mahatatâ -</td><td>.o hi êsê mahatanêva .</td></tr>
<tr><td>chakiyê pâvatavê|[.] *Khudakêna*</td><td>pâpotavê[.] khudakêna</td><td>chakiyê . . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>pi pal[a]-[3] kama-</td><td>hi ka[24][2] pi — paruma —</td><td>. . . [ka]ma —</td></tr>
<tr><td>mînênâ vipulê pi suag.</td><td>minêna — sakiyê — [p]i pulê[25]—</td><td>minênâ[40] . . [5] vipulê</td></tr>
<tr><td>. kiyê[5] â . . . . . .v. | [.]</td><td>pi svagê — ârôdhavê[26] [.]</td><td>pi śvagê chakyê âlâdhêta.ê[41]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sê êtâyê aṭhâyê iyaṁ</td><td>Êtiya[27] — aṭhâya — cha—sâvanê</td><td>. . . . . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>sâvânê |[6] [ : ] khudakâ cha uḍâlâ</td><td>—kaṭê [:] Khudakâ- cha- uḍâlâ-</td><td>. . . . [k]â cha uḍâlâ</td></tr>
<tr><td>châ pa-[4] l[a]kamaṁtu [ . ]</td><td>cha- pakamaṁtu ti [ . ]</td><td>cha palakamatu .i [ . 6</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aṁtâ pi cha[7] | jânaṁtu | chila-</td><td>Atâ — pi-cha — jânaṁtu iyam-</td><td>A[ṁ]tâ pi cha[42] jânaṁtu tı</td></tr>
<tr><td>[ṭh]itik.[8] cha palakamê</td><td>pakar.[29] - va[3]kiti - chiraṭhitikê-</td><td>chilaṭhit.</td></tr>
<tr><td>hotu | [ . ] Iyaṁ cha aṭh. [9]</td><td>siyâ [ . ] Iya-hi aṭhê va-</td><td>. . . . . . .</td></tr>
<tr><td>vaḍhisati | vipulaṁ pi cha</td><td>ḍhi-vaḍhisiti vipula-cha-</td><td>. . . . . . . laṁ pi</td></tr>
<tr><td>vaḍhisati [5] diyâḍhiyaṁ</td><td>vaḍhisiti · apaladhiyênâ-</td><td>vaḍhisa . [7]</td></tr>
<tr><td>avaladhiyênâ diyaḍhiyaṁ</td><td>diyaḍhiya — vaḍhisata[30] [ . ]</td><td>. yaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati [ 8.]</td></tr>
<tr><td>vaḍhisati | [ . ]</td><td>Iya — cha aṭhê pavatisu[31] -</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

[11] Professor Oldenberg adduces *bati* as an abbreviation for *battiṁsa* from the *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 158. Dr. Stevenson's reading *bati* 32 is erroneous. The inscription has *bitiyê* 2, see *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* No. 10, p. 36, and *Reports*, Vol. IV. p. 113. The abbreviation *di* for *divase* and similar ones, to which Professor Oldenberg also refers, do not prove anything regarding the treatment of the cardinal numerals.

| The Sahasrâm Edict. | The Rûpnâth Edict. | The Bairât Edict. |
|---|---|---|
| Iyaṁ . . . Vivu- | lêkhâpêta — vâlata hadha[32] | . |
| thêna duvê sapaṁnâlâ- | cha [ . ] Athi [4]silâṭhubhê-[33]si- | |
| ti-[6]· satâ[10] vivuthâ-ti [sû | lâṭhaṁbhasi — lâkhâpêtavaya[34]- | . |
| na phu] 256 [.] Ima cha | ta[.][34] Êtinâ — cha — vaya- | |
| athaṁ pavatêsu [1.] . . | janenâ-yâvatakatu paka-ahâle | |
| yâthâ ya . [v]â a-[7] | savara vivasê — tavâ[yu]ti[35] [.] | |
| thi hêtâ ·silâthaṁbhâ | Vyuṭhênâ-sâvane-kaṭê[36] (sû na | |
| tata pi likh. . . . th . . i[11] [8] | phu) 256 sa—[3] tavivâsâ-ta [6] | |

1. B shows that the last syllable is *kê*, not *kô*, as A and the facsimile might suggest. The direct photograph used for the first edition has clearly *-iyâni saṁvachhalâni*, before *aṁ upâsakê* and *hêvaṁ â* at the beginning of the line.

2. The upper half of the vertical stroke of *na* is injured, and the reading may have been *no*.

3. Neither A nor B shews any trace of an Anusvâra after the second syllable. But B. shews a deep· abrasion to the right of the *va*, extending about a third of an inch from the circular portion and the vertical stroke as far as the horizontal line at the top of *va*. It is deepest close to the *akshara*, but the outlines of the latter are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. From the right end of the horizontal line at the top of the *va* issues a vertical one, which is longer than that of the vowel *i*. For this reason and because the Rûpnâth edict has clearly *chhavachhare*, it is necessary to read *saḍvachhale* instead of *savichhale*, which latter form besides makes no sense. The mistake was originally mine, but has been adopted by all my successors in the explanation of the edict. The photograph has *sâdhikê* | *aṁ* and after the break *t. êtêna cha aṁtalêna*.

4. The *â*-stroke is not certain, and the reading may have been also *saṁtaṁ* or *saṁta*, which both are equally admissible. The new materials make Dr. Bhagvânlâl's conjecture *husaṁ te*, which I adopted in my first edition, absolutely impossible. Before *saṁ* stands only the stroke marking the division of the words. The photograph has in line 3 *munisâ misaṁ deva kaṭâ pala*, after the first break *[h]i iyaṁ phale*, and after the second *yaṁ mahatatâ*, etc.

5. The space between the vertical stroke of *ki* and the right hand stroke of *g*. is about an inch and a quarter, and just double the size of that between the vertical stroke of *ki* and the left side of *ye*. It is, therefore, most probable that a letter, either *sa* or *cha*, has been lost, the restoration *sakiyê* or *chakiyê* being required by the sense and the parallel passage of the Rûpnâth edict. The photograph has *âlâ* before the break.

6. Read *sâvanê*. As the apparent *â*-stroke of the second syllable is rather short and running off into a point, it is possible that it is due to a flaw in the rock.

7. There is no *Anusvâra* after *cha*, but there is a rather deep abrasion, which extends all along the upper half of the vertical stroke.

8. The photograph has plainly *chilaṭhitîkê*. The last two vowels are now injured.

9. The photograph has plainly *aṭhe*, the second syllable of which is at present almos entirely gone.

10. The photograph has distinctly *iyaṁ cha savanê*. Possibly *sapaṁnâḷâtisatâ* to be read.

11. The photograph has distinctly *likhâpayâthâ* and *likhâpayatha*. The word *pi* stands above the line. Of the last syllable of the edict nothing has been preserved, but the upper part of a vertical stroke to which the vowel *i*, is attached. The *ya*, which Sir A. Cunningham and I have given formerly, does not exist. B shows clearly that peculiar shape of the edge of a large exfoliation, by which the real consonant has been destroyed, has produced the mistake. The lost consonant no doubt was *ta* and the reading *ti*, as M. Senart has suggested. The correct division of the words *likhâpayâthâ* and *likhâpayatha* has been first given by M. Senart.

12. According to the new materials it would seem that first *sâtilêkâni* was incised and then partly erased, a *ra* being at the same time placed before it. No doubt the clerk copied *sâtilêkâni*, the Mâgadhî form, and then wanted to put in *sâtirêkâni*, as the vernacular of the Central Provinces required. In the transcript of this edict the horizontal lines between the words indicate that they stand close together in the original.

13. According to the new materials the reading *aḍhatiyâni*, which is possible also according to my facsimile, is more probable than *aḍhatisâni*. The *ḍhi* of my first edition is simply a misreading.

14. M. Senart's *vasa* is a misreading, the new materials giving *va-ya-sumi* as plainly as the facsimile attached to the first edition.

15. Read *hakâ*; the stroke, intended for the curve of the first consonant, has been attached by mistake to the top.

16. Both according to A, and B, especially according to B, the first letter is an imperfectly formed *sa*, exactly as it looks in my facsimile. B seems to shew before *ke* the somewhat indistinct outlines of a *va*, while A has a blurred sign exactly like that on my facsimile. Though there is no trace of a letter in the blank space, the possibility that the reading may have been *upâsakê*, is not absolutely precluded.

17. M. Senart's *hâkâ* is neither supported by my old facsimile nor by the new materials, which all shew short vowels. The Anusvâra stands low at the foot of the *ka*.

18. B shews *gha* plainly, *sa* more faintly, while A agrees exactly with my old facsimile. The reading may have been *saghaṁ*, *saṁghaṁ*, or *sagha*.

19. The first letter is undoubtedly *u* according to the old and the new materials, and the third *te*. The vowel, attached to the second, is not distinguishable in A and B, and the reading may have been either *upitê* or *upêtê*.

20. B shews that the real reading is *bâḍhi* not *bâḍhiṁ*, as M. Senart has, the dot after *ḍhi* being much too small for an Anusvâra. *Chu* for *cha* (my misreading) is distinct on all the materials, especially on B.

21. The horizontal vowel-stroke, attached to *ya*, has according to B on the right a portion of an upward line, and the correct reading seems, therefore, to be *yi* (not *yâ*); compare *bâḍhi* for *bâḍhê* and *pavatisu* for *pavatêsu*.

22. Both A and B shew somewhat faintly *mi* and to the right of the upper portion of the vertical stroke of *sa* a deep abrasion. It must remain uncertain, whether the reading was *misâ* or *misaṁ*.

23. The initial *ê* of *êsâ* consists of an acute angle and is open at the base, the third line having been left out, I suppose, accidentally.

24. The new materials, especially B, shew *hi ka pi parumaminêna*, which, as I have proposed formerly, must probably be altered to *hi kiṁ pi pakamaminêna*. *Ka* might, however, stand, if it were possible to assume that the Pâli had preserved the ancient neuter *kad*. B makes it probable that *ru* was originally *ka* and that a very short portion of the crossbar has been lost accidentally by an abrasion on the left. B shows distinctly that the last syllable is not *nâ* but *na*, the apparent *â*-stroke being due to a flaw in the stone.

25. The first letter of *pipulê* is slightly injured, but the reading given is even according to B more probable than *vipulê*. The form need not cause suspicion, as the sporadic change of *va* to *pa* is not uncommon in the literary Pâli and in that of the inscriptions.

26. Read *ârâdhavê*. The *ro* is certain, but the apparent stroke before *dha*, which M. Senart believes to be an *ê* is not connected with the consonant and clearly due to a flaw in the stone.

27. *Êtiya* must not be changed to *êtâya*, as M. Senart proposes; it is the dative of the feminine stem *êtî*, which appears in *êtissâ*, *êtissaṁ*, and so forth. The use of the feminine for the masculine is common enough in these inscriptions; compare *e. g.* above l. 2, *imâya kâlâya*.

28. B proves most distinctly that *atâ* not *aṁtâ* is the reading. The form *ata* for *aṁta* occurs also in the Kâlsî Rock-Ed. XIII. 2, 6, *atêsu*, and is protected by numerous analogies like *magala* for *maṁgala*, *kiti* for *kiṁti*, and so forth.

29. The vowel of this word is not distinguishable. It probably was *pakarê*, and may be a mistake for *pakamê*, as M. Senart thinks, or equivalent to *pakârê*, "manner" (of acting).

30. Read *vaḍhisati*.

31. The *u*-stroke of the last syllable of *pavatisu* is very short, but unmistakable, especially in B. The correction *pavatêsu*, which M. Senart proposes, seems to me unnecessary, as in Pâli *i* frequently appears for Sanskṛit *e*.

32. *Hadha* is either a mistake or a vicarious form for *hidha*. The words *lêkhâpêta-vâlata* are as plain as possible on the new materials, and B shews that the rock has not been worn away. On the supposition that *vâlata* stands for *pâlata*, i. e. *paratra*, with the in Pali not unusual softening of the *pa*, the clause may be translated : "This matter has been incised by my order in the far distance (*in the districts*) and here (*in Magadha*)." The last words remind one of the phrase in Rock Edict V, *hida bâhilêsu châ nagalêsu*, (K. l. 16). With this interpretation the sense is unobjectionable, but it may be urged that the parallelism of the next phrase and the corresponding passage of the Sahasrâm edict make it probable, that there should be a future participle passive instead of the past participle passive. If that seems indispensable, it will suffice to insert one single syllable and to write *lêkhâpetava-vâlata*. *Lêkhâpetava*, i. e. *lêkhâpetavva* is as good as *lêkhâpetaviya*. M. Senart's extensive changes seem to me neither necessary nor even advisable as they destroy the sense of the passage.

33. In B the dental *tha* and the final *i* of *athi* are perfectly recognisable. In A these signs look exactly like those of the old facsimile. *Cha* has been inserted as a correction. *Silâṭhubhê* is not very plain on the old facsimile, but unmistakable both in A and B. The change of *a* to *u* has been caused by the influence of the labial; compare E. Müller, *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 6.

34. Read *lêkhâpêtavaya*. With the termination *vaya* for *viya* compare such words as *supadâlayê*, *dupaṭipâdayê*, and so forth. The final *ta* stands for *ti*, i. e. *iti*. It is, however, not absolutely necessary to correct *ta* to *ti*, as M. Senart does. For, the Mahârâshṭrî *ia*, which appears for *iti* in the beginning of a verse or of a sentence, points to the former existence of a vicarious form *ita*, which might be shortened to *ta*.

35. The vowel of the penultimate syllable, which is much injured, is doubtful; that of the antipenultimate is clearly *â*, not *i*, as M. Senart's transcript makes it.

36. *Vyuṭhena*, not *Vyaṭhena*, is the reading; but the *u*-stroke is very short, and the semicircular stroke of the *ya* very thick.

37. The final *i* of *vasâni* is at least probable, and it is certain that there is no Anusvâra after the *na*. Possibly *yaṁ hakaṁ* to be read.

38. The Anusvâra of *saṁghê* is not certain. Both the impressions have clearly *upayâtê* not *upayite*.

39. The second syllable of *amisâ* stands above the line. The following syllable may have been *naṁ*, but the stone is just here very rough. *Dêvêhi*, now known as the reading of the Mysore versions, is tolerably distinct with the exception of the last consonant, which is rather faint.

40. *Chakiyê* not *chakayê* is the real reading. The first sign of *kamaminênâ* is half gone. There is no *ya* after it.

41. *Chakyê* looks almost like *takyê*, because the *cha* has been made triangular and the lower line is fainter than the two others.

42. The Anusvâra of *aṁtâ* is not certain, the other two signs are faint, but recognisable.

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## FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

### *No.* 17.—*A Cinderella Variant.*[1]

Once upon a time there lived a king with his queen and two children, the elder a daughter of about ten or twelve years of age, and the younger a boy about seven years old. At this time the princess and the prince had the misfortune to lose their mother. The princess supplied her place, in the way of taking care of her brother, and other domestic affairs ; and everything went on smoothly, so much so that the king forgot his affliction, and made up his mind not to marry again, for fear his second wife should ill-treat his daughter and son.

Now it happened that there lived close to the palace a widow, who also had a daughter of about the same age as the princess, and so like her that little or no difference could be seen between the two. The princess, after she had finished her domestic duties, was in the habit of visiting this widow and spending some time there. The widow, too, took a great liking to the princess, and every time she was visited by the girl, she would dress her hair, deck her with wreaths of flowers and shew her much kindness. While treating the princess in this manner, she would often say :—

"My dear princess, are you not tired of your life, cooking and doing all the household work ? You must ask your father to marry again, when you will have less work to do, and be more happy."

But the princess would say :— "I like to do the household work, and my father loves me the more for it. As for his marriage, I cannot tell why he does not marry."

Things went on like this for several months, and the widow said the same thing every day to the princess. So one day the princess said to her father :—

"Father, why don't you marry another wife ?"

The king, however, said :— "My dear child, I do not want to marry for the sake of you and your brother. There is every probability that your step-mother may ill-treat you, and injure you."

The following day, when the princess visited the widow, she told her what the king said, but the widow said to her :—

"Oh, what an idea for your father to have. Do not believe a word of it. Ask him again to marry, and if he says that he is afraid of your being ill-treated, say it will not be so."

So in the evening, at supper, the princess, again, said to her father :— "Why don't you marry again ?"

And the king repeated the same reason. Upon this the princess said :—"No, no, father, it will not be so. On the contrary, it will be a relief to me in my domestic duties."

But the king seemed to pay no heed to the princess's words, and so the widow resorted to other tricks.

One day, as the princess was cooking something, she happened to leave the kitchen for a little while, and the widow came and put in the pot a handful of sand. Another day, she came

[1] [It must be remembered that this in an Indian Christian tale.—ED.]

in the same way and put in a great quantity of salt. On a third day she put in a lot of earth. And so on for many days. The king used to be surprised to find his food cooked in such a way, and thought that, because he would not marry a second time, the princess was doing it on purpose to vex him and to force him to marry. However, he thought it best to make himself sure as to who was really doing the mischief. So one day he left the house in the presence of the princess, and, returning quietly by another door, hid himself in such a position as to watch everything that was being done in the kitchen. The princess put a pot of rice on the oven to boil, and went to a well close by to fetch water. In the meantime the widow, who had seen the princess going to the well, came in and threw in the pot a lot of sand, and went away. The king, who had seen everything, now came out of his hiding place, and, after the princess came back with the water, he returned to the house, as if he had come from a distance.

In another half hour the dinner was ready, and the princess laid it on the table, and they sat down to partake of it. While they were eating, the king said: —

"My dear daughter, now tell me, who is it that tells you to say to me that I must marry? Is it your own idea, or has any one else suggested it to you?"

The princess replied: — "Father, it is our neighbour, the widow, who tells me to speak to you in that way. And I think it is only reasonable that you should marry."

"But," said the king, "as I told you before, your step-mother may treat you very badly."

And the princess said: — "No, father, it will not be so."

The king then said to her: — "Very well, I will marry again; but should you complain of any ill-treatment at the hands of your step-mother, I will pay no heed to it. In fact, I will not even look at you."

Thus said the king, and it was settled that the king should marry again. And it happened that his choice fell on the widow, who was so kind to the princess.

Preparations were now made for the grand occasion, and on the appointed day the king was married to the widow with all possible *èclat*, and henceforth she must be called the queen. The queen continued to treat the princess with the same kindness as before for a few days, and then, as is usual with step-mothers, began to ill-treat her. She made her own daughter wear all the nice clothes of the princess, and do nothing all day but sit idle and eat sweets and such like things; while the princess had to go in rags and bear the drudgery of the cook-house and other domestic work. The prince, too, was, under plea of being a mischievous child, sent to some school, where he was kept like an orphan.

Day after day the queen took a greater dislike to the princess and ill-treated her further. Her hatred went so far that she could not even bear the sight of her, and she, therefore, began to devise means to keep her out of sight, if not altogether, at least during the day. So she one day told the king to buy her a cow. The king, at first, refused to do so, saying they had no business with a cow, but the queen insisted on having a cow, and, at last, the king was persuaded upon to buy one. As soon as the cow was bought and brought home, the princess was ordered by her step-mother, the queen, to take her out to graze every morning, and not to return home till dusk. For her own food during the whole day she was given bread made of *bâjrî*.[2] The poor princess had no alternative but to obey. In fact she was only too glad, for it would keep her away the whole day, and save her the abuse she was wont to receive from her step-mother.

Every day, as soon as she got up in the morning, the princess could be seen with a bundle of *bâjrî* cakes in one hand and with the other leading the cow to the grazing ground some miles distant from the palace. Now it happened that the princess daily fed the cow with the *bâjrî*

[2] Bread made of *bâjrî* is eaten only by the very poor classes.

cakes that were her own food, and the cow, after eating them, deposited *bhûklâṛûs*[3] and *tânlâṛûs*,[3] with which the princess fed herself, and thus grew strong and stout. This change in the condition of the princess (for, it must be remarked, she was reduced to almost a skeleton while at home) excited the curiosity of the queen, who wondered what could be the cause of it.

One morning she sent the princess with the cow, without the *bâjrî* cakes, telling her that they were not ready, and that her sister (for so the princess addressed her step-mother's daughter) would bring them to her, when prepared. The object of the queen was, of course, to send her daughter to watch the princess, as to what she did and ate that made her so stout. Accordingly, an hour or so after the princess had gone, her step-sister followed her with the *bâjrî* cakes, which she gave to the princess, and, pretending to return home, hid herself close by, so that she could see everything that the princess did. The princess little suspected that her step-sister had concealed herself, and that she was watching her actions. So, as usual, she untied the bundle of *bâjrî* cakes and fed the cow. No sooner had the cow finished the last morsel than she deposited *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs*, and with these the princess appeased her hunger and thirst. The queen's daughter, who had seen everything from her hiding place, now went home. Her mother asked her if she and seen what the princess did to make her so stout and strong. The girl said:—

"O mother, it is not surprising that the princess is getting so stout and strong. As directed by you, I gave her the *bâjrî* cakes, and, pretending to go home, I concealed myself so as to see everything. The princess thought I had gone home, and she untied the bundle of *bâjrî* cakes and gave them to the cow; and on eating the cakes the cow deposited *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs*. O what sweet a savour they sent forth! In truth, I was half inclined to come out from the place of my concealment and to ask for a share. The princess ate the *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs*; and that, I am sure, is the reason why she gets so stout and strong."

"If that be the case," thought the queen to herself, "surely, it is better that I send my own daughter to graze the cow."

Thus it was decided that from the following day the princess should stay at home and that her step-sister should take the cow to graze. So, on the next day, as the princess was about to take the cow to the grazing ground, her step-sister came up to her and said:—

"Sister, let me take the cow to graze. You must have been disgusted and tired, going with the cow daily. I wish to relieve you for a few days."

The princess little thought of the true reason of her step-sister's anxiety to take the cow to graze, and so allowed her to go with the cow; while she herself stayed at home, not in the least relieved of any troubles, as her step-sister had said, for she was shewn into the kitchen, where she had to work all day.

The queen's daughter, taking the bundle of *bâjrî* cakes, led the cow to the grazing-ground. When she reached it, she untied the bundle and fed the cow with the *bâjrî* cakes, every moment expecting to see the cow deposit *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs*, but to her great annoyance and disgust the cow discharged dung! The girl, however, consoled herself with the thought that, that being her first day, she must not expect *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs*. But the same thing continued for many days, and the girl was reduced almost to a skeleton for want of food. So she told her mother how she had been disappointed, and that she was determined not to go again.

This affair was the cause of further hatred on the part of the queen towards the princess, and she made up her mind to somehow or other get rid of her. The queen, therefore, now and again, told the king that the princess was now grown up, and that he must dispose of her in marriage; but the king paid no heed to what the queen said.

[3] *Lâṛûs* are sweetmeats made into balls, and the *bhûklâṛûs* and *tânlâṛûs* of the text were supposed to appease her hunger and thirst: *bhûk* means hunger, and *tân* thirst.

About this time it happened that the king of a neighbouring country had an only son, whom the father desired to get married, but the prince said that he wished to select his own wife. For this purpose he told the king to get up a dance and to invite to it all the neighbouring princesses, as well as other big folk. The king, therefore, appointed an evening for the dance, and hundreds of princesses and the daughters of nobles were invited.

Milliners were at once called into requisition, and the girls vied with each other in choosing out dresses and slippers for the occasion. Our queen, too, got a very nice dress for her daughter, also **a beautiful pair of slippers.** The day appointed for the dance was fast approaching, and all the girls were anxiously waiting to go to it, and were impatient to know who would be selected by the prince for his wife. This was, however, a cause of great misery to our princess, for she thought to herself:—

"All the girls will soon go to the dance, while I must sit at home. Oh that my mother were living! Would she not get me a new dress to enable me to go too? Even, though my mother was dead, my father would have done everything for me; but he takes no notice of me now, and it will be useless for me to speak to him, for has he not warned me that, should anything go wrong, I must not complain, and also that he will pay no heed to what I may say or do? Cursed be the hour when I insisted upon and persuaded my father to marry a second time!"

Thus she thought, and burst into sobs and cries, and **from her eyes ran a stream of tears.** While the princess was in this mood, **her godmother, who had been dead for some years, appeared to her,** and asked her what was the matter with her, and what she wanted. The princess told her of her misfortunes since her mother's death, how she was ill-treated by her step-mother, and every thing else that had occurred. She then told her that she wanted a dress and a pair of slippers to go to a dance, which a neighbouring king had got up to enable his son to select a wife.

"Oh! is that all?" said the princess' godmother. "Do not fret about it: make yourself easy. You will have every thing you want in time."

Thus she said and disappeared.

In due time the day of the dance came, and hundreds of girls, each dressed in her best, with bright and variegated coloured slippers, could be seen making their way to the palace of the king who had given the dance. The queen also sent her daughter handsomely dressed, thinking perhaps the prince might take a liking to her. At the appointed time dancing commenced, and the prince was seen dancing with several girls alternately. Our princess, who had seen all the girls going, and not yet having received the dress her godmother had promised, thought the vision was merely a dream, and again burst into tears, when, she immediately saw a very handsome dress and **a pair of golden slippers.** Having dressed herself hastily she entered the king's palace, and went into the dancing hall, when every body's attention was at once rivetted on her — dancing ceased for a short time, and all admired the very beautiful dress, and the more beautiful features of the new-comer. All were at a loss to know who the stranger was. Even her step-mother and sister did not recognise her. In a little while dancing commenced with renewed vigour, and the prince, who was quite enamoured of the princess, danced with no one save her. The merriment continued till the small hours of the morning, when all the guests left one by one. The princess, whom the prince tried to stop, made her escape and left before every body, and going home resumed her usual dress, which was not much better than rags.

Soon all the guests were gone and day dawned, and the king asked his son if he had made his choice. The prince said he had, but that unfortunately he could not tell her name, nor did he even know whence she came, and that he was, therefore, very unhappy. The prince now asked the king to give another dance, when, he said, he would take more care in making a

proper choice. The king, who was very fond of him, agreed to do so; and, a month or so after, again sent invitations to different countries, stating the object he had in view in getting up the dance.

The people, that had come for the first dance, now thought that the prince had not made his choice. They, therefore, ordered better dresses and slippers than on the first occasion, thinking that this time at least their daughters might succeed in winning the prince's love. On the appointed day hundreds of ladies with their daughters proceeded to the palace with beautiful dresses, flaunting the best silks and displaying their very best jewellery. A few days before this, the princess, again began to think of her inability to go to the dance, and burst into tears, when her godmother again appeared to her and comforted her, telling her that she would, as on the first occasion, get a dress and slippers in time for the dance. She then asked her what was the result of the first dance, and the princess told her godmother all that had occurred: how she went somewhat late; how dancing ceased for a while, and all the people began to admire her; how she remained unrecognised by any one, particularly by her step-mother and sister; how the prince danced with her alone; and how, when she was going home after the dance, the prince tried to stop her, but she escaped from his grasp and went home before every one, and thus kept her step-mother and others in ignorance about her being at the king's palace. Her godmother, upon this, said:—

"My dear child, I am very glad to learn that the prince was enamoured of you, which I gather from his dancing with you alone; but, I think, you did not act rightly in making your escape from him. On this occasion you must behave differently. I am sure that, after dancing is over, the prince will try to keep you, but you must, in making your escape, **leave behind one of your slippers,** which will be the surest means of the prince's being able to find you. In the meanwhile, compose yourself and be cheerful." Thus spake the godmother and disappeared.

On the appointed day, when hundreds of guests had already gone to the palace, the princess was seated alone in her father's house, anxiously waiting for the dress and slippers, and began to doubt the sincerity of her godmother. While she was yet thus thinking, she saw before her a very handsome dress, — even more handsome than that she got on the first occasion, — and also a pair of golden slippers, studded with gems of the first water. Thus equipped the princess went in all possible haste to the king's palace, and as she entered the hall wherein the guests were assembled and were already dancing, all the people were struck dumb at the grandeur of the dress and the brilliancy of the slippers, and also at the noble demeanour and the handsome appearance of the new-comer. As on the first occasion dancing ceased for a while, while the people kept admiring the new guest. When dancing was resumed, the prince, who was bewitched by the beauty of the princess, would take no one except her to dance with him. They kept up the dancing till near dawn of day, when the guests began to leave, one after another. This time the prince tried to stop the princess, but she managed to free herself from his grasp, and in the struggle to escape she let one of her slippers come from her foot, and ran away with all speed, so as to be at home before the others. She reached her house and resumed her ragged clothes; and when her step-mother and sister returned home they little dreamt that the fair person they saw and admired so much was the one they had so ill-treated.

The guests all went to their respective houses, but the prince snatched the slipper, and went unobserved and threw himself down in his father's stables, thinking how to find out the owner of the slipper, whom alone he wished to marry. The king and his servants searched the whole palace and then the whole town for the prince, but he was nowhere to be found.

The night passed and in the morning the maid-servants (*buṭkînî*, sing. *buṭkîn*) took some gram to feed the horses; but instead of giving the gram to the horses they ate it themselves, throwing the husks to the horses. This the prince saw, and reproached them for

their deceit. As soon as the voice of the prince fell upon the ears of the maid-servants, they said:—

"Oh dear prince, what are you doing here? The king is searching for you all over the country, and, being unable to find you, he has become sick."

But the prince said:—"Away, you humbugs. This is how you do your work: you eat the gram yourselves and give only the husks to the horses. No wonder you are becoming fatter day by day, while the horses are becoming leaner and weaker. Go away now; but take care of yourselves if you say a word about me to any one, at any rate to my father."

The maid-servants went away, but paid very little heed to the prince's threats, and went and stood before the king, saying:—

"*Râjâ Sâheb, Râjâ Sâheb, âikâl tê barî gôsṭ hâi;* Sir King, Sir King, if you will listen, there is a good story (news)."

Upon this the king roared out:—"*Kâ hai? Tûmiṅ khâtûs hâ âni raṛtûs hâ! Kâ sâṅgtâ tê sâṅgâ bêgin.* What is it? You are always eating and always crying! What you have to say, say quickly."

The maid-servants answered:—"Good news, Râjâ Sâheb, our prince is in the stables."

The king, however, would not give them credit, and therefore said:—"Oh, get away! You are always telling me lies! Why don't you say you want something?"

But the maid-servants swore that they did not want anything, and that they were telling him the truth, for they saw the prince with their own eyes.

Thereupon the king went with the maid-servants to his stables, and he saw, as the maid-servants had told him, the prince lying on the floor. The king thus spoke to him:—

"*Kâ hôtêi tûlâ? Kanâchaṁ dûkh parlaṁ tûlâ gê êûnśiṁ hiâ tabiliân likâlâis? Sâṅg mâlâ. Kôniṁ hât tûkilaśêl tûvar, tiâchâ hât jhên; kôniṁ pâiṅ tûkilaśêl tûvar, tiâchâ pâiṅ jhên; kôniṁ ḍôlâ kêlaśêl, tiâchâ ḍôlâ kârin. Ou sâṅg, kâ pâijê tûlâ têṁ paidaṁ karin.* What ails you my son? What trouble has come upon you that you have concealed yourself in the stable? Has any one threatened injury to you? Tell me. If any one has lifted up his hands against you, I shall take (cut) his hands; if any one has used his legs to do you harm, say, and I will take (cut) his legs; if any one has looked on you with an evil eye, say, I will pull out his eyes. Or, say what you want, and I will see that you get it."

Upon this the prince said:—"Father, nothing ails me; nor has any one threatened me. My grief is this. Look at this slipper. If you can get the owner of this slipper to marry me, I will have everything and I shall be happy; otherwise I will put an end to my life by starving myself."

The king then said:—"Is this all that you are so grieved about? Your desire shall be fulfilled at any cost. In the meanwhile, come, leave the stables, and take your meals."

The prince got up and followed his father, resuming his usual mood. The king then sent servants with the slipper the prince had picked up, with instructions to go from house to house through all the town and even to neighbouring countries, and try it on the foot of every girl they saw and whatsoever girl's foot it fitted, that girl was to be asked in marriage for the prince.

Away went the servants from village to village and city to city, and inquired from house to house if there were any girls. Hundreds of girls were shewn them, and they tried the slipper on every one of the girls' feet, but it fitted no one. At last they came to the house of our princess, and on inquiry from the servants if there were any girls in the house the queen shewed them her daughter. The servants tried the slipper on her feet, but it did not fit her; so they asked if there was another girl, but the queen said there was no other girl besides her daughter. The servants now went and searched the houses over again, but with no success. For

a second time they came to the princess' house and asked to be shewn any girls that there might be in the house. This time, too, the queen produced her daughter, but in vain. The servants again asked if there was no other girl in the house, and the queen again said there was none besides her daughter. The servants were about to go away when, as Providence would have it, they chanced to see the princess in the kitchen, and asked the queen to call her out. But the queen refused to do so, saying she was only a servant in the house, and, therefore, it would not be worth while trying the slipper on her feet. The servants, however, insisted on the girl in the kitchen, whoever she might be, being called out, and the queen was obliged to call her out, which she did with the greatest reluctance. The princess was soon in the presence of the servants, who asked her to wear the slipper which they gave her, and which fitted to her foot exactly; and what wonder, did it not belong to her? The servants next asked for an interview with the king, our princess' father, with whom it was arranged that he should give his daughter in marriage to the prince, the son of their master, the king. The king gave his consent to the marriage, and thus it was decided that the princess should marry the neighbouring king's son, and a day, a few months after, was appointed for the auspicious occasion.

During the interval from this date, which we may call the day of betrothal of the princess and the prince, and the day of their marriage, preparations were being made on the grandest scale imaginable. Rice was ground for making *pôlê*[4] and *ôrê*,[5] and all sorts of provisions were made ready for the great event. In due time the appointed day came, and the marriage of the princess with the prince was celebrated with great *èclat* and guests were feasted for several days by both parties. This was, of course, an event of great jubilation for the princess, and for two reasons: — firstly, because she had been fortunate in obtaining a prince for her husband, for it must be remembered that, had it not been for the dances that were given by the prince and the timely aid of her godmother, she would never have been married to a prince, as her father never paid the slightest attention to her; secondly, because she had, at length, escaped from the drudgery of the kitchen, and more so from ill-treatment at the hands of her step-mother. On the other hand, it was the greatest mortification to the queen, her step-mother, who was frustrated in her attempts to get her own daughter married to the prince. She could not, however, do anything now, and so she pretended to like what had happened, and shew every possible respect for the princess' husband, and treated him and also the princess with apparent kindness.

After spending a few days at his father-in-law's house, the prince taking his wife went and lived at his own house. When several months had passed after their marriage, the princess became *enceinte*, and in due time, when nine months had elapsed, she brought forth a beautiful child, a boy.

In the meanwhile the princess' step-mother, who was still bent upon mischief, kept on devising plans to get rid of her, and to get her daughter in her place. With this view, she one day asked her husband, the king, to invite his daughter and son-in-law to spend a few days with them. The king accordingly sent an invitation, which invitation his son-in-law accepted, and came with his wife and child. The queen treated them with great kindness, and pretended love for the princess like her own daughter. When a few days passed the prince asked permission to go home, but the queen asked him to stay a few days longer. The prince, however, said that he could not stay any longer, as he had to attend his father's *darbâr*. The queen then said that, if he could not stay, he might at least allow his wife to remain a few days, and asked him also to come again on a certain day, when he could go home with his wife. The prince saw no objection to keeping his wife at her father's house, especially after so much entreaty from the queen, and, little suspecting the mischief she was up to, he allowed his wife to stay

[4] For description of *pôlê*, sing. *pôlâ*, see the tale of "Bâpkhâdi" *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 143, note 3.

[5] *Ôrê*, sing. *ôrâ*, are described in the tale of "The Ill-treated Daughter-in-law," *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 376, note 3.

another week or so, and, promising to come on a certain day to take her home, he went away. When the prince was gone the queen still shewed the same kindness to the princess.

One day, the queen called her daughter aside and said to her:—"When you go to the well to-day to fetch water, the princess, as is her wont, is sure to come to help you. If she happens to draw water from the well, you peep in and say to her — 'oh, how beautiful your reflection is in the water!' Then ask her to let you wear all her jewels, which she will certainly not refuse you to do, and ask her how you appear with all the jewellery. When she again stoops to draw water, hold her by her legs and throw her into the water, and come home sharp."

The girl promised to do exactly as her mother said.

During the course of the day the girl took up a vessel and told her mother she was going to the well to fetch water. Upon this the princess also took up another vessel and followed her step-sister to the well. Now, while the girl was rinsing and washing the vessels the princess began to draw out water from the well, upon which the girl also peeped inside and said:—

"Oh, sister, how beautifully you reflect in the water! Suppose I put on your jewels, shall I also look as beautiful?"

The princess, who did not, in the least, suspect any foul play, stripped herself of all her jewellery and put it on her step-sister, who then went and looked in the well, saying:—"Oh sister, I do, indeed, look very beautiful with all the jewellery, but, I must confess, your beauty beats mine hollow. Come, remove the jewels from my person and wear them yourself. Who knows, I may lose some, or some of them might drop into the well."

The princess, however, said there was no necessity to be in such a hurry to remove them, but told her to keep them till they went home. The girl was only too glad that the princess was careless about the jewels. The princess now again began to draw water, and as she stooped to draw a bucket from the well, the wretched girl caught her by her legs, and, throwing her in, ran away, carrying the vessels they had brought for water. The poor princess was soon at the bottom of the well and was dead.

A few days passed after this and the prince came to take his wife, the princess, home when the queen ushered in his presence, her own daughter, as his wife. Now, as we said before, this girl was about the same age as the princess, and in appearance, too, there was little or no difference, and even her voice did not betray her. The prince, at first sight, had some misgiving about her, but thought that some circumstance or other might account for the very slight difference he perceived in her. He passed the day at his father-in-law's, and, taking his supposed wife with his child, went home. Before leaving the queen put in the place of her daughter's breasts cocoanut shells, which made them look bigger, and thus deceived the prince thoroughly. When they had reached home the girl behaved to the child exactly as a mother would, that is, she would give, or pretended to give, suck to the child, bathe him, and so on. But the child always kept crying, particularly during the day, for want of milk.

Now it happened that during the night, when all used to go to sleep, the princess, though she was really dead, used to come to her husband's house, and by some charm, put every person to a sound sleep; and entering the bed-room, she used to give suck to the child, and this kept the child from crying much in the night. After giving milk to her child, the princess would sit on the *hiṅdlá*[6] in the outer verandah, and sing:—

"*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniâ karâṅṭlî, hâis kaṁ gô mâṅjê bhartârâ zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniâ karâṅṭlî, hâis kaṁ gô mâṅjê bâlâ zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniâ karâṅṭlî, hâis kaṁ gô mâṅjê sasriâ zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniâ karâṅṭlî, hâis kaṁ gô mâṅjê sâsû zôgî?*

[6] The *hiṅdlá* is a cot suspended by four chains or ropes tied to the four corners, on which people sit and swing about with their feet. It is a favourite article of furniture in the houses of natives, and those of the Bombay East Indians in Salsette. It is generally suspended in the outer verandah.

Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?

After repeating this song several times the princess would disappear. This continued for many days, but no one in the king's palace was aware of it, except an old woman, who lived in a hut close by, and used to hear this song nightly, wondering what it meant, or who the person was that sang it. One day, the old woman saw the prince passing her hut, and stopping him she asked him who it was that sat on the *hiṅdlá* in the night and sang.

The prince was surprised to hear that someone sat on the *hiṅdlá* and sang when all were asleep. "Who can it be?" he thought to himself. "Everyone in the house goes to sleep as early as possible."

Thus thinking, he told the old woman he could not believe such a thing. The old woman, however, swore that she heard some one singing every night, "but to make yourself sure," said she to the prince, "don't go to sleep to-night, and keep yourself concealed near the *hiṅdlá*, and then you can find out for yourself whether what I tell you is the truth or a lie." The prince agreed to do so, and went away.

In the evening, after taking supper, all the people of the palace went to bed, but the prince kept awake and hid himself close by the *hiṅdlá*. About midnight he saw the figure of a young woman come and enter the palace, though the doors were all closed. The woman entered the bed-room, and after giving suck to the child, she came out and sat on the *hiṅdlá* and sang:—

"*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniá karâṅṭlî, háis kaṁ gô mâṅjê bhartârá zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniá karâṅṭlî, háis kaṁ gô mâṅjê bâlá zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniá karâṅṭlî, háis kaṁ gô mâṅjê sasríá zôgî?*
*Ûrphâṅḍî chôlî, thaniá karâṅṭlî, háis kaṁ gô mâṅjê sâsû zôgî?*

Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my husband?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my babe?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my father-in-law?
Reversed bodice, cocoanut shells in place of breasts, are you worthy of my mother-in-law?"

The prince now believed that what the old woman told him was true. He waited till the princess had repeated the song three or four times, upon which he left his hiding-place and seized the princess by her hand; and asked her who she was, and what her song meant. She then told him that she was his wife, who was drowned in a well by her step-sister, while she had been to her father's house. She next explained how it had all happened.

When the prince heard the whole story of the princess, his oft-recurring suspicions about some fraud being practised on him were now confirmed. He seized the princess by the hand and begged of her not to leave him, but to stay with him, which she did. He next got into a rage and went and cut the pretended wife into three pieces: two pieces of the trunk he hung up on two roads, and the head (the third piece) he buried with mouth open in a latrine, the meaning being that she should eat human *excreta* as a punishment.

Some time after this, her mother, who was not aware of all that had occurred, happened to pay a visit to her son-in-law's, but was surprised to find her daughter absent, and she was the more confused to see the princess, who was known to be dead, alive, and in the palace. She, however, dared not question any one as to the true state of affairs. During her stay there, she had occasion to resort to the latrine, when she heard the words: "Ah! mother, will you also be so cruel as to evacuate into my mouth?" The mother was struck dumb as the words fell upon her ears, for she recognised the voice of her daughter, and looked about to see whence it came, and she caught sight of the head of her daughter. She asked her what it all meant, and the daughter told her everything: how the princess, though dead, used to come in the night and give suck to her child; how she used to sit on the *hiṅdlâ* and sing the song which led to the discovery of their fraud; and how the prince, in his rage, killed her and cut her into three pieces, two of which he hung up on two roads, and the third, her head, he had buried in the latrine as a punishment. The poor mother, without another word, and not even staying to say good-bye to her son-in-law, made her way home, with shame and confusion in her face.

The prince and the princess, who, as we said before, had consented to stay with the prince, then lived very happily to a very old age.[7]

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# FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

## *No.* 19. — *Sûrya and Chandrâ.*

Once there was a Râjâ, who was very fond of going about his kingdom in disguise, and acquired, by that means, knowledge of a good many things happening in every part of it.

One day standing under the shade of a tree near a well, he noticed a group of girls, all in the first flush of womanhood, chattering away and imparting to one another all their little hopes and fears, prospects and designs, as girls of the same age are wont to do, when they get together. The Râjâ felt interested, and stood quietly listening, as one of them said: "Now, sisters, I propose that, instead of wasting our time in idle talk, we tell one another what special qualification each can boast of! For my part I can do a good many things that other girls can do likewise, but there is one thing in which I excel all others, and what do you think it is?"

"We really cannot say," replied the others laughing; "pray, tell us what it is that you excel all other girls in?"

"Why I," said the first speaker, who was, by the way, a betel-nut seller's daughter, "I can divide one small betel-nut into so many fragments, that after each member of a large assemblage, — say, the largest wedding party — had one, there would still be some to spare!"

"Ha, ha, what does that signify?" laughed one who was a pan-leaf seller's daughter, "I can divide one pan-leaf — one small pan-leaf you know — "into as many pieces, as you can your betel-nut, and I am sure my friends here will agree that that shews greater skill!"

And so the girls went on and on, till at last one, who looked not only prettier than the rest, but was also considerably superior by birth and breeding, outdid them all by the very magnitude and nature of her boast!

"I," said she, when her friends called on her to speak and tell them what special qualification she had, "I am destined to give birth to the Sun and the Moon."

Her companions were taken aback at this strange declaration, and while some giggled, others laughed at her as a dreamer. But the Râjâ, who had watched her with special interest,

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[7] [This story is very interesting as being the result of the telling of European tales to Indian children. Cinderella has become naturalized fairly among native Christians, but the European ghost appears in a very strange form.—Ed.]

was so struck with the force of her strange words, that he was seized with an eager desire to win her in marriage, and thus to share her destiny of bringing the Sun and the Moon in human shape upon earth!

So, when the girl separated from her companions, he followed her up to her house, unnoticed, and found that she belonged to a very respectable Brâhmaṇ family!

This proved, however, no bar to his wishes, for he sent messengers to her father to ask him, or rather to bid him, give his daughter in marriage to him, and where was a subject that had the courage to refuse what royalty marked for his own! So, despite the difference in their castes, the Brâhmaṇ lady was married to the Kshatriya Râjâ amid great pomp and rejoicings on both sides.

Now this Râjâ had three other wives, but his Brâhmaṇ bride was placed above them all on account of the strange and interesting destiny she was reputed to be the means of fulfilling. Consequently, the others grew jealous of her, and now and then devised plans for bringing her into disfavour with the Râjâ, but, for some time, without success.

Things went on like this for some time till it was whispered in the household that the Râṇî was *enciente*, and soon the news got wind, and there were great rejoicings throughout the kingdom, for the Sun and the Moon were soon to be born upon earth! But the Râjâ knew how much he had to fear from the jealousy of his other Râṇîs, and had constantly to be on guard lest they should find means to harm his favoured wife or her expected progeny in some way.

Now, unfortunately, it happened that war broke out with a neighbouring power just when the time of the lady's delivery came near, and the Râjâ had to go out himself at the head of his large army to fight the enemy. So he cautioned his Brâhmaṇ wife against the wiles of her co-wives, and giving her a large drum, told her to beat it with all her might as soon as she was seized with the pangs of maternity, assuring her that the sound of that miraculous instrument would reach him wherever he was, and soon bring him back to her!

As soon, however, as the Râjâ's back was turned, the three crafty and jealous women set to work, and by their wiles and flattery succeeded in inducing the simple Brâhmaṇ girl to tell them all about the drum, and the wicked Râṇîs lost no time in cutting it right through! When the time came for the poor lady to make use of it, she beat it with all her strength, but it would give out no sound! She was too simple, however, to suspect her co-wives of having tampered with it, for she thought all along that they were her well-wishers, as they kept constantly near her and made much of her! She was moreover indiscreet enough to ask them to be near her when her expected twins were born, — the Sun represented by a divinely handsome boy, the Moon by a bewitchingly lovely girl! And now the crafty women had their opportunity. As soon as the little twins came into the world, they covered up the mother's eyes on some pretext or other, and taking away the dear little babes, deposited them side by side, in a little wooden box, and set it afloat in the sea! In the meantime the midwife, whom they had completely bought over to their interests, put in the twins' place, by the mother's side, a log of wood and a broom, and, then calling in the ladies and the officers of the court, told them to see what the lady had given birth to! The poor lady herself, however, refused to believe the hag's story, and suspected foul play, but had not the courage to speak while the Râjâ was absent.

The Râjâ, on his part, had been counting the days as they passed by, and expecting every moment to hear the sound of the drum; but as several days passed and he heard it not, he could no longer control his impatience; so throwing up the chances of war, he at once bent his steps homewards. But what was his surprise on arriving there to see that the courtiers and others who had come forward to meet him, wore long faces, and while some sympathized with him, others laughed at him for being duped by a cunning woman, who had devised that plan of

inveigling him into marrying her ! The Râjâ was beside himself with rage at this, and when he went into the presence of the Râṇî, and the broom and the log of wood were produced before him, he struck the poor lady in his anger and forthwith ordered her to be cast into prison.

And what a prison her enemies contrived her to be consigned to ! It was a dreary little room hemmed in between four massive walls, with just one small window in one of them to let in the air. Some coarse food and water was all that was given to her each day through that small window, and that, too, was barely enough to keep body and soul together ; and in this wretched state the poor creature had to pass endless days and nights. Hope, however, sustained her through this trial, for she knew that she was innocent, and that a day would come when those who had brought about her ruin would be exposed.

While these events were taking place, the wooden box which contained the two little babes floated calmly on the surface of the ocean, till at last it was cast on a distant shore just at the feet of a poor devotee of the Sun, who lived by begging, and spent his days and nights on the desolate beach, worshipping the Sun and the Moon by turns. He eagerly picked up the box, and on opening it, was no less surprised than delighted to see what it contained ! The cry of hunger, which the dear little things gave just as the box was opened, awakened a feeling of the deepest love and tenderness in his breast, and he wished he were a woman and could suckle them, for he had with him then neither milk nor any other kind of food which he could give them. In sheer desperation, therefore, if only to keep them from crying, he put a finger of his into each of the little mouths, when lo ! the poor hungry babes began to derive sustenance from them and were soon satisfied. The devotee was delighted at this, and, taking the little ones into his hut, fed them in this strange manner whenever they were hungry, and soon found that they throve beautifully on the nourishment they derived from his fingers !

After a year or so, when the little ones were able to eat solid food, he would put them in some safe place, and, going into the neighbouring town, beg food for them in the name of the Sun and the Moon. The people all reverenced this good man, and cheerfully gave him what they could spare, and he would return to his hut and divide what he thus got with the little ones, just as a loving mother would do. Now the devotee, by means of his occult powers, had found out who his little charges were, and had consequently named the boy Sûrya and the girl Chandrâ. When Sûrya and Chandrâ were about seven or eight years old, the good old man felt that his end was approaching. So, one day he called them to his bedside and gave them two things, a stove in which he had constantly been in the habit of keeping a fire burning, and a stick with a rope attached to it. He told them that if they wanted for anything after he was dead, they had only to burn some incense on the fire in the stove, and they would get it. As for the stick and the rope, he told them that, if ever they wanted to chastise or punish any one, they had only to whisper their instructions to the stick and the rope, and they would immediately set to work and give the culprit as good a thrashing as ever was given to anyone.

Soon after the good old devotee had gone to his rest, the two young people thought of going forth into the world and finding out who their parents were, for they had learnt from their late benefactor how they had been discarded and entrusted to the mercy of the waves.

So, as a first step, they expressed to the stove a wish to have a beautiful garden, and in it a golden palace, such as human hands could never build, in a place they chose for themselves. And soon they found themselves in a gorgeous golden palace whose walls and roof shone so brightly against the Sun, that they cast a strong reflection on their father's palace which was, as chance would have it, situated at the distance of about ten miles from it ! The Râjâ was surprised at this, and sent forth his men to make inquiries as to the source of that strange light, when he was told that a lustrous palace of pure gold had risen up in the midst of the jungle, and was occupied by a beauteous lady and her brother. At this mention of a beauteous lady, the Râjâ was seized with an eager desire to see her, and to win her favour, and

offered a large reward to any one who would undertake to persuade her to let him have just a look at her.

Several persons came forward to compete for the reward, but the Râjâ selected out of them one, a shrewd old hag with a glib and flattering tongue, and sent her forth on her errand.

By bribing the servants of Chandrâ, the fair lady of the golden palace, this old hag succeeded in getting admitted into her presence and soon ingratiated herself into her favour. As poor Chandrâ was often left by herself all day long, while her brother was engaged in some outdoor pursuit, she gradually began to like the company of the old hag, who frequently found means to visit her when alone, on some pretence or other. Soon the shrewd woman succeeded in wheedling the innocent young creature into telling her all her strange story, and then set about devising a plan to get rid of Chandrâ's brother. So, one day she said to her: "Fair lady, you have got the best garden the eye ever beheld, all the large trees in it are both beautiful and rare, and is it not a pity, therefore, that such a magnificent collection should lack that rarest of all trees, the sandal-wood tree, which is found at bottom of the well of Chandan Parî!"

"Ah!" sighed Chandrâ, "I should so like to have it!" and the cunning woman, seeing her opportunity, enlarged so much upon the merits and the beauty of the tree, that Chandrâ was seized with an eager desire to possess it, and would not let her brother rest, till he promised to go and bring it for her! So one morning Sûrya set out in the direction indicated by the old woman, determined to procure the sandal-wood tree. He travelled on and on for many a day, till one day he perceived a most lovely fairy sitting on the brink of a well in the midst of a very dark and deep jungle. But just as Sûrya's eye fell on her the little sprite hid her face with her hands and dropped swiftly into the well! Sûrya threw himself in after her, and soon found at the bottom a dry path, leading into a large palace situated in the bowels of the earth. He entered it, and the same sweet little fairy again greeted his sight. She would have run away from him this time also, but he speedily took hold of her hand, quieted her fears, and succeeded in getting her to converse with him. They sat talking, till the time came for the return home of the *râkshasa*, whose daughter the *parî* was, when the *parî* converted Sûrya into a fly, in which guise he remained sticking to the ceiling right over the lady's head. The râkshasa soon entered, with a number of dead bodies of men and women slung over his back, and began sniffing about and calling out loudly that he suspected the presence of a human being in or about the palace. But his daughter said: "Do not be so angry, dear father, without cause, for the smell of human beings that pervades this place proceeds only out of the dead bodies you carry on your back!" The *râkshasa*, however, continued fretting and foaming, and made things very unpleasant for his poor daughter that evening. When morning came, the giant again went out, and the *parî* soon restored Sûrya to his original shape. This went on for some time, till the two became fast friends. So one day Sûrya persuaded his fair companion to tell him whether she knew how her father was to come by his death. Now, the *parî* had learned from her father that there was a pair of doves living in a crevice in the walls of the well, over their heads, one grey and the other milk-white, and that the milk-white dove held his life in its bosom, so that, if it were destroyed, the *râkshasa* would fall where he stood, and instantly come by his death. The simple little *parî* repeated all this to her admirer, and he lost no time in profiting by the information he thus obtained, and one morning as soon as the *râkshasa* went out, he went to the well, and pulling the two doves out of the crevice, flung the grey one away into the air, and instantly broke the neck of the milk-white one.

The *râkshasa*, who was somewhere about, gave a tremendous yell as he felt his own neck wrung violently, and fell down dead with a heavy thud. Instantly, there sprung up around Sûrya a host of other râkshasas, fierce, strong, and wild, who would have instantly killed

him for having destroyed their chief, but he forthwith **drew out his miraculous stick and rope,** which he always carried with him, and bid them tie up all the *râkshasas* and give them as severe a thrashing as they could. The stick and the rope speedily set to work, and the *râkshasas* received so severe a thrashing that they all roared out with pain and begged of our hero to have pity upon them, and promised in that event to become his slaves and remain so all their lives.

"Very well, then," said Sûrya; "do as I bid you. Bring the *parî* and the Chandan-tree, that is the boast of her garden, out of this well, and follow me." The *râkshasas* were nothing loath, for one of them jumped in and brought out the *parî*, all trembling and disconsolate at the loss of her father, while the others went into the garden, and, cutting out a portion of the ground on which the Chandan-tree grew, followed Sûrya and the *parî* to the palace of gold.

Chandrâ was in ecstacies, not only to see her brother alive and well, but also the Chandan-tree she had been longing so much for, and the pretty little **Chandan Parî** as well.

The old hag, however, who had never expected Sûrya to come back alive, was disconcerted at his sudden arrival, as it interfered with her plans regarding his sister. She, however, stifled her disappointment as best she could, and, putting on a pleasant smile, welcomed our hero with every manifestation of regard and admiration, and congratulated him on having attained his object. Sûrya then persuaded Chandan Parî to forgive him for having caused her father's death, and to give him her hand in marriage, and the three lived happily together in that magnificent palace for some time, Chandrâ and the *parî* having become fast friends. But the old hag, who was bent upon Sûrya's destruction, again devised a plan to get rid of him, and one day, while he was talking to his sister and extolling the charms of his fairy wife, the old wretch, who was present, craftily put in, by way of a remark, that he thought his Chandan Parî beautiful, only because he had not seen the world-renowned **Parî of Unchhatra,** who lived under the magnificent tree called Unchhatra.

Sûrya at once fell into the trap, and expressed his determination to go in search of this new *parî* at once. Now this *parî*, as the hag well knew, was as cruel as she was beautiful, and all those that went to win her came back no more! **She had a magic comb,** which she kept constantly with her, and as soon as any one rode near enough to lay hands on her, she turned up her hair with it, and, in the twinkling of an eye, both horse and rider were transformed into stone! Our hero, however, who knew nothing of this, put a pinch of incense over the fire in the magic stove, and wished that he might be provided with a fleet steed, such as would traverse the longest distance in the twinkling of an eye, and lo, there presently stood before him just such a horse!

Sûrya was delighted, and soon taking leave of his *parî*-wife and his beloved sister, he mounted the fiery charger, and galloped away like lightning. The gallant charger seemed to know the abode of the *parî* of Unchhatra, and to be aware also of the trick of the comb, for, as soon as he spied her sitting under her favourite tree, he leapt almost right into her lap, and, before she could raise her hand and put the comb to her hair, Sûrya seized her by the wrist, and wrested it away. Unchhatrâ, finding herself thus suddenly deprived of her magic power, fell down at the feet of her valiant conqueror, and swooned right away. Sûrya promptly dismounted, and, raising her head on his lap, tried every means to bring her round. As soon as she was restored to her senses, and was able to speak, she acknowledged Sûrya's supremacy over her, and promised to be his slave and servant all her life. The only favour, however, which she asked of him, when he had assured her of his forgiveness, was to be allowed to make use of her comb once more, not to do harm to anybody, for that power was now lost to her for ever, but to undo the mischief it had already caused. Our hero consented, and restored the comb to her, and she immediately turned her beautiful golden hair downwards with it, when, in a moment, several large stones, that were lying scattered about here and there, began to assume strange shapes, and soon numberless young men and horses were seen "to rouse and bestir themselves

ere well awake." The *parî* asked pardon of all the young men for having allowed them to lie there so long, bereft of sense and motion, and they willingly forgave her, and, seeing the coveted place by her side already occupied by one who appeared far above them all, both in looks and bearing, they bowed low their heads to Sûrya and went their different ways.

Our hero then went home with his new *parî* and her Unchhatra-tree and soon there was another wedding at the golden palace, and both the *parîs*, being very sensible young ladies, lived harmoniously together as co-wives. But the old hag, who, up to this time, had been doing her best to lure poor Chandrâ to destruction, although without success, began now to find the place too hot for her, for the *parî* of Unchhatra, who was as clever as she was beautiful, saw through the flimsy veil of friendship under which the wretch had been hiding her black purpose, and persuaded her husband to send her to the right about. So the crafty old woman had to return crestfallen into the presence of the Râjâ, who immediataly consigned her to the tender mercies of the executioner for having failed to perform the task she had undertaken.

Now the good *parî* of Unchhatra, who was blessed with the faculty of knowing the past, the present, and the future, one day told Sûrya and Chandrâ all the strange history of their birth and parentage, and they were agreeably surprised to learn that their father was a Râjâ, who lived in a city only about ten *kôs*[1] distant from their palace. The *parî* then advised them to arrange a grand feast, and invite the Râjâ and all his subjects to it. Sûrya and Chandrâ did accordingly, and asked of the fire in the magic stove to erect for them a row of *maṇḍapas,* stretching from the palace almost to the gates of their father's city, provided with every comfort and luxury, and soon there rose up in the jungle as magnificent a line of canvas structures as human eyes ever beheld before! Separate *maṇḍapas* were set apart for each different caste of people, so that not only were the Brâhmaṇs and the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas provided for, but even the poor down-trodden 'Sûdras were not forgotten! They, too, had a group of *maṇḍapas* to themselves, fitted up and decorated in such a sumptuous style that the Râjâ, as he came to the feast with his three wives and a gay train of courtiers and followers, was nearly walking into one of them by mistake, and thus polluting himself! What then can we say of the range of *maṇḍapas* that were set apart for the Râjâ himself and his Râṇîs! The ceiling was formed to resemble the lustrous concave of the sky, and was spangled with the brightest diamonds and sapphires to represent the Sun and the Moon and the Stars! The furniture and fittings also, which were of gold, silver and diamonds, were in perfect keeping with the magnificent ceiling — in short, there was nothing left to be desired.

Now the object of the *parî* of Unchhatra in getting her husband to invite the Râjâ to the feast with all his subjects, high or low, so that not a dog should be left behind, was, by that means to oblige him to bring also his discarded wife—the mother of his twin children, and therefore his most rightful Râṇî. But when she was told that he had the effrontery to come without her, leaving her behind hemmed in between the four walls of her prison, when the whole town had turned out to the feast, she instantly ordered that but two seats, or rather *masnads,* were to be placed in the midst of the royal *maṇḍapa,* and stood by watching as the Râjâ entered with his three wicked Râṇîs. Sûrya and Chandrâ lovingly escorted him to one of the seats of honour, and, as the elder of the Râṇîs, who had taken the principal part in bringing about the ruin of the Brâhmaṇ lady, and was now high in the Râjâ's favour, moved forward to take the seat beside him, Unchhatrâ pulled her back, and demanded of the Râjâ whether it was she who had the right to occupy the seat of honour by his side! The Râjâ was nonplussed at this and said nothing, but, as the *parî* insisted upon knowing the truth, he had to confess that there was another, who had once a better right to fill that place, but had forfeited it when she was found out to be an impostor. Unchhatrâ then called upon him to explain what imposture it was that she had practised upon him, and he related how she had inveigled him into marriage with her by boasting that she was destined to be the mother of the Sun and the

[1] About 20 miles.

Moon, and how, instead of giving birth to those luminaries, she had brought forth a broom and a log of wood, and how she had been consigned to prison in consequence. But the *parî*, who, as we said, was cognizant of the whole story, related to the assemblage the trick the elder Rânîs had played upon the poor unoffending Brâhmaṇ girl, and the way in which they had mercilessly cast adrift her new born babes, and called upon the midwife, who was standing among the crowd around, to testify to the truth of what she said. The midwife, seeing the turn things had taken, made a clean breast of everything, and the whole assemblage thereupon heaped reproaches upon the heads of the offending Rânîs for having so sinfully misled their lord and master and encompassed the ruin of the mother of the most illustrious twins ever born!

Unchhatrâ then introduced Sûrya and Chandrâ to their father, and so great was the rage of the Râjâ at the treatment they and their mother had experienced at the hands of the wicked co-wives, that he ordered a large pit to be dug near the city gates, and had them buried in it waist deep, and left there to be torn alive by beasts and birds of prey.

Sûrya and Chandrâ, in the meantime, had hastened to the city with some of the Râjâ's attendants, and, breaking open the walls of the prison, brought out their poor long suffering mother! Just a spark of life was all that was left in her poor emaciated frame, but by care and attention she was soon brought round, and who can describe her joy, when she learnt that it was her own dear son and daughter, who had been the means of bringing about her deliverance from what had been to her but a living death.

She embraced her dear twins again and again, and forgot all her past misery in the joy of meeting them.

At last, when she was apprised of the fate of her cruel tormentors and was told that the Râjâ repented of his conduct towards her, and asked to be forgiven, the good Rânî shed tears, and wished to be united to him once more. There was nothing but joy and rejoicings all over the kingdom, when the news went forth that the Râjâ had, after all, had the proud distinction of being the progenitor of the Sun and Moon in human shape upon earth.[2]

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## FOLKLORE IN HINDUSTÂN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C. S.

### *No. 7.—Why the fish laughed.*[1]

A fisherman was once hawking his fish through the city of Âgrâ and came in front of the palace of Akbar Bâdshâh. The princess heard his cries and sent for him into her presence. The moment she looked into the basket, every fish in it began to laugh at her. Now she was her father's only daughter and much loved by him. So she went to Akbar and said :

"Father, I have seen dead fish laugh to-day. I must know the reason or I shall die."

Akbar replied: "Do not distress yourself. I will discover the meaning."

Akbar sent for Bîrbal, and told him that he would have him executed, if he did not explain why the fish laughed. Bîrbal asked for time and went home. There he lay down on his bed in sore distress and would tell no one the cause of his trouble. At last his eldest son induced him to tell what was the matter. He promised his father that he would find out the secret, if his father would get Akbar to give him five thousand rupees for the expenses of his journey.

He got the money and started. On the way he met an old man, who asked him where he was going. He replied that he was going in search of employment. They went on together and at last came to a river. As he was going into the water, young Bîrbal put on his shoes, and took them off when he reached the other side. Then as they passed under a tree the young

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[2] [This story appears in part to have been subjected at some time to Western influence, as the Moon is *feminine* throughout.—ED.]

[1] A folktale told by Dwârika Prasâd, Pâṭhak Brâhmaṇ, of Bithalpur, Pargaṇa Kariyât Sîkhar, Mirzâpur.

man raised his umbrella over his head. They went on farther and came to a village where there was a fine crop of barley standing in a field.

"I wonder if this barley has been ground or not yet!"[2] the young man said to the villager.

When they came to the old man's village he invited his companion to put up at his house, and he agreed to do so. When the old man went into his house he said to his daughter:

"Our guest is the greatest fool I ever saw in my life. He goes barefoot on dry land, and puts on his shoes when he walks in water! When he goes under a tree, he holds up his umbrella! When he sees a barley field, he asks if the grain is ground or not!"

"Whoever he may be, he is not such a fool as you think," the girl answered. "He puts on his shoes in water, because he cannot see the thorns as clearly as he can when he walks on land. He holds up his umbrella under a tree, because he is afraid lest a bird should throw down some dirt on his clothes. When he asked if the barley was ground or not, he meant to enquire whether the owner had borrowed the seed or not, and if the crop belonged to him or to the *mahâjan*. This is a wise man: you must get me married to him."[3]

So they were married, and the young man returned with his bride to Âgrâ. He told her the business on which he had set out, and she said:

"I can explain the riddle!"

When she reached Âgrâ, she wrote a letter to the princess:—

"Be cautious and think over the matter in your mind."

When the princess got this message, she was wrath, and said to her father:

"It is time that Bîrbal was forced to rede the riddle or bear the consequences."

When Akbar sent for Bîrbal, he sent back an answer that his daughter-in-law would explain the matter. So she was called into the *zanâna*, and Akbar was present. The girl said:

"The box of the princess must be opened before the mystery can be explained."

"My box shall never be opened," the princess screamed.

"Let it be opened at once," shouted Akbar.

And lo and behold! When it was opened out bounced four strapping young men!

"Now you see why the fish laughed!" said the girl. Akbar was confounded and had the princess and her lovers buried in the ground with their heads exposed and shot at with arrows till they died.

## NOTES.

This tale is in many ways instructive. A story very similar is recorded from Kaśmîr by Mr. Knowles (*Folktales of Kashmîr*, pp. 484-90). The queen of the Kaśmîrî story has been localised at Âgrâ, and the whole tale has been brought home into the familiar Akbar-Bîrbal, Cycle. In the Kaśmîrî tale, the youth asks the old man to give him a lift, meaning that he should beguile the road by telling stories. They are refused food in a city, and given some in a cemetery. The corn incident is in both, as well as that of the shoes. The youth asks the old man to cut two horses with a knife, meaning sticks, and he enquires if his ridge beam is sound, meaning to ask if he can afford to entertain a guest. The message to the queen is much more mysterious, and a young man disguised as a female slave in the *zanâna*, is discovered by all the servants being made to jump over a pit.

Mr. Jacob's remarks (*Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 250 sq.) may be quoted: "The latter part is the formula of the Clever Lass who guesses riddles. She has been bibliographised by Prof. Child (*English and Scotch Ballads*, I. 485); see also Benfey, *Kl. Schr.* II. 156 sq. The sex test

[2] [The ignorance of the rich and great as to agricultural matters is a standing joke among the Indian peasantry.—ED.]

[3] [We are now launched on an interesting set of those stock riddles, which perhaps represent what remains of an ancient form of divination.—ED.]

at the end is different from any of those enumerated by Prof. Köhler on Gonzenbach. (*Sezil. Mähr.* II. 216.) Here we have a further example of a whole formula, or series of incidents, common to most European collections, found in India, and in a quarter, too, where European influence is little likely to penetrate. Prof. Benfey in an elaborate dissertation (*Die Kluge Dirne* in *Ausland* 1859, Nos. 20-25, now reprinted in *Kl. Schr.* II. 156 sq.) has shewn the wide spread of the theme in early Indian literature (though probably there derived from the folk) and in modern European folk literature."

The old village Brâhmaṇ, of Mirzâpur, who told the story was certainly ignorant of any European folklore, and the change in the incidents and its localization between Kaśmîr and the North-West Provinces are most instructive.[4]

*No. 8. — The Princess who loved her Father like Salt.*[1]

There was once a king who had **three sons and five daughters.** One day he called them into his presence and **asked each of them how much they loved him.** One said that she loved him like sugar, another like sweets, and so on; but **the youngest princess,** who had lately been married, said that she **loved him like salt.** He was very angry and said, "Bitter love is no love at all." So he ordered his men to take her and expose her in the jungle.

When she found herself alone she feared the wild beasts, and began to weep, and as she wept she began to **scratch the ground with a piece of stick.** Immediately she **saw** a staircase of gold and when she scraped away some more earth she saw **a golden tank** beneath the ground. She then sent for masons and made them build her **a palace all of gold,** and there she lived until her son was born.

**One day her father dreamed** that he was sitting on a platform of silver, beneath a tree of gold whose leaves were made of the topaz; and among them sat a peacock. In the morning he went to his court and told his courtiers of his dream. "Whoever will shew me the things I have seen in my dream," said he, "to him I will give half my kingdom." Many soldiers tried to perform the task and failed; at last the princes undertook it, and rode away on the quest. By chance they came into the jungle where their sister lived. She was sitting on the balcony, and recognised them. She said to her son, "Your uncles are passing by; go and call them." When they came in they were astonished to see such a splendid palace in the jungle. At last they came to think that it must be the abode of Ṭhags, and in fear and trembling they went inside. The boy made them sit down and brought them food; but they feared that it was poisoned and would not eat it, and buried it in the ground. Soon after the boy returned and asked them where they were going. They told him their mission, and he asked them to let him accompany them. They thought to themselves that the boy was a Ṭhag, and wished to join them in order to rob or murder them. So they thought it best to start at once and not to take him with them.

When the boy returned and found that they had started without him, he told his mother what they had said, and then set out in pursuit of them. When he came up to them he said: "Why do you distrust me? If you let me go with you, I will help you in your enterprise." So he went on with them, and after some time they came to a well and they told him to draw water for them. When he looked into the well he saw a gate; and he called out: **"I see a gate in the well.** I am going in to see what is there. Wait here six months for me." He jumped into the well, passed through the gate, and came into a lovely garden in which was a splendid palace. He went inside and looked about and on a couch in one of the rooms he saw **a beautiful fairy; but her head had been cut off and was laid at her feet.** He hid

[4] [I would throw out, as a hint for the ultimate solution of the origin of such tales, the fact that riddles are still used as a form of divination precisely in the manner in which we find them employed in Indian folktales. See *Golden Bough*, II. 162: *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 196.—ED.]

[1] Told by Shiudâs Chamâr of Chaukiya, Mirzapur.

himself close by, and in the evening a Deo arrived. When he came in, he joined the fairy's head to her body, and gave her a slap on her right cheek, when she revived, and they began to talk and laugh together. Then she got up and brought food for the Deo. When he had eaten, he slept beside her, and in the morning he started off in search of his prey.

When the boy saw that she was alone, he went in and revived her as the Deo had done. She asked him how he had found his way there. "If the Deo finds you here," said she, "he will eat you." "As I am here I will stay here," he said; and as he was very handsome, the fairy allowed him to remain. Towards evening when it became time for the Deo to return she taught him a *mantra* and said, "I am going to turn you into a bug. When you please you can regain your original shape by repeating this spell." So he became a bug, and she put him into her own bed. When the Deo arrived he called out, "*Khanmansâyan, khanmansâyan,*" that is to say, "Fee fo fum! I smell a man." But she pacified him and said, "There is no one here but me." And he lay down and slept till morning, and, as usual, cutting off her head he went abroad. The boy then turned himself back into his original shape and revived the fairy. She asked him why he had left his native land, and he told her the whole story. "We are three sisters," said she; "my name is Chândî Parî (Silver Fairy); the second is Sônâ Parî (Gold Fairy); and the third is Zamurrad Parî (Topaz Fairy). We are all in the hands of this Deo. If you go to Sônâ Parî your object will be accomplished."

So she gave him a letter to Sônâ Parî, and he took it to her. He found her in the same state as Chândî Parî, and he brought her to life in the same way. When she read her sister's letter she received him very kindly, and when the Deo came she also turned him into a bug. Next day she gave him a letter and sent him on to Zamurrad Parî, whom he also found in the same condition as her sisters. He began to plot with her how he could manage to release the three sisters. He said, "If you agree to accept my aid, when the Deo comes, tell him that, when he goes away, you are very lonely and frightened here all by yourself, and that it would be a good thing if he would bring your sisters here." When the Deo came that night he began to boast and said, "The world does not hold the man who can take my life. But, of course, I would die if my pigeon were killed." "Which pigeon do you mean?" she asked. "In Fulân jungle," he said, "there is a banyan tree, and on it hangs my pigeon in a cage. If any one were to get my pigeon I am ruined." She then induced him to bring her sisters to her, and he repeated a *mantra* and the three came together. After some time the boy asked leave from the fairies to go home, and they said, "All three of us love you, and you shall not go without us." Further they said, "You must go to Fulân jungle and find the banyan tree, open the cage kill the pigeon, and then the Deo will die also."

He did as they told him, and when the Deo was dead, he asked them leave to go home. They gave him three pictures of themselves, and taught him a *mantra* and said, "Whenever you wish our presence you have only to repeat this spell, and we will come out of our pictures." Further they said, "If you wish to make a platform of silver and the other things such as your grandfather saw in his dream, you have only to cut off our heads, and anything you desire will appear."

So the boy dived up the well, and when he was only two cubits from the top he called out to the princes to help him out; but they said, "We will not take you out unless you give us the things which you have brought with you." He gave them the pictures of the fairies; but when they got them, they would not take him out, and he was obliged to go back and live in the house to which he had gone at the beginning. The princes went home, and as they were passing the place where the boy's mother lived, she asked them what had become of her son. They answered that he had been with them until a few days before, and had then gone away by himself. She sent men to search for him, and by chance they halted by the same well. Hearing the sound of voices he came up, and when they saw him they pulled him out. When he came to his mother he told her all that had happened, and then he went to see his grand-

father. He found many people collected there, and they were talking about the platform which the king had seen in his dream. He complained to the king that the princes had robbed him of three pictures. The King ordered the pictures to be produced, and when the princes brought them he told them to produce the platform and other things by means of them; but they could not do so as they were ignorant of the spells. The boy then asked the king's leave to try, and permission was given him. He at once produced a platform of silver, a tree of gold with leaves of topaz, and a peacock sitting in the branches. So the king offered him half his kingdom and the hand of his daughter; but he said that he could accept nothing until he took the advice of his mother. The king agreed to go with him, and when they sat down to eat there was no salt in any of the dishes. The king did not like the food, and then the princess sent him a dish seasoned with salt. This he liked, and she then fell at the feet of her father, and told him the whole history. He was much pleased to get her back, and took her to the palace. He put her son on the throne, and they all lived happily.

## NOTES.

The story is incomplete, but is exactly as the narrator, a village labourer, told it. The fairies should come in and have their heads cut off before the platform is made, and the wicked fairies should be punished. *Khanmansâyan*, = "fee fo fum," in Chamâr tales. I suppose it comes from *khâna* = to eat: *manushya* = man. The fairies with palaces underground reached through wells, and the Life Index of the Deo are familiar. He is as stupid as these goblins usually are.

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# NOTES AND QUERIES.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KAKATIYA DYNASTY.

The Êkâmranâtha inscription, edited by Dr. Hultzsch (*ante;* Vol. XXI. p. 197), furnishes the following list of the Kâkatîyas of Orangal:—

(1) Betmarâja.
(2) Prôḍarâja.
(3) Rudradêva.
(4) Mahâdêva.
(5) Gaṇapati; S. 1172 = A. D. 1250.

Dr. Hultzsch assumes that the "Rudradêva" of this group is identical with the "Rudra" of the Anumakoṇḍ inscription and that he was, consequently, a son of Prôḍarâja. This assumption, however, involves a serious chronological difficulty. The Anumakoṇḍ inscription furnishes Rudra with the date S. 1084 = A. D. 1162, and by its evidence he would appear to have begun to reign in A. D. 1160. Ganapati's date, according to the Êkâmranâtha inscription, is S. 1172 = A. D. 1250, 90 years later. If we accept Dr. Hultzsch's genealogy of the Kâkatîyas we have only one king — Mahâdêva — to fill the gap.

Tradition records that Mahâdêva fell in battle in the third year of his reign. But apart from this, in order to bridge the distance, we should have to give Gaṇapati a much longer reign than we are, under the circumstances, entitled to do.

We know that Gaṇapati died in A. D. 1257, and local records say he was succeeded by his wife, who survived him either 28 or 38 years. If there is any truth in this, it suggests the inference that Gaṇapati himself had a short reign. It is impossible, however, to place implicit reliance on this kind of evidence, and in this case the *Pratâparudrîya* of Vidyânâtha makes his successor his daughter.

In spite of this, however, there is still a difficulty in covering the period between Rudra and Gaṇapati satisfactorily.

If we give Rudra a 30 years' reign, his father Prôḍa having probably had a long one, and allow to Mahâdêva the usual 25 years, we should still have to assume a 40 years' reign for Gaṇapati, for which we have no special justification.

The possibility has been suggested of another Gaṇapati and another Rudra having intervened between the Rudra of the Anumakoṇḍ inscription and the Mahâdêva of the Êkâmranâtha group. This is by no means unlikely.

In the first place, to judge from the wording of the Êkâmranâtha inscription there is nothing to suggest that the Rudra mentioned in it is a son of Prôḍarâja. It merely states —"after him," *i. e.*, Prôḍarâja, "this race was adorned by Rudradêva." There is nothing in this to necessitate

the identification of this prince with the "Rudra" of the Anumakoṇḍ inscription. He may as easily have been a later ruler of the same name. The similarity of the names might very easily cause confusion and lead to the omission of the other reigns by those who incised the Êkâmranâtha inscription.

But the likelihood of the hypothesis receives apparent support from another quarter.

*Ante,* Vol. XXI. p. 197, Dr. Hultzsch mentions three synchronisms as existing between the Yâdavas and the Kâkatîyas. That between Mallugi and Rudra, and that between Siṅghaṇa II. and Gaṇapati, he establishes satisfactorily. But when he affirms that Jaitugi the Yâdava (A. D. 1191-1209) was also a contemporary of Gaṇapati it seems impossible to follow him.

In the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hêmâdri (see Bhandarkar's *Dekkan,* p. 82) Jaitugi is represented as slaying "Rudra, lord of the Tailaṅgas," while the Paiṭhn grant of Râmachandra states that he established Gaṇapati on his throne. It is natural, at first sight, to identify this Gaṇapati, as Dr. Hultzsch has done, with the prince of that name in the Êkâmranâtha inscription. But to do so involves a chronological difficulty of which he has apparently lost sight.

To make Gaṇapati a contemporary of Jaitugi, we must suppose his reign to have begun a year or two at least before A. D. 1209, Jaitugi's final date. As he died in A. D. 1257, that would give him a 50 years' reign; but we have no justification for such an assumption, and the weight of our evidence, such as it is, is all the other way.

The supposition of an earlier Gaṇapati, if it could be proved a fact, would meet the case exactly. The list of the Kâkatîyas would then stand somewhat as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prôla, Prôdarâja ... ... | circ. A. D. | 1110–1160 |
| Rudra I.... ... ... ... ... | „ „ | 1160–1195 |
| Gaṇapati I. ... ... ... ... | „ „ | 1195–1220 |
| Rudra II. ... ... ... ... | „ „ | 1220–1237 |
| Mahâdêva (traditionally) | „ „ | 1237–1240 |
| Gaṇapati II.... ... ... ... | „ „ | 1240–1257 |

Is it not possible that some of the numerous Kâkatîya inscriptions might throw light on this point and clear away some of the confusion of names and dates, which at present prevents the formation of any satisfactory and systematic chronology of the dynasty? Perhaps some contributor might be able to direct his attention to this problem.

C. MABEL DUFF.

INTERCHANGE OF INITIAL K AND P IN BURMESE PLACE-NAMES.

*Ante,* p. 19, I noted the change of Kaþêng to Paþêng (Bassein) and of Kak'àn to Pak'àn (Pak'àngyî). I now give more instances. Mr. Thirkell White informs me that the modern Puntu, a Kachin village in the Bhamo district,= Kuntu of older writings.

Of the reverse process there is an instance at Maulmain. The "Farm" Caves near that town are well known to visitors, as one of the sights. The word "Farm" represents the old Shân P'ârum=Burmese K'ayun. Also in Talaing the Burmese word Bamâ, a Burman, becomes Khamâ: see Haswell's *Peguan Language,* p. 46.

By the way, from an inspection of the Burmese inscriptions preserved at the Mahâmunî Pagoda at Mandalay I find that the spelling of Kuk'àn (*ante,* p. 19) is really and invariably Kûk'àn.

R. C. TEMPLE.

TALAPAY—TALAPOIN.

Here is a contribution towards the solution of the vexed question of the origin of the extraordinary word talapoin = Buddhist monk, so common until quite lately.

In the Museum of Archæology at Cambridge there is a figure of Buddha of the usual modern type, with a brass chain round its neck, from which is hung an engraved medallion. On the medallion is cut the inscription given below and the figure of a Buddhist priest or monk. The figure is a very incorrect rendering of the reality, and belongs to the type of figure to be found in La Loubère's *Kingdom of Siam,* 1693, and in the Pères Jesuites' *Voyage de Siam,* 1686, and other illustrated books and maps of that period. Beyond that the image came from the Fitzwilliam Museum, it has, I believe, no further history. So the date may be taken as about 1700 A. D.

*Inscription.*

Talapay | i. e. Religiosi | in Pegu Regno | effigies ||
inventa in Templo ruinoso ad ripam fluminis Syrian ||.

From this we gather that the old visitor to Burma thought that the image of Buddha was an image of a monk, probably on account of the dress, and that he found it either in a *kyaung* (monastic building), or in a pagoda, on the banks of the Pegu River near Syriam.

Talapay is an interesting variant of the well known Talapoin.

R. C. TEMPLE.

# NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES IN RAMANNADESA

(THE TALAING COUNTRY OF BURMA).

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE. *

## I. The Caves about Maulmain.

IN company with Mr F. O. Oertel, I made, in April 1892, a short inspection of the caves referred to by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in his "Notes on an Archæological Tour in Râmaññadêsa," *ante*, Vol. XXI. pp 377ff.

Attention was chiefly paid to the cave remains in the neighbourhood of Maulmain[1] and Thatôn (Ɖat'ôn). Those that were visited, and it may be said, that are so far known, were:—

(1) the 'Farm' Caves, about 10 miles from Maulmain on the At'aràn River;

(2) the D'ammaɓâ Caves, 18 miles from Maulmain on the Jain (Gyaing) River;

(3) the P'âgàt Caves, on the Salween River, 26 miles from Maulmain;

(4) the Kògun Caves, on the Kògun Creek, near P'âgàt, 28 miles from Maulmain;

(5) the B'injî Caves, on the Dônɗamî River, 51 miles from Maulmain and 15 miles from Thatôn.

Maulmain being a great meeting point of navigable rivers, all these places can be visited from it by launches, and, except B'injî, are within an easy day's journey, there and back. But they are all, except the Farm Caves, out of the regular routes, and are, consequently, but little visited, —indeed as regards the travelling public they are quite unknown, owing to the fact that it is necessary to engage a launch especially for the journey, a very expensive form of travelling, and not always available even on payment, except by special agreement.

In addition to those to the Caves, short visits were paid to Thatôn and Martaban, the weather being at the former very unfavourable and fully bearing out the statement in the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions at Pegu concerning "this very rainy country of Râmañña."[2]

It is extraordinarily difficult to obtain any information in Maulmain concerning the antiquities of the surrounding country. From statements made to me it would appear that many caves exist along the At'aràn River and along the upper reaches of the Dônɗamî River; but until each story is verified it is most unsafe to rely upon anything stated locally.

The *British Burma Gazetteer* states, Vol. II., page 37, that there are no less than 23 groups of caves in the Amherst District, each distinguished by its proper name. Among these may be the following, of which tolerably certain information was given me, locally, along the banks of the At'aràn. All are said to be filled with images and MSS. (1) In a hill opposite the 'Nîdôn Quarries, 26 miles from Maulmain: (2) in a hill a mile and a half inland from the Quarries; here there is a climb over rough boulders and ladders for 400 ft., a narrow and low entrance, a large hall and deep cavity in the main cave, and several smaller caves in the neighbourhood: (3) at P'âbaung, 36 miles up the river; here is a cave with a hole in the ceiling leading to a chamber filled with books and old ivory, which was visited by Crawfurd (*Embassy to Ava*, page 355), and runs right through the rocks, like that at D'ammaɓâ: (4) at the Hot Springs (At'aràn Yêbû), 41 miles up the River; where there are said to be more caves.[3]

Col. Spearman, now Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division and formerly editor of the *British Burma Gazetteer*, has kindly collected for me, in addition to the information above given,

[1] Called Maulmain or Moulmein by the English, Mòlâmyaing by the Burmans, Mutmwêlêm by the Talaings, and Râmapura in historical and epigraphic documents. It seems to have been called Molamyaing and Maulaymyaing by the English at first — *vide* Crawfurd, *Embassy to Ava*, published 1829, pp. 282, 355, *et passim*. In Wilson's *Burmese War*, 1827, the word appears as Moalmein, in a *Gazette* notification of 1826, quoted at p. lii. Low calls it Malamein in his papers, 1833, *As. Res.* Vol. xviii. p. 128 ff.: *Miscell. Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. i. p. 179 f. Mr. Oertel in his *Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April* 1892, pp. 18ff., also mentions the journey herein described.

[2] See *ante*, p. 36.

[3] Probably the same as those mentioned below as being off Kyôndôjî Village. Low in 1833 was up the At'aràn and gives a good account of the At'aràn Yêbû (*Miscell. Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. i. p. 196) and also notices (p. 197) the P'âbaung Cave, which he calls Phabaptaung.

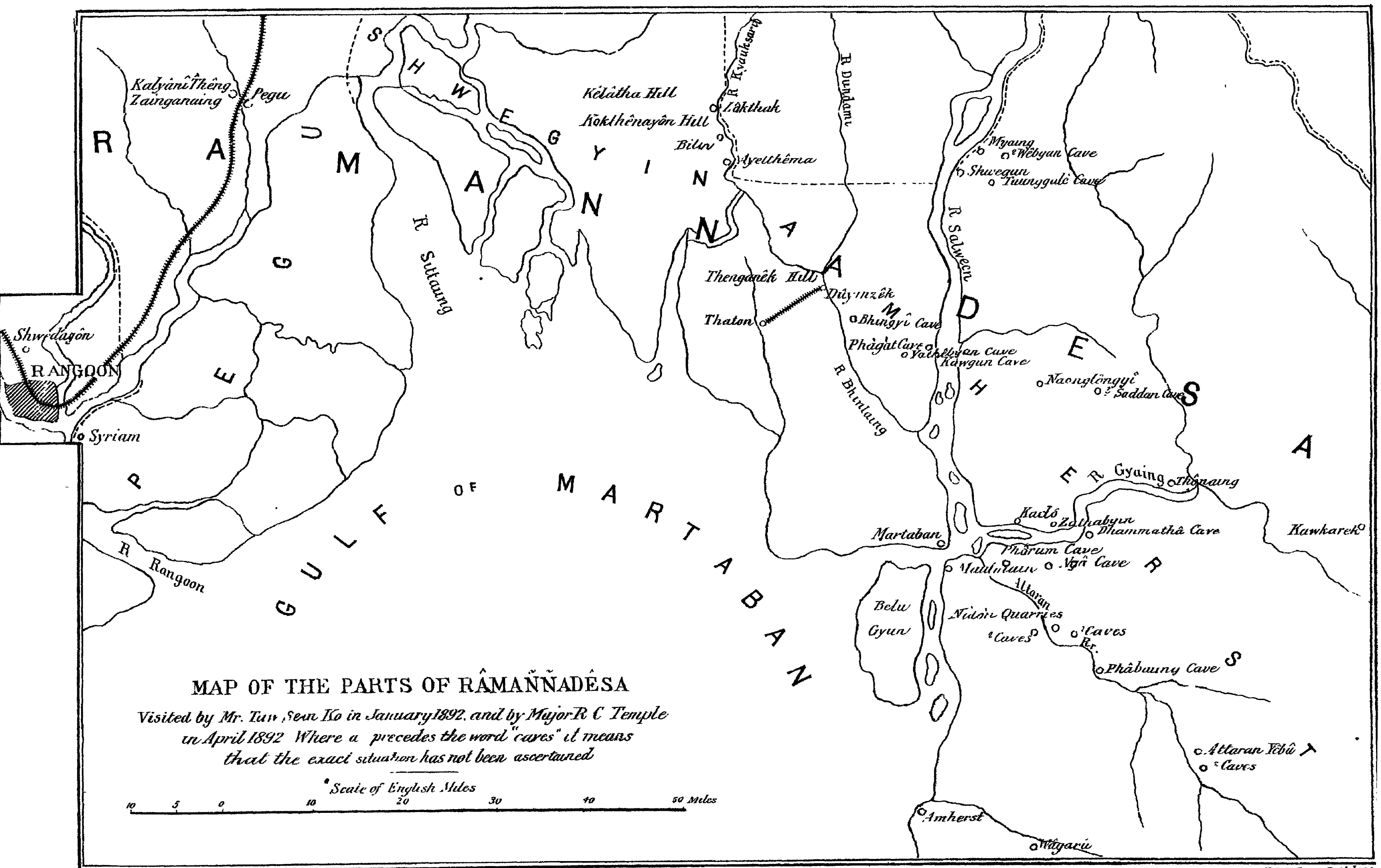
the following **information, from native sources, as to the caves in the Kyaikk'amî or Amherst District.**

**There are in the Jain-Þalwin (Gyne-Salween) Sub-division five caves,** *viz.*, the **K'ayôn-S'addân** (Farm : see *post*, p. 329 ff.) in the K'ayôn Hill, and the **Ngâ** up the At'aràn River : the **D'ammaÞâ** (see *post*, p. 331 ff.) and the **S'addân** up the Jain River. The first four are situated in the Tayânâ Circle, and the last in the Þànpadaing Circle. **The K'ayôn Hill** is a mile and a half from the K'ayôn Village, and two and a half miles from the Zaðabyin Village (on the At'aràn ?). The usual routes are, by road to Nyaungbinzêk, four miles, thence across the Ferry over the Nyaungbinzêk Creek (= At'aràn River), and thence by road to the Hill, four miles: or by boat or launch up the At'aràn River to Zaðabyin Village (on the At'aràn ?), 13 miles, and thence by cart to the Hill, 2½ miles. The **Ngâ Cave** is two and a half miles distant in a separate hill. Only the K'ayôn Cave, of the above, has any remains in it. **The D'ammaÞâ Cave** is reached by boat or launch up the Jain River, 19 miles, and contains about 1,000 images, of which 100 are in good order, and one *chaitya*.[4] **The S'addân Cave** is two miles from Kòs'ênbàn Village, six miles from Naunglônjî Village, and 18 miles north of Zaðabyin (on the Jain). The usual routes from Maulmain are by boat or launch up the Jain River to Zaðabyin, 13 miles, and thence by cart 18 miles: or by boat or launch to Þônaing Village, 28 miles, and thence by cart, 15 miles. This cave is said to be a mile long, and to contain a *chaitya* and three images in bad order (two being broken) at the entrance. It is about 60 feet above ground level, and is reached by 100 masonry steps in practicable repair.

**In the Kòkarêk Sub-division there are eight caves,** *viz.*, **the Sâ, the three P'âbôk Caves, the P'âbàñun, the Taungbàlwè and the YaÞê-Mônt'î.** The first six are in the Myàpadaing Circle and the last two in the Myàwadî, and all are reached from Kyôndôjî Village, which is 47 m. by boat or launch up the Jain River. **The Sâ Cave** is in the little P'âbôk Hill, ten miles from Kyôndôjî. **It contains five or six boxes of old MSS., but no images.** These are said to be in good condition. The cave is 60 ft. above ground level, and is approached through old jungle paths. **The three P'âbôk Caves** are in the Great P'âbôk Hill and about 200 yards apart, nine miles from Kyôndôjî. Two of the caves contain images and *chaityas* in bad repair. The caves are from 30 feet to 60 feet above ground level, and are approached by old jungle paths. **The P'âbàñun Cave** is eight miles from Kyôndôjî. It has no contents and is about 60 feet from the ground level. The approach is bad by difficult jungle paths. **The Taungbàlwè Cave** is nine miles from Kyôndôjî. It is 22 feet above the ground level, approached by bad jungle paths, and has no images in it. **The YaÞê and Mônt'î Caves** are in the T'înô Hill, about fifteen miles from Myàwadî Village, which is 45 miles by road from Kyôndôjî. They are about 60 yards apart and 1,000 feet from the ground level. The YaÞê Cave contains *chaityas*, images and old **MSS.** in bad condition. These caves are very difficult of access through thick jungle and are rarely visited, or as the Burmese informant puts it: — "no one has ever been there !"

**In the P'âgàt Sub-division there are five caves,** *viz.*, **the Kògun, the YaÞêbyàn, the P'âgàt, the Wèbyàn, and the Taunggalê.** The first three are in the B'in'laing Circle and the last two in the Myaingjî Circle. To reach the first three, the usual route is by boat or launch up the Salween to P'agàt, 27 miles (see *post*, p. 336), and thence by road. Each cave is close to a village of the same name, and the first two are each about three miles from P'âgàt by different cart roads, and about three miles from each other. For detailed descriptions of the **P'âgàt and Kògun Caves**, see *post*, p. 335 ff. In the **YaÞêbyàn Cave** are images and *chaityas*. The usual route to the Wèbyàn and Taunggalê Caves is by launch to Shwêgun Village up the Salween, 76 miles, and thence by boat. **Wèbyàn** Village is about six miles beyond Shwêgun, and the cave is some two miles inland. It contains *chaityas* and images, and is about 50 feet above ground level, but is easily approached by steps lately made to the entrance. **The Taunggalê Cave** is similarly about two miles inland from Myaingjî village, which is three miles beyond Shwêgun. This cave is about 700 feet up the hill, approached by a bad road over hill and through jungle. It contains *chaityas* and images.

[4] This local statement is guesswork (see *post*, p. 333).




MAP OF THE PARTS OF RÂMAÑÑADÊSA

Visited by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in January 1892, and by Major R C Temple in April 1892. Where a ? precedes the word "caves" it means that the exact situation has not been ascertained

Scale of English Miles

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles

R. C. Temple. del.

B L S Press Lith. 189

In the Thatôn Sub-division are two caves, the Minlwin and the Winbôn, both in the D'anûminlwin Circle. The usual route is by launch up the Salween and Dônɤamî Rivers, 70 miles, to (?) Dûyinzêk, and thence ten miles back to Winbôn Village by boat. The Winbôn Cave is a mile from the village, but contains no images. The Minlwin Cave in about five miles inland and a mile from Mâjâ Village. It is 400 feet above ground level, and contains no images, but above it is a large marble slab (? inscribed), which is an object of fear and reverence. This information from Thatôn I look upon with some doubt. The description corresponds generally with that of the B'injî Cave given below at p. 338. It is probable that the Minlwin Cave is the same as the B'injî Cave, and that Winbôn is the village I have called later on (p. 338) B'in'laing or Nyaungjàu, and noted as being of doubtful nomenclature. If the Minlwin Cave is really the same as the B'injî Cave, it is quite erroneous to suppose that there are no images and *chaityas* in it.

Near Maulmain there are ten caves in the Kyauktalôn Hill, which is situated in the Kinjaung Circle, about 14 miles from the town by cart road. Of these, four have images and *chaityas*, mostly in bad order. They are about a mile from Kyauktalôn Village and about 20 to 30 yards apart. They are easily approached from the village.

This information, and that I have independently gathered as to the remains, goes to shew that there are at least 40 caves in the Amherst District alone, of which at least 21 contain antiquities of value.

During the time at the disposal of Mr. Oertel and myself for exploration, *viz.*, from the 11th to 15th April 1892, both days included, very little more than ascertaining the localities of the antiquities and the ways and means of reaching them, together with hurried visits, could be accomplished. But enough was seen to establish the archæological value of these caves, and, as regards materials for tracing the evolution of Buddhistic art in Burma, their extreme importance.

In this paper it is intended chiefly, by describing what was seen, to draw attention to these remarkable remains, in the hope that they may be explored, before is it too late, by some one who has the leisure and is properly equipped for the purpose

I may mention that Caves obviously of the same class as those herein described are to be found further East in the Laos States, *vide* Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, pp. 288 ff., 301; Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 240: in Cochin China, *vide* Crawfurd, *Siam and Cochin-China*, p. 286 f.: and in Siam, *vide* Bowring, *Siam*, I. p. 167.

## 2. The 'Farm' Caves.

The 'Farm' Caves, situated about 10 miles from Maulmain, are favorite places for picnics and pleasure parties for the European population of the town, and also for the Native population, — Burmese, Talaings, and Hindu Natives of India,[5]—who combine, however, religious worship with their outing. The Chettis (Madrâsî Hindu money-lending class) of Maulmain have built themselves a rest-house outside one of the Caves, and there is, of course, also a Burmese rest-house or *zayàt*.

The name 'Farm' appears to be a corruption of the Shân name of the place, P'ârum (Pharum). P'ârum, as a place-name, is one of the many relics of the old Shân occupation of this part of Burma, the syllable *p'â* (precipitous rock) appearing in several place-names of the same class in the neighbourhood; *e. g.*, P'âkat (Bur. P'âgàt), P'âàn, P'âbyauk, P'âlàt, P'ânp'â, P'ânun, P'âauk, P'ârôsin, P'âþin, P'âwun, etc. However, the name 'Farm Caves' is so firmly established, so far as concerns Europeans, that it may be safely regarded as the proper one. The Burmese name is K'ayôn[6] (spelt K'arun and pronounced K'ayun to the present writer), after the neighbouring village of that name. Another derivation of "Farm" is from the guano in these caves, which was and perhaps is still, *farmed* out to contractors.

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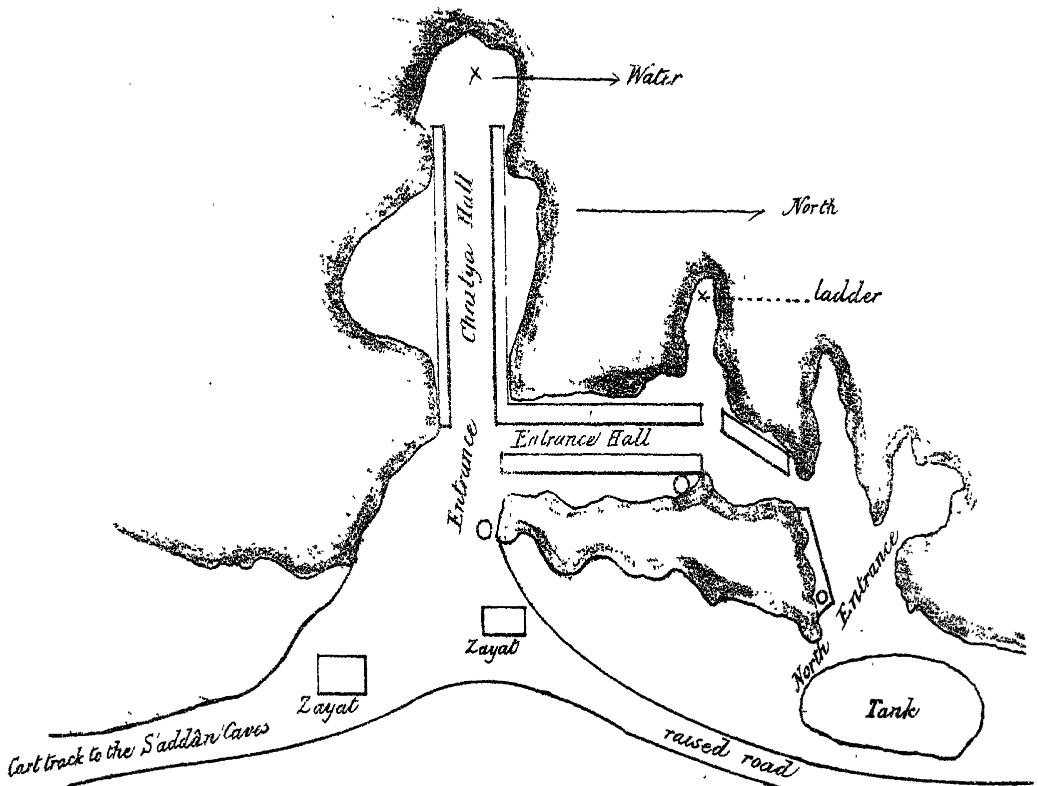
[5] Hindus all over Burma worship at the Buddhist shrines and pagodas. At the great Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon they may be seen at their devotions in considerable numbers. The pagoda and shrine attendants in Lower Burma are usually also Hindus from India, who have taken the place of the old pagoda slaves.

[6] For interchange of initial *p* and *k* in Burmese place-names, see *ante*, p. 19.

The Farm Caves, like all those mentioned in this paper, are situated in isolated hills of limestone rock, which rise picturesquely and abruptly out of the surrounding alluvial plain, and were evidently excavated by the sea at no remote geological period. They are now full of stalactites and stalagmites, some being of large size.

There are two distinct sets, one of which was formerly used for religious purposes and at one time richly ornamented. The other has always been left as nature made it. The former is the K'ayôn Cave proper, the latter, which is about 600 yards distant southwards, is called the S'addân Cave. There is a third unornamented cave called the Ngâ Cave in a hill about 2½ miles distant.

The first set consists of an entrance hall running parallel with the face of the rock, a long hall running into the rock at the south end, evidently meant for the "Chaitya Hall" of Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture* (Chap. V.), and a subsidiary entrance and hall at the north end. This last apparently exists because of the form of the cave, and in front of it is the artificial tank, which invariably accompanies these remains. The following sketch plan will give a general idea of the construction.




*Sketch Plan of the P'ârum [K'ayôn] Cave.*

The straight parallel lines represent brick and plaster platforms erected for images of all sorts; of Gautama Buddha himself and of his worshippers or *yahàns* (= *rahàn*ŝ = Pâḷi, *arahaṁ* = Skr. *arhanta*[7] = *arhat*). At the circular spots near the south entrance and in the Entrance Hall are small pagodas, and at a similar spot near the north entrance is a *s'êdî* (= Pâḷi *chêtiyaṁ* = Skr. *chaitya*) or *t'î*ŝ,[8] as the modern Burmese call it, of interesting construction. At

[7] This word is also preserved in modern Burmese as *rahantâ*, pron. *yahàndà*.

[8] On the platforms of pagodas such structures represent the old top-ornaments or umbrellas (*t'î*ŝs) of the pagoda, which when taken down to make way for new ones are bricked in by small *chaitya*-like structures, and thus preserved for ever. The word *t'î*ŝ has become popularized as *tee* by Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, see p. 64, etc.

the point indicated in the plan there is a bamboo ladder leading up into darkness in the roof, most probably into a higher cave in the rock, but this was evidently too much infested with bats to make exploration desirable at short notice during the visit.

The whole of the caves above described were clearly at one time crammed with images of all sizes, materials and ages, just as the Kògun, B'injî and D'ammaḅâ Caves still are. These have nearly all now been destroyed by iconoclasts, probably chiefly Natives of India, from Maulmain. The proximity of that town, its occupation by the British for nearly seventy years, the existence for many years of a large garrison there, and the callousness of the Burmese to this species of desecration, would easily account for the destruction of invaluable remains that has taken place.

There remain, however, several huge recumbent figures of Gautama[9] Buddha, one measuring 45 feet in length and others not much less, sitting figures of various sizes, and small figures mostly mutilated. The condition of the wood, of which some of these are made attest their antiquity.[10] Some of the stalactites have been ornamented, but this has not been the rule, as it evidently was in some of the other caves, notably that at D'ammaḅâ. All over the sides of the cave and its roof there are signs of former ornamentation with small images of plaster painted white and red, and made of terra-cotta stuck on with a cement. The best preserved of these particular remains are high up on the south wall at the deep end of the Chaitya Hall, where a number of plaster *yahàns* are kneeling opposite one of the huge *Shwêȣâyaungs* or recumbent Gautamas, and in the roof near the entrance. Here advantage has been taken of a small natural dome to picture the 'Church' (*ḅing'â = sang'a*); *i. e.*, a numerous circle of *yahàns* praying round a central figure of Gautama under the Bo (=*Bôd'i*=Bur. *Bòdî*) Tree.[11] Plate I. which is from a photograph taken from the entrance to the Chaitya Hall, looking along the Entrance Hall northwards, indicates this ornamentation and shews the small pagoda above mentioned.

The best way of visiting the Farm Caves is to take a hackney carriage (these are numerous, cheap and proportionately bad in Maulmain) to the Nyaungbinzêk Ferry on the At'aràn[12] River, about four miles, then to cross in the Ferry, and thence proceed by bullock cart to the caves, another four miles or so. There is no difficulty in the journey, as it is constantly made and the people *en route* consequently quite understand what is wanted. It is advisable, however, to give notice to the bullock drivers of the intended journey. The roads are now good all the way.

### 3. The D'ammaḅâ Cave.

The D'ammaḅâ Cave is distant from Maulmain about eighteen miles and is situated near the banks of a side-stream behind an island in the Jain River. There is a village and a small bright gilt pagoda on a high precipitous rock jutting picturesquely,[13] as usual, into the River. (See Plate XIX.) Near the pagoda are *kyaungs* (monastic buildings) of the ordinary village type. The Cave is in a range of limestone rocks of some height behind the village and distant about quarter of a mile, and there is no difficulty in procuring guides from the village. The peculiarity of this Cave is that it runs right through the rock, and so is better lighted than is usually the case.

It contains a great number of stalactites and stalagmites, some very large, and

[9] Skr. Gautama = Pâḷi Gôtama = Burmese Gòdamà and Gòd'amà (= Anglo-Indian *goddama*, used for any Buddhistic image).

[10] Many of the figures are, however, quite modern, having been placed there by worshippers of the present day. Local information places the number at 68, of which only 9 are now in good order.

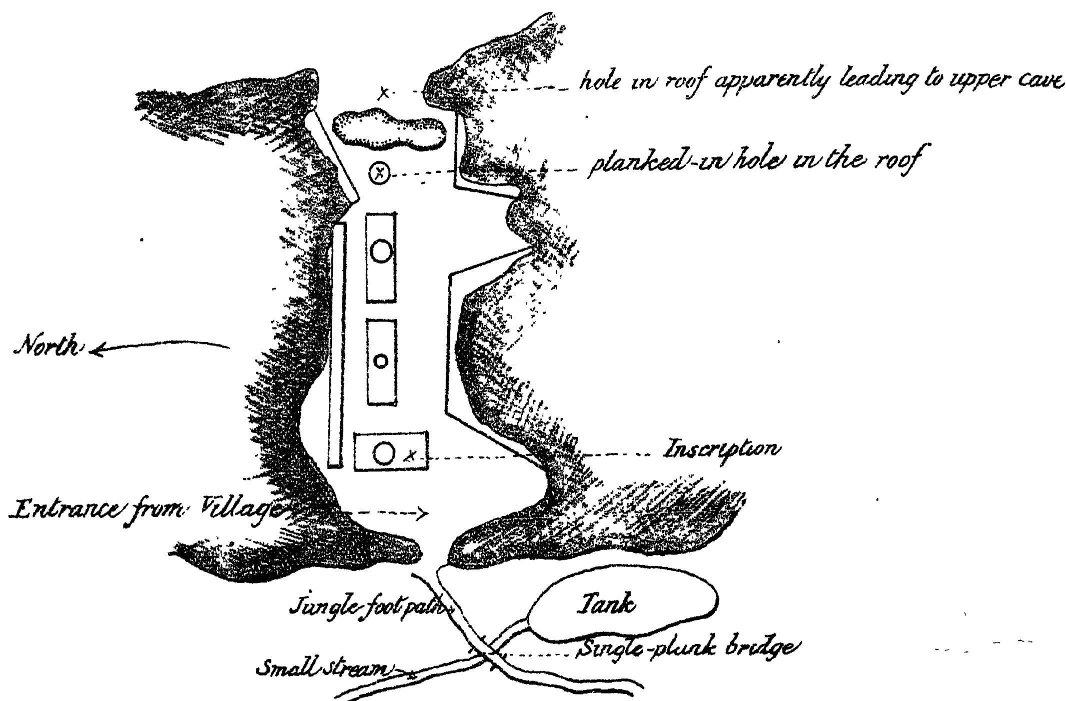
[11] This cave is much disfigured by scribbled names of visitors in many languages: English, French, German, Hindustani, Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Burmese and Chinese.

[12] This word is Attaran in Crawfurd's *Ava*, 1829, and in Spearman's *Gazetteer of Burmah*, 1880. It is Atharam in Wilson's *Burmese War*, 1827, p. lxiii. It is at this point frequently called the Nyaungbinzêk Creek.

[13] One of the most striking facts in Burma is the beautiful and picturesque situations of the pagodas and public buildings. They are comparable in this respect to the religious structures of the Lepchas in Sikkim. See *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, by Sir R. Temple and R. C. Temple, Vol. II. pp. 206-207. Sir R. Temple's *Oriental Experience*, pp. 73-74. See also *post*, p. 361 f.

apparently all were originally ornamented. This may give a clue to the age of the ornamentation on further investigation, by determining whether the unornamented stalactites and stalagmites are posterior to those covered with ornaments, and how long it must have taken them to form. Some of them again are now only partially ornamented, and it is possible that the unornamented parts may have been formed since the ornament was put on.

The accompanying sketch plan gives an idea of this Cave.




Sketch Plan of the D'ammabà Cave

The general design in the interior seems to have been to build up a pagoda or *chaitya* at both the east and west entrances, and to fill in the centre of the hall or cave with images and smaller pagodas. These are raised on platforms. Along the sides is a great mass of images on platforms, such as are shewn in the sketch plan. A general idea of the style of ornamentation and design can be seen from the interior view of the B'injî Cave given on Plate II.

The ornamentation of the roof, sides and stalactites consists of images of Gautama Buddha and Yahàns, of all sizes, from four inches in height to about life-size. These images are of brick and coloured plaster, chiefly red (*hinðapadà*[14]), and of terra-cotta fastened on by a cement. There are also signs of glazed ware having been employed in places, and abundant signs of a general gilding[15] of the figures in days gone by. When new, and brightly colored and gilt, the effect of the ornamentation must have been very fine. (See Plates VI. and VII.) Great numbers of small earthen lamps, of the usual Indian *chirâgh* form, are to be found. These must have been used, as now, for illuminating the images on feast days. Much broken pottery also lies about; the remains no doubt of water-pots and of pots for votive flowers, used on similar occasions.

All the platforms, the pagodas, and the large images down the centre of the Cave, are of

[14] This word is spelt *haṁsapâda* = Skr. 'goose-foot,' and is the name of a mineral (red oxide of mercury) producing the peculiar rich red used in Burma for ornamenting buildings. It is particularly well suited as a ground for gold, black, white or gray ornament.

[15] The gilding was not always of good quality, as in many instances the images that remain are now simply covered with verdigris.

brick and plaster, and now very much ruined. There is a general idea among those who have visited this Cave, which is repeated in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 138, that the ruin has been caused by some enemy of the Talaings. However, unless direct historical evidence is forthcoming to support that argument, it may be put forward, as the more likely theory, that the destruction now visible is that which is inevitable in Burma. When a pagoda or image is once built or made, and the *kúbô*, (spelt *kusôl* = Pâḷi *kusalaṁ*, a 'good work') or religious merit, gained thereby has accrued, no more interest is taken in its preservation; and as every pagoda contains a treasure chamber of sorts, and as each large image is supposed to have valuables buried somewhere inside it, they are sooner or later dug into in search for treasure. This is sure to happen after any political disturbance, when anarchy, for a time at any rate, always supervenes. Plates IV. and V. shew pagodas thus treated in the Kògun Cave, and it may be said that, in the Cave remains in Ramaññadêsa generally, it is the rule for pagodas and large images to have suffered thus. This fact alone is sufficient to account for the ruin observable at D'ammaɓà.

The Eastern Pagoda is utterly ruined and is now a mere mass of bricks, plaster and broken images, some of which may still possess great archæological value. Immediately above it there is a hole in the roof, now boarded-over. This leads to an upper chamber or cave, in which are still stored sadaiks, or book-coffers, containing Talaing MSS., no doubt of unique value, if still legible and fit to take to pieces. The *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II., p. 37, suggests that there are such documents to be found in the other caves. It hardly needs argument to shew that they should be removed as soon as possible to places, where they can be preserved until they can be properly utilized.[16]

Outside the eastern entrance there is a funnel leading upwards in the rock, but whether this ceases abruptly or leads to the boarded-in chamber could not be ascertained on the spot.

There is a very large number of images of all sizes and in all stages of preservation, lying in utter confusion about the floor and the sides of this Cave. Plate II. relating to the B'inji Cave, gives some idea of the state of the floor at D'ammaɓâ. These images evidently belong to all dates, from that of the first use of the Cave for religious purposes up to quite modern times. They are made of many materials: — wood, alabaster, limestone, plaster and terra-cotta, amongst others. The wooden images are probably the most valuable for antiquarian purposes. They are mostly now coated over with a black preparation which looks like Burmese resin (pron. *ɓissî*, spelt *sachchês* = (*sach*) *ɓit*, wood, + (*chês*) *sî*, oil). It is either the under-coating of former coloring or gilding, or was meant as such and never covered over. This coating has preserved the outer surface as originally designed, whereas the wood under it has utterly decayed in many instances. The state of the wood, which is apparently teak in all cases, combined with the outer form and ornamentation of the images will go a long way, on careful investigation, towards determining when they were deposited; because teak under certain conditions may be assumed to take not less than a certain number of centuries to reach a certain stage of decay. It may further be fairly argued that, when once the caves became established as recognized places for religious ceremonies, the great mass of images now found in them were deposited by successive generations of worshippers and pilgrims.

The images and similar remains are generally of the same character in all the Caves, and are well worth study, for the reason that they explain the forms of many of the old and small images deposited about the greater Pagodas in Lower Burma still used by the populace as places of worship. (See Plates I., I*a*, VI. and VII.) Exactly similar images are yet to be seen round the Kyaikɓànlàn and the Kyaikpatàn Pagodas at Maulmain, the Myâɓêndàn Pagoda at Martaban, the Shwêzayàn and Mulêk (or Ɗajâp'ayâ) Pagodas at Thatôn, the great Shwêdagôn itself and the Sûlê Pagoda at Rangoon, the Kyaikkauk

[16] The Talaing language, though still spoken to a considerable extent, is ceasing to be a literary medium very rapidly; so much so that it is already extremely difficult to find an educated Talaing able to read even modern documents in his native language, and the epigraphic and old palm-leaf documents in that tongue, which are of supreme value to the history of Lower Burma will even now have to await the labours of the expert student of the future.

Pagoda at Syriam, and in the far-renowned (in Burma) Kalyâṇî Ƀêng (*sìmâ*) at Pegu, and round the great Shwêmôdò Pagoda at the same place.[17] Whether these images were originally made for the pagodas, or were taken from the Caves by the devout and there deposited, is a question to be settled hereafter. For it must be remembered that it is still a fortunate thing in Burma for a *p'ayâ* (image of Gautama Buddha) 'to travel,' as the people put it.

**Careful search may unearth inscriptions of value in the D'ammaɃâ Cave.** Some of the small terra-cotta figures, or, more strictly, tablets impressed with figures, that have become detached, are found to have sometimes, but not commonly, notes painted on the back. The only one, of two or three picked up in this Cave, which is sufficiently complete for reading is that given below, full-size.



*..e, full size, of the inscription on the back of a terra cotta tablet ...essed in front with an Image of Gautama Buddha. From ..ammaɃâ Cave.*

The characters of the inscription are Talaing and the language is Talaing, and it means:[18] "Nge Leḥ offered to the pagoda curry stuffs from his ancestral fields, fish, and property."[19]

[17] Lately there has been printed by the local Government a perfunctory and well-nigh valueless production called *List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archæological Interest in British Burma*. It is confined mainly to the names of the principle pagodas in the country and the folk-history thereof. It is useless for any purpose, except to find the names of the pagodas, and is not even then of use, if there is more than one pagoda in a place, as the actual situation of each is never indicated.

[18] It must be borne in mind however, that in the present condition of scholarship as regards the Further Indian languages, every epigraphic reading should properly be regarded as tentative.

[19] I fancy we must assume from this that the pious Nge Leḥ held a feast from the produce of his ancestral fields and offered property to the pagoda, and also let loose some fish as a good work: (*jîvita dâna : zîwità dânà*. See Shwe Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. II. p. 40 ff.)

Transcribed the inscription runs thus:— *ṅalaḥ matau ṅè sanê ka p'ôn balaḥ=kyu(k)*. The pronounciation and meaning of each word runs thus: *Nge Leḥ metò ngè sanî kâ p'àn pale-kyaik*[20] — "Nge Leḥ parents' field curry-stuff fish property offer-(to)-pagoda." In addition to the above, there are traces of another inscription in modern documentary Burmese characters.

These impressed tablets usually represent Gautama Buddha seated on a canopied throne, the canopy forming the back-ground of the tablet. Gautama Buddha is commonly thus represented in Burma in figures of all sizes and of all materials—*vide* Plates IV., V., VI. and VII. In the D'ammaþâ Cave a large full-sized seated figure has an inscription, white letters on a black ground, on the canopy, above either shoulder. As it is on plaster which is fast peeling off, no impression can be taken of it, but it should not present any difficulties in reading, if read before it is too far destroyed, as it is in the ordinary square lapidary Burmese character in vogue in the last and the beginning of the present Century (*vide* the Pôːûːdaung Inscription near Prome, *ante*, p. 1 ff.).

About two and a half miles distant from the Cave just described there are hot springs and another Cave (so local information on the spot says).[21] The hot springs are well known to the natives of the country, and now also to immigrants from India, who repair to them annually to get rid of skin diseases. There are several such places in the Amherst District, notably the At'aràn Yèbû (Hot-waters) on the At'aràn River, the medicinal qualities of which have been attested by Dr. Helfer.[22]

The way to reach D'ammaþâ is by special launch from Maulmain, in which case the journey takes about three hours each way, or by ferry launch to Zaðabyin on the Salween, and thence by country boat to D'ammaþâ, a slow process. The former method of approach is very expensive.

### 4. The P'âgàt and Kògun Caves.

The P'âgàt Cave on the Salween[23] River is distant from Maulmain 26 miles, and is situated in an isolated limestone rock by the river-bank. It is not now of much interest, as it is very dark, and so offensive, owing to the presence of an enormous number of bats,[24] that it is practically not explorable.

Seated Gautama Buddhas can, however, be made out in the darkness, and no doubt at one time the Cave was decorated and ornamented in the style of its neighbour at Kògun. Wilson, *Burmese War* (1827), quotes, p. lxvi., a Government *Gazette* notification, dated 20th April 1826, of a journey up the Saluen (Salween), where P'âgat appears as Sagat, apparently by mistake. At that time the images were distinct and the ornamentation was evidently the same as that of Kògun. The bats are also mentioned. It is further noted that the ornamentation on the rock face, which is in the style of that already mentioned at D'ammaþâ, looks from the river like the letters of a huge inscription. This accounts for the persistence of a local idea that there is a large prominent inscription on the face of this Cave.

As far as I can make out, the following description from Low's travels in these parts in 1833 (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. xviii. p. 128 ff.; *Miscell Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 197) refers to P'âgàt. "In rowing up the Sanlûn (= Salween, by misreading the final *n* for the dental *n*, instead of the guttural *n*) or main river, the first objects which attracted my attention were the Krûklataung rocks, being a continuation of the great lime formation. The river at one spot is hemmed in betwixt two rocks, and, being thus narrowed, rushes through with considerable impetuosity. The rock on the north-west bank overhangs its base, the latter being

[20] *Pale-kyaik* is a compound meaning 'to make an offering to a pagoda.'

[21] This was not borne out, however, as regards the Cave, on further enquiries from local officers.

[22] *B. B. Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 38 and note. The only reference, besides those quoted from the *Gazetteer*, I have yet found to the D'ammaþâ Cave is in that intelligent little book, *Six Months in Burma*, p. 41, by Mr. Christopher Winter, who visited it in 1858. It is there called Dhamathat, as it is usually still called by Europeans in Maulmain This is an instance of striving after a meaning, because 'Dhammathat' is a word well-known to most Anglo-Burmans, being the Burmese form of the name of a locally celebrated work, — the *Dharmaśâstra*.

[23] Salween = Bur spelling Saṁlwaṅ, pron. þalwin.

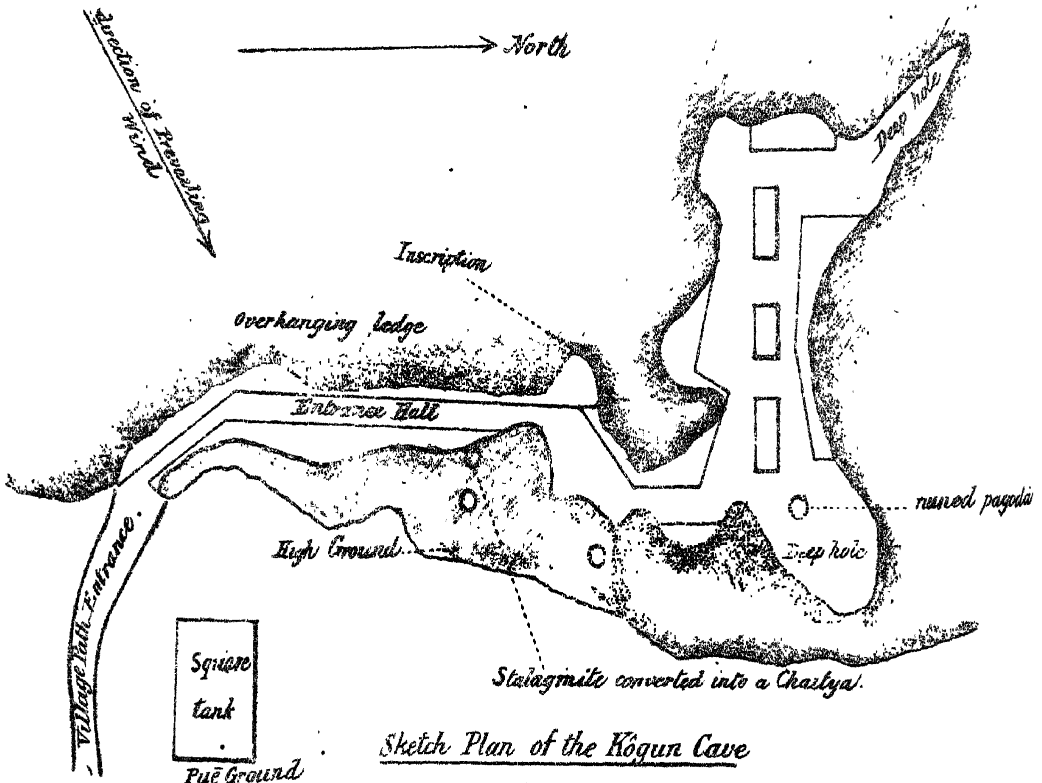
[24] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 378: and Malcom, *Travels*, ii. 61. It is a well established fact that it takes these bats 25 to 30 minutes to fly out of the Cave to their food every evening.

washed by the river. On a sharp, and one should suppose almost inaccessible pinnacle, a small pagoda has been built, producing a pleasing effect to the eye of a distant observer.

"The cliff I conjectured to be 250 feet high. On that front facing the river some niches have been cut in a pyramidal space, and in these stand many painted and gilt alabaster images of Buddha. A narrow opening leads into a magnificent cave, which has been dedicated to Buddha, since many large wooden and alabaster images of that deified mortal were found arranged in rows along the sides of it; the wooden images were mostly decayed through age and had tumbled on the floor. The rock consists of a grey and hard limestone. The cave bears no marks of having been a work of art. The Burman priests, who inhabit a village on the opposite bank, could not afford me any information respecting it. No inscription was discovered on the rock."

**P'âgàt can be reached by a ferry** launch in about four or five hours from Maulmain, but the best way is to visit both P'âgàt and Kògun at the same time by special launch, — an expensive journey as already explained.

**By a good fair-weather road from P'âgàt,** though somewhat unpleasant withal, **the Cave and Village of Kògun can be reached** by bullock-cart, if desired. **The distance is about two miles.** The preferable way of getting there is to stop in a special launch at the mouth of the Kògun Creek, about a mile short of P'âgàt, and thence either reach the Kògun Village by a country boat, if the tide serves, or by walking through the outskirts of the village for about a mile. The Cave is situated, as usual, in an isolated limestone rock about a quarter of a mile to the west of the village. It runs under an over-hanging ledge of rock for about a hundred feet from South to North and then dips Westwards into this rock for about the same distance at the North end. The following sketch plan gives an idea of it.[25]



Sketch Plan of the Kôgun Cave

[25] Crawfurd visited Kògun on 27th January 1827—*vide Embassy to Ava*, p. 361 ff.; Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War*, Appx., pp. xlix., lxvi. f.

The general plan of the cave proper is evidently that of the D'ammaþà Cave, but advantage has been taken of the over-hanging ledge and the rising ground in front of it to create a profusely ornamented Entrance Hall. In front of this is a large artificial square brick tank kept in good repair, as the Cave is still a place for an annual festival at the Burmese New Year (about 15th April). In front of the tank is the *pwè*-ground, where Zât Pwès[26] are performed on the occasions when people congregate here.

There are the usual image platforms about the sides of both the Cave and the Entrance Hall, and also several down the centre of the Cave, as at D'ammatþâ.

A goodly number of small brick and plaster pagodas and *chaityas* are scattered about both Cave and Entrance Hall, and the surroundings of the latter. The largest are noted on the sketch plan. There is also a remarkable ornamented stalagmite, see Plate VII., covered completely over with small terra-cotta images, about four inches high, of Gautama Buddha enthroned in the style already explained, surmounted by a series of standing images in plaster work and much larger. On the top of all is a small pagoda or *chaitya* of the usual modern form. The corresponding stalactite, not visible in the plate, is profusely ornamented with images of Buddha in every attitude,—standing, seated and recumbent.

The peculiar position of the Entrance Hall under an over-hanging ledge of rock, sheltered from the rain brought by the prevailing south-west wind, has led no doubt to the profuse ornamentation of the surface of the rock to a considerable height, as shewn in Plates III., IV., V., VI. and VII.

This ornamentation is the best sample of all of the type already noted as prevailing at D'ammaþâ and P'ârum, *viz.*, covering the rock with impressed terra-cotta and plaster tablets of all sizes, from four inches to several feet in height. The impressions are chiefly of Gautama Buddha enthroned, but they are nevertheless in great variety, and the *Þing'á* or Church is represented in several ways, as also are various scenes from the legendary life of the founder of the religion. On the many small ledges and recesses presented by the uneven surface of the rock are placed images in alabaster and brass. This is a special feature of the wall decoration of this Cave, due to natural conditions.

All about the Entrance Hall and the Cave itself, there is an astonishingly large deposit of figures of Gautama Buddha and yahàns in every material and in every condition, besides a mass of remains of Buddhistic objects generally. Many are quite modern, but some are of a type not now met with in modern Burmese religious art, and are exceedingly interesting from an historical and antiquarian point of view, as connecting Burmese with Indian Buddhism. They are well worth study, and probably from this Cave alone could be procured, with judicious selection, a set of objects which would illustrate the entire history of Buddhism in Lower Burma, if not in Burma generally and the surrounding countries, especially Siam.[27]

The great mass of the images and remains are in a state of complete neglect, but, as the Cave is still in use for purposes of occasional worship, many of the figures are well looked after, and some of the larger exposed ones are protected from the weather by rough boarding. The Cave itself appears to wander indefinitely into the rock at the two deep holes marked in the plan, and that near the ruined pagoda is partly filled up with a great mass of mutilated images and broken objects, thrown together in an indescribable confusion. Every pagoda has been broken into for treasure in the manner shewn in Plates IV. and V.

[26] The word *pwê* (Anglo-Indian *pooay* or *poay*) is Burmese, exactly corresponding to the English word 'play' in its various senses. *Zât* = Pâḷi *jâṭi*, used for *jâṭaka*, a Buddhist 'birth-story.' The Zât Pwê is consequently a modified Passion Play.

[27] A move in this direction is being made by the Local Government in Burma.

### 5. The B'injî Cave.

**The B'injî Cave** is situated in some low hills about 3 miles east of a village called, apparently indifferently, B'in'laing[28] and Nyaungjàn, on the left bank of what is usually known to Europeans as the DônÐamî River, but is really the B'in'laing River.[29] This village **is about three miles below Dûyinzêk, and about 51 from Maulmain and 11 from Thatôn.** At the foot of the Cave is the village of B'injî, which is reached by bullock cart across jungle and rice-fields from B'in'laing Village. In front of the Cave is a pool of very hot water from which a stream issues,[30] and over this stream is a single-plank bridge. The Cave itself is not situated at the foot of the hill, and a climb of from 50 to 100 feet is necessary before reaching it. In the rains the country between B'in'laing and B'injî is flooded. **B'in'laing can be reached from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Dûyinzêk,** 52 miles, and thence backwards three miles by country-boat. Bullock carts can, by arrangement, be procured at B'in'laing. A special launch from Maulmain could, of course, be moored at B'in'laing, which is a station for procuring fire-wood for the ferries. In any case more than one day is necessary for the expedition.

Bad weather prevented the exploration of this Cave, which is much to be regretted, as it is necessarily but little visited. Old and now faded photographs, see Plate II., taken by the late Mr. R. Romanis, the Government Chemical Examiner at Rangoon, in the possession of Mr. George Dawson, the present owner of the ferries along the rivers which join at Maulmain and of the little Railway from Dûyinzêk to Thatôn, however, fortunately shew that the Cave is of the ordinary Râmaññadêsa type, though not so profusely ornamented as usual as to walls and roof. The plan has been to place a series of pagodas or *chaityas* down the centre and images on platforms along the sides. This Cave has, however, a pagoda just outside it, which is unusual; and it will be observed that this pagoda and those shewn in the interior are not of ancient form.

The B'injî Cave is deep and dark, requiring the use of special lights, but at the end of it is a pool of water flush with the floor, and **a pagoda, so situated as to be lighted from a hole in the roof,** or more correctly in the hill side,[31] **after the fashion of the artificial lighting of the Ananda Pagoda at Pagàn** (spelt Pugâm and Pugan = Pâḷi Pugâma), and **of some Jain structures in India.**[32] There is a fine reflection of the Cave, both roof and walls, in the pool.

### 6. Contents of the Caves.

Plate I*a* gives an idea of the great variety of images and objects to be found in the Caves above described. The plate itself is from a photograph taken on the spot at Kògun. The objects shewn in it were collected together for reproduction from the immediate neighbourhood of the ruined pagoda upon which they are placed. They are mostly of wood, but some are of terra-cotta, plaster and stone.

**The modern Burmese seated figures of Gautama Buddha are usually dressed in the garb of a monk,** or *p'ònjî*,[33] with curly hair drawn up into a knot on the top of the head, and the lobes of the ears touching the shoulder; but **sometimes** the Buddha is still represented **dressed as Zabûbadê. In these Cave representations there is, however, considerable**

[28] This place is locally identified as "the residence of B'in'laing or Binlaung, the last Talaing king." The tradition is, however, probably a confused reference to the notable doings in these parts of Bayin Naung (= Port. Branginoco [Bayinjî Naungzò], 'Bayin' being spelt 'B'urañ') in 1551—1581 A. D., and of Binyà Dâlâ, the last Talaing king, 1746—1757 A. D.

[29] The DônÐamî and the Chauksarit Rivers join at a few miles above Dûyinzêk, and form together the B'in'laing River, which, after running some 30 miles, falls into the Salween, some 25 miles above Maulmain.

[30] Not mentioned in the list given in *B. B. Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 38, note.

[31] There are several such holes in the P'ârum Caves giving fine effects of light. There is a cave at Muang Fang in the Laos States where the same chance effect occurs. See Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, p. 289 f.

[32] Yule, *Mission to Ava*, pp. 38-9 and note; Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture*, pp. 616 and 214.

[33] Spelt *b'ùnḥkrì* and explained as the great glory (*b'unì*), by the Burmese, but with doubtful accuracy to my mind.

variety. When dressed as Zabûbadê, the ear lobes, though much enlarged, do not touch the shoulder, and the large holes in them are filled up with a roll much in the modern Burmese fashion, and from this roll there is occasionally something that hangs down to the shoulders (? a flower). The head-dress is in such cases a multiple crown, with, sometimes, appendages or wings hanging down behind the shoulders. On both arms are large jewels, or perhaps short embroidered sleeves, and the trunk is clothed in an elaborate winged garment reaching apparently to the feet and richly embroidered. All this is much in the modern style. In many of the older figures of the Buddha as a monk, the top-knot, there being, of course, no crown, is much elongated so as to form a sort of crown. In others again the body appears to be bare to the waist. In several the sole of the right foot is not exposed, as in most, but not all, modern figures; *vide* those in the Shân Tazaung at the Shwê Dagôn Pagoda; also round the Nyaungdauk and Padauk trees on the platform there. A good many thrones lie about the Kôgun Cave with two images on them seated side by side, of which one is frequently much larger than the other and much more elaborately clad. Here the Buddha seems to be represented both as Zabûbadê and as a monk. Often, however, the two images are identical in every respect, making the explanation more difficult.

Zabûbadê requires explanation. There is a story current and very popular in Burma, but not, so far as I know, yet traced to any *Jâtaka*, according to which Jambupati (= Bur. pron. Zabûbadê), Lord of the Earth, was a king exceedingly proud of dress and power. The Buddha, however, one day, to convince him of the valueless nature of his riches, assumed his form and clothing without effort. Thereupon Jambupati became a devoted follower. The figures of the Buddha dressed as Jambupati, and of Jambupati himself kneeling to the Buddha in acknowledgment of his superiority, have for centuries been popular in Burma.

The serpent throne and canopy of Gautama Buddha is to be seen in Plate I*a* in two instances, conventionally grotesqued in the style dear to the Burman. The material of most of the figures in the Plate is wood, but the present writer has in his possession a fine plaster head with conventional serpent canopy of much finer workmanship than the specimens in the Plate, and in the Kalyâṇî Ɖêng at Pegu[34] are stored several specimens in plaster of Gautama lying upon a serpent throne with canopy. Modern figures of the Buddha and serpent combined seem to be rare, but a new one in alabaster was bought lately in Mandalay, which was explained to be a "Siamese Buddha (Yôd'ayà P'ayâ)." Also, among the treasures found at the palace at Mandalay, after the war in 1885, was a fine and well executed copper image of Buddha seated on a serpent of many coils, which was said to have been sent from Ceylon as a present to one of the kings of the Alompra Dynasty.

Images of *yahàns* also abound in the caves, always in an attitude of reverence. Those in Plate I*a* (see also Plates I., IV., VI. and VII.) are of a type quite unknown in the present day. Female figures seem to be very rarely met with, but there is one of characteristic Burmese type in Plate I*a*. It belongs to a fallen impressed terra-cotta tablet and represents a favorite character of the Burmese sculptor: Maɓôndayê (= Vasundharâ), Protectress of the Earth during the present dispensation.

It is obviously impossible with the materials at present at hand to do more than draw attention to this remarkable field for enquiry, but enough has already been said to shew how rich it is and how well worth study.

### 7. Bas-reliefs on glazed terra-cotta tablets.

The importance of Thatôn[35] as an ancient home of the Talaing race is, of course, well-known, and as it is now to be reached with ease from Maulmain by ferry-launch to Dûyin-

[34] Spelt Pègûŝ, and pron. Pagô = Pâḷi Haṁsâvatî. Sangermano calls the country Pegù and the town Bagò: Reprint, 1885, p. 158 has "Bagò in Pegù" and p. 172 "Pegù or Bagò."

[35] Spelt þat'un, pron. þatôn, = Pâḷi Suvaṇṇa-nagara and Suvaṇṇa-bhûmi: also Saddhammanagara, Saddhammâvatî, etc. It is, like Bassein, a cause of wild etymological guesses, of which one is to be found in the delightfully *naïve* introduction to Gray's *Buddhaghosuppatti*, p. 14.

zêk,[36] 52 miles, and thence by a small Railway, 8 miles, it is to be hoped that its ruins will at last be properly studied. Unfortunately, the time available during the visit now referred to was very short, and the weather wet and unfavorable for exploration. The chief object of interest is the **Mulêk Pagoda, or Þajâp'ayâ,** as it is also called, of the **usual Siṅhalese type,** with square terraces, or procession paths, surmounted by a *stûpa.* Putting aside a discussion of the form of this pagoda for the present, it is worth noting that into panels in the lowest terrace are let, in large numbers, **burnt clay tablets impressed with bas-reliefs.** As this pagoda was built, like most old Talaing structures of the kind, of squared laterite blocks, the unrestored portions are in a state of great decay, and many of the tablets have fallen out, while others are much injured and likely to disappear also. They are, however, **for the purposes of the antiquarian of great importance,** as exhibiting mediæval manners and costumes. Many are mere grotesques, but others are clearly meant to picture contemporary customs.

These particular bas-reliefs were carefully examined some years ago by Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John, now of Oxford but formerly of the Burma Commission, and the detailed description given below is partly from personal observation and partly from his account.[37]

**There is evidence that similar pagodas existed elsewhere in the Talaing Country at one time** from the figures on Plates VIII., fig. 1, IX., IX*a*, X., XI., XII. and XIII., which are from photographs of part of the collection in the Phayre Museum at Rangoon of **glazed tablets found at Pegu and Syriam.**[38] The Pegu tablets are all said to have been found round the entirely ruined square base of a pagoda, in the Zainganaing Quarter, in what is now known as Mr. Jackson's Garden (but see below, p. 353 ff.). That this ruined pagoda was once of great importance is attested by the existence in the neighbourhood of the remains of an unusually large artificial tank, the sides of which were once faced with laterite blocks. The ruins of the pagoda now resemble a square jungle-covered mound, and glazed ware is still dug out of it and the neighbouring tank walls in considerable quantities.[39] As regards Upper Burma, **at Pagàn similar tablets abound, and at Amarapura, Yule[40] observed the same style of decoration in sandstone** on the basement of the Mahâtulutb'ònjò Kyaungᵴ (Monastery). **From Sagaing I** have photographs of **21 inscribed green glazed bricks from the ruined procession paths of the old Siᵴgônjîᵴ Pagoda there.** These exhibit what I take to be scenes from a *Jâtaka* or *Jâtakas,* after the fashion at Bharaut, etc., in India. The inscriptions are legible enough, but, like so many old Burmese inscriptions, not as yet intelligible. The language is Burmese with much Pâḷi mixed with it. Every brick is numbered, and the high numbers on those that remain shew what a large quantity must originally have been set up: *e. g.* 278, 421, 573, 862.

There is no need to attribute a foreign origin to these tablets, on account of the remarkably good glazing, wherever found. **Glazing, especially green glazing, is a very old art in Râmaññadêsa,** as the following interesting facts will shew.

There is still a well-known and important manufacture at Twantê,[41] near Rangoon, of what are now called commercially **Pegu Jars,** but were known, until 1730 A. D., at any rate, by a

[36] Spelt Dûᵴrañᵴch'ip, from *dûᵴyinᵴ,* the durian fruit and *s'êk,* a landing place. It was from this place that the messengers of King Þârâwadî (1837--1846 A. D ) used to embark on boats up the Dônɣamî and go thence by road *viâ* Taung-ngû and Yamèɣin to Amarapura with this fetid fruit, which is as great a delicacy to the Burmese as it is an object of disgust to Europeans. Yule notes this fact, *op. cit.,* p. 161, footnote. Taung-ngû (Toungoo) is always Taunù is Sangermano ; see Reprint, 1885, pp. 158, &c.

[37] *B. B. Gazetteer,* Vol. II pp. 715-717. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian Architecture,* pp. 613-614, quotes Mr. St. John from *The Phœnix,* Vol II. p. 204 ff.

[38] With the carelessness characteristic of all inhabitants of Burma these invaluable remains have been deposited without a note to shew which are from Pegu and which from Syriam. Syriam in Burmese is spelt Sanᵴlyañ and pron. Þhànlyin. It is the Cirion, Sirian, Serian and Syrian of old writers.

[39] I received 71 tablets for the Phayre Museum quite lately from this place through the kindness of the owner. Both the Pegu and Syriam tablets are of the same type. Those from Syriam are from Capt. C. C. Wise's property and were found in the ruined base of an old pagoda outside the S. W. bastion of the old fort. But see *post,* p. 353 ff.

[40] *Mission to the Court of Ava,* p. 164 and Plate xxi.

[41] *B. B. Gazetteer,* I. 418 ; II. 559, 849.

variety of names based on the word **Martaban.** The Pegu Jar is a huge vessel of pottery about four feet high, covered with a hard dark glaze, and was formerly much prized as a water jar in sea-going ships and for the storage of water and liquids in many parts of the world. **They were exported from Martaban and under the name of that port became famous over the whole of the East and even in Europe.** Ibn Batuta mentions them in the 14th century under the name Martabân as famous articles of commerce, and they were largely in use all over India and much prized for storage purposes in the days of Linschoten and Pyrard de Laval (15th and 16th centuries). As early as 1615 we find a *Dictionary* in Latin stating this :—vasa figulina quæ vulgo Martabania dicuntur per Indiam nota sunt. Per Orientem omnem, quin et Lusitaniam, horum est usus. So that we see they early spread to Portugal and were familiar to the Arabs. We find also, in France, Galland, in 1673, and the "1001 Jours," quoting respectively Merdebani and Martabani as "une certaine terre verte" and "porcelaine verte." In 1820 Baillie Fraser found imitations of the Pegu Jar manufactured in Arabia and called Martaban;[42] while, writing so long ago as 1609, De Morga, *Philippine Islands*, Hak. Ed. p. 285f., gives an obvious reference to the Pegu Jar, when he says :—" In this island of Luzon, particularly in the provinces of Manila, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Ylocos, there are to be found amongst the natives, some large jars of very ancient earthenware, of a dark colour, and not very sightly, some of them of a middle size, and others smaller, with marks and seals, and they can give no account from whence they got them, nor at what period; for now none are brought, nor are they made in the islands. The Japanese seek for them and value them, because they have found out that the root of a herb, which they call *cha* (tea !), and which is drunk hot, as a great dainty and a medicine, among the kings and lords of Japan, does not keep or last, except in these jars," and so on. The jars were known as *tibors*, and, under the name *gusih*, were similarly known and valued among the Dayaks of Borneo, as the Editor of De Morga tells us, referring to Boyle's *Adventures in Borneo*, p. 93.

Whencesoever, therefore, the Talaings and Burmans got their art of glazing "with lead-oar,"[43] as Alexander Hamilton puts it, it is clear that an art that had reached the perfection of the Pegu Jar, and had become famous in trade throughout the civilized world as early as the 14th century, must have flourished vigorously in the country quite early enough to be contemporaneous with the earliest date we can reasonably assign to the existing monuments in which the glazed bricks are found.

**As to fixing dates when glazing was actually in use in Burma on a large scale,** the following evidence may be useful in addition to that collected by Yule, *s. v.* Martaban, in *Hobson-Jobson*. Mr. E. H. Parker in his *Burma, Relations with China*, p. 12, says, quoting from Chinese Annals, of the king of P'iao (Burma), that " the circular wall of his city is built of greenish glazed tiles . . . . their house tiles are of lead and zinc . . . . they have a hundred monasteries, with bricks of vitreous ware." This quotation, Mr. Parker tells me, is from the Han History, chapter on the T'an (Burma) State, and refers to the doings of the T'ang (Chinese) Dynasty (A. D. 600-900), and apparently to knowledge acquired in the year **832 A. D.** He further kindly gave me the following quotation from Fan Ch'oh's work on the Southern Barbarians :—" the P'iao State (*i. e.*, Capital) is 75 journeys south of Zung-ch'ang, and communications with it were opened by Koh-lo-fêng. In this State they use greenish bricks to make the city-wall, which is one day's journey in circuit." The date of Koh-lo-fêng **is 748-779 A. D.**

[42] A fine collection of quotations extending from 1350 to 1837 A. D., supporting the above stated facts, is to be found in Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, page 428 f. But he is wrong in supposing the words 'Pegu Jar' to be obsolete, for the article is still well known in Rangoon and Burma generally to Europeans to this day under that name. See also his *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. ii. p. 476 : and the valuable quotations in Wilson's *Documents of the Burmese War* (1824), Appx. p. lxiv. Low, a very careful observer, in his *Geological Observations of Portions of the Malay Peninsula, As. Res.* (1833) Vol. xviii. pp. 128-162, also makes the mistake of thinking the Pegu Jar obsolete. See also *Miscell. Papers on Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 195. He also thought (p. 198) that Martaban was not settled till 1286 A. D. : but this was a mistake.

[43] Galena and rice water, *B. B. Gazetteer*, I. 419.

**The tablets at Thatôn** are found imbedded in niches in the second terrace about four inches deep and with a little over two square feet superficial area. The representations on some of them are as under, and the description shews them, I think, to be, like the Sagaing tablets and the sculptures in India at topes, representations of *Jâtakas*, or *Zàts*, as the Burmese say :—

(1) Four bearded persons, with faces conventionally grotesqued, riding an elephant, are being pelted with stones by two youths on foot with their *pas'ôs*[44] tucked up. One of the figures on the elephant has his hair tied into a knot on the forehead in Shân or Karen fashion. The youths have theirs in a knot at the back in the fashion[45] prevailing still further East.

(2) A royal figure is riding on a horse and another royal figure is on foot with an attendant. Wavy lines (? the sea) form the background.

(3) A royal figure kneeling before a *triśûla*.[46] A remarkable design in Burma, but common enough in India. See Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian Architecture*, pp. 104, 112: also Cunningham's *Mahâbôdhi*, Plate VIII. fig. 2. This picture is comparable with that of the Nâgas worshipping the *triśûla* at Amarâvatî, given by Fergusson at p. 46, where there is no doubt that the *triśûla* is an emblem of Buddha.[47]

(4) A great man, is sitting under umbrellas. A man, kneeling to his right, is smiling and presenting something in a box. Below is a pony tied to a tree and an attendant kneeling. Both kneeling figures have their hair tied in a knot at the side or back, and their loins girt. From this last circumstance — an unusual thing in the presence of a great man — it might perhaps be conjectured that strangers have arrived from a distance in a hurry with a present.[48]

(5) A woman is kneeling before a prince, and in front of them is a man on a four-wheeled cart drawn by a pony.

(6) A well-dressed man and woman, in a curious and remarkable cart drawn by a pony, are in front of a potter's house. Here one man is turning a wheel, another is shaping a pot, and a third is kneading clay. All the figures wear their hair in a knot behind.

(7) A princess is seated among her women, one of whom is hanging a man by a rope through a hole in the floor.[49]

(8) A king on his throne, and an attendant on either side; girt about the loins, hair in a knot at the back.

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44 Spelt *puch'ôš*, a Burmese cotton or silk garment worn by men. It is a kind of petticoat wound round th waist, and is tucked up between the legs when anything requiring agility or activity has to be done. "Gird up the loins of your mind," (I. Pet. i. 13), would be a metaphor at once understood in Burma.

45 The. Burmese tie theirs in a knot at the top, as is seen in the modern images of Gautama Buddha. A real Taungðû (see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 379) still wears his hair as in the bas-reliefs, and so do the Anamese and Cambodians. The Tamils and Telugus of South India frequently do the same also. I have in my possession a kneeling figure in Sagaing marble from Amarapura with the hair tied at the back. The Cambodian influence visible in these tablets may help to fix the date of this Pagoda as between the 6th and 10th century A. D. See page 354 f., *post*.

46 It is very easy, by the way, to mistake the *vajra* for the *triśûla* in indistinct sculptures.

47 See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 381, and Oertel's *Tour in Burma*, p. 11. There is a strong tendency in antiquaries in Burma to attribute all Hindu symbols to a pre-Buddhist Hinduism. This ignores all Tântrik influence on Buddhism in Burma, which, however distasteful to the modern Burman, is, I think, a dangerous thing to do. It certainly cannot be done in discussing any Buddhist remains in India, and there are many signs of Tântrik influence in the ideas of the Burman Buddhist of to-day. Phayre (*Int. Num. Orient.* Vol. III. Part I. p. 33) falls into the "Hinduism" mistake, and so describes what is a conventional Buddhist *chaitya* on a "Pegu Medal" as the trident (*triśûla*) of Śiva, moralising accordingly. The latest work on such points, written in Burma, Gray's *Buddhaghôsuppatti*, 1892, sticks tightly to the Buddhaghôsa and pre-Buddhistic Hinduism theories.

48 But see below No. 8.

49 Mr. St. John has an ingenious explanation of this. In every Talaing house there is a room set apart for the girls to sleep in, and this has a hole in the floor. Lovers come under the house and put their hands through this hole. By a sign, or the feel of the hand, the girls know if the right man has come. If the wrong man comes, "Woe betide him."

(9) A king seated on a throne with people kneeling before him. In the background is a man being "elbowed."[50]

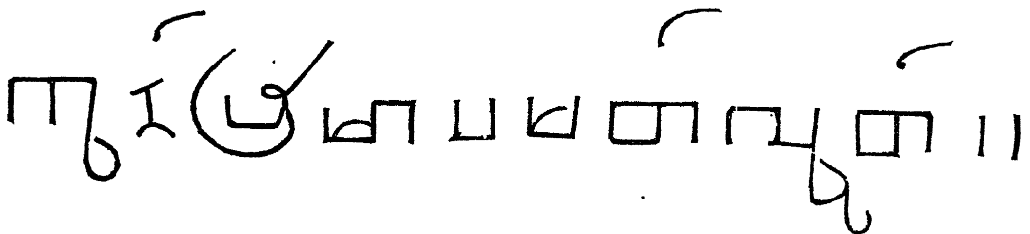
(10) A man in a garden, or forest, has hold of an enormous serpent. A prince is seated on the ground with three princesses kneeling on his left, one behind the other. The head-dresses are all of the well-known Nâga type in Buddhist (Indian) sculptures. The dress otherwise is Burmese.

(11) A king is seated on a throne, and an attendant kneeling is announcing the arrival of the queen. The queen, gorgeously apparelled and grave of countenance, is carried on a seat on the shoulders of four men. Behind are umbrellas, fans, swishes, &c.

(12) A prince is standing on the back of a man stretched on the ground. A man in front has hold of the victim's hair with one hand and holds a sword in the other. Behind are two kneeling women. Around are elephants, buffaloes, pigs and other animals.

The bas-reliefs at Amarapura are merely humorous grotesques, but those from Pegu (and (?) Syriam) had evidently a more serious meaning. A great number represent, no doubt, what we should call "foreigners," who to the ancient and mediæval mind were largely people endowed with terrible faculties, features and forms. An attempt has been made to depict these mythical peoples in detail, and we find them endowed with stout formidable bodies and the heads of every creature known to the artists. They are generally represented as being naked as to the body and legs, and clad only with a cloth round the loins, no doubt in the fashion of the poorer classes of the time. The glazing of all the tablets is good and regular, and the colors prevalent are white, red, green, yellow, black and blue. The blue colour of some of the bodies represents perhaps the dark skin of the supposed foreigner. One of the tablets represents two female figures, naked from the waist upwards, and clad only with a short garment drawn up tightly between the legs after the fashion of the Malay *sarung*, and of the lower orders of Siamese women, *vide* Crawfurd, *Embassy to Siam*, p. 115, illustration, which confirms the idea that these grotesque figures merely represent the people of a foreign nation.

On some, however, of the Pegu tablets are representations of great personages of the time elaborately clad, crowned and jewelled. (See Plates IX., IX*a*, XII. and XIII.) Only one, out of over a hundred found at Pegu,[51] has a legible inscription on it, and this inscription is, so far, largely a puzzle, which is disappointing, as there is no special difficulty in reading the characters, since they are of the square lapidary type common in these parts up till quite lately. Plate IX. gives a reproduction of it, and below is a tracing from a photograph, on a scale of ·7.



The language may be either Talaing, Burmese or Shân. Assuming it to be Talaing,

[50] This is a punishment. The person to be punished is made to kneel down and bend forward. He is then struck violently between the shoulders and somewhat lower by the elbow of the punisher. The pain caused is great.

[51] On very few is there any sign of a lost inscription. I have, however, since found a similar tablet in Rangoon, presumably taken from the same site, and having precisely the same inscription as that in the text, but in a more cursive form. It is shewn in Plate IX*a*. Low, see *Indo-China*, Vol. I. p. 197f., makes the, for him, very curious mistake of saying that there are no inscriptions in Lower Burma! The opposite is the fact, and proportionately there are many more historical inscriptions in Burma than in India.

as the characters [illegible] and [illegible] would lead one to suppose, it is apparently translateable. Transliterated it seems to run pretty clearly, thus :—

*Kwan p'rau mâ pa mat lwat.*

By exercising considerable license in spelling, and in reading the letters, sense can be made in Talaing out of all the words, thus :—

| *Kôn* | *prêau* | *mâ* | *pà* | *môt* | *lawôt* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Son | female | nom. case | do | friends[52] | ever |
| wife or daughter | | | | | |

But in order to get thus far we have to mis-spell *kôn*, which should be, transliterated, *kaun* and not *kwan*, and to read the *akshara* [illegible] as [illegible], and the *aksharas* [illegible] as [illegible]. This last reading, however, would be allowable. The last word can be variously read in Talaing as *lût*, *lamôt*, *la-ngôt*, or *lawôt*, according as the first *akshara* is read as [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible].[53]

The meaning of the sentence thus read, which would be good Talaing so far as regards grammar, would be :—"the wife who is a friend for ever." I am very loth to accept such a reading, as it would be against epigraphic experience.

Assuming the language to be partly Burmese or Shân, and partly Siamese, for reasons given below, we get the following result by transliteration :—

| *Kwanp'ra* | *Mahâpamàt* | *lwat* |
|---|---|---|
| (the) noble | Mahâpamàt | dedicated = built |

There is only one difficulty in this reading, and that is in reading the *akshara* [illegible] as *p'râ* : there being no sign / in Burmese or Shân. The *akshara* [illegible] *mâ* on stone is constantly used for *mahâ*. The indistinct *akshara* [illegible] in the last word would, if the language is Burmese, be read *'lut*, and if Shân *lòt*. Both words mean the same thing, *i. e.*, primarily 'released,' secondarily 'consecrated,' 'dedicated,' 'built in honor of.' But whether the language is Burmese or Shân the first two words would be Siamese titles. *Kwanp'ra* (pron. *kunp'râ*) means 'a nobleman,'[54] and such people in Siam often have a Pâḷi name or personal title. The Mahâpamàt of the text is a legitimate form for such a name or title, standing for the Pâḷi Mahâpamâtâ, either by shortening in the usual way, or in full. Because the *akshara* [illegible] may be legitimately read as *t*, or as *t* + Pâḷi suffixed open vowel, *ô* or *â* or *i* or *a* or *u*.

Siamese nobles did, we know, frequently visit Ramaññadêsa on pilgrimages and did erect buildings in consequence. This particular man may have done so and ordered an inscription to be cut in his honor locally, and the lapidary may have used his own language, which, however, at the time that the structures in the neigbourhood were built,[55] was not likely to have been Burmese, though it might have been Shân.

But the inscription may be purely Siamese. The character is what Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II, p. 346 and elsewhere, calls the "Kiousa character of Burma," meaning clearly thereby (p. 345) the Burmese word *kyauksâ* (*chauksâ*, lapidary script, epigraph). And although he is altogether wrong in his ideas as to its distribution in Burma, he shews that it was in use about Bangkôk and in Siam generally. Such a sentence as that we have before us is, however, so far as I can ascertain, not good Siamese.

[52] To be read 'friend'; the word must be read *mît*.

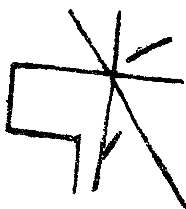
[53] I am much indebted to the Rev. Dr. Cushing, author of the *Shân Dictionary and Grammar*, etc., for kindly aid in this difficult text.

[54] In Siamese the title *kun* may be prefixed to any other title of nobility, being the lowest. The titles are, highest downwards, Chaup'ayâ, P'ayâ, P'râ, Lûang, Mêung and Kun. A "royal" titled personage prefixes Krôm to his other titles.

[55] Assuming the neighbourhood whence the tablet came to be that of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda (see text, *post*, p. 354 f.) the date of the inscription can be only at present conjectured to be some time after the Siamese conquest of Cambodia in the 13th century A. D. See *post*, p. 355.

If then this stone commemorates the visit of a Siamese prince or noble to Pegu, it is of interest and some importance as historical evidence. Until disproved I am inclined to accept the second reading as the correct one. Another possible conjecture as to the nationality of the person commemorated by the stone is that he was a Talaing nobleman with a Siamese title. This is historically reasonable.

On the tablet, already mentioned (*ante*, p. 343), shewing two grotesque female figures is an inscribed monogram, of which he accompanying cut gives a full-sized tracing. The characters of this monogram bear a strong resemblance to the lapidary character of Burma.



The Pegu tablets at the Phayre Museum are then clearly of two types — grotesques and portraits, and, although all are said locally to be from the same place, *i. e.*, Mr. Jackson's Garden, I believe that this is an error, and that the grotesques came from the garden, and the portraits from the neighbourhood of the four colossal figures of Gautama Buddha, about six miles distant, known as the Kyaikp'un Pagoda. If this belief is correct, the inscription just examined would tend to shew that the Siamese had a hand in its erection, and for external evidence of such a supposition may be consulted Fergusson's statements and plates in his *History of Indian Architecture*, at page 663 ff., and especially at page 680.[56]

The grotesques divide themselves into four groups — figures marching armed, figures fighting, figures in flight, and figures in attitudes of supplication. It may be, therefore, fairly guessed that they represent the march, battle and defeat of a foreign army, such as that of Hanumân in the *Râmâyaṇa*, the story of which, by the way, is quite well known in Burma as the *Yâmayânà*, or popularly as the *Yâmazàt*.[57]

### 8. Images and 'enamelled' pagodas at Thatôn.

Perhaps the most interesting thing yet unearthed at Thatôn is a stone image in bas-relief about three feet high, which was found quite lately, at 14 ft. below the surface, in digging a well in a garden near the Shànzû Kyaung3. The owner has now set it up on a modern Burmese throne, or *palin*3, beside a *pîpal* tree on the neighbouring road-side, and has built a *tazaung* (*tans'aung*, a building with terraced roofs and 'umbrella' top) over it. The image is now entirely gilt, and the throne and *tazaung* ornamented with modern Burmese 'glass' and gold decoration. The money for the purpose is being collected from worshippers on the spot, and perhaps the owner will, in the end, make a small living out of it, as does the guardian of the curious P'ôp'ô images.[58]

The image is that of a man standing upright, with long arms, broad shoulders, large-lobed ears, and curly hair. The right arm hangs down straight, but the left is doubled up so that the tips of the fingers touch the top of the shoulder. Under the arm-pit is a representation of a palm-leaf MS., covered over with a cloth, in the style still in use. It bears a striking resemblance to the colossal Digambara Jain figures of Western India shewn, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 353, and in Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 268. It is not, however, naked.[59] Bad weather prevented the taking of a photograph of this image, but it is well worth reproduction and study.

[56] The point is, of course, at present very obscure. See *post*, p. 354 f., for further arguments as to it.

[57] For *zàt* see above, note 26. The pictures in Growse's *Râmâyaṇa of Tulsî Dâs* may be usefully compared with these grotesques; see Book VI., Laṅkâ.

[58] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 381. He had started a box with a slot in it in April 1892!

[59] The statue at Kârkala (*ante*, Vol. II. p. 353) is dated Saka 1353 = A. D. 1432.

There is in the courtyard of the Shwêzayàn Pagoda at Thatôn, and again at Martaban,[60] near the point where the Government Telegraph cable crosses the Salween from Maulmain, a so-called enamelled pagoda, locally presumed to be of great age. The *t'î*, as well as the upper rings of the pagoda spire itself, is covered with glazed ware in several colors. The pagoda at Martaban, which is quite small, has a peculiarly venerable appearance from having been split from the crest downwards by a young *pîpal* tree, which has taken root in the *t'î*.

The enamelled appearance is produced by nailing on to the brick and plaster work small plates of lead covered over with a silica glaze in various colors; brown, grey, yellow, gold and green. The antiquity of the work may be well doubted, as the plates at Martaban, at any rate, were fastened on with European nails.[61] The Great Kyaikkauk Pagoda near Syriam is similarly "glazed." (*B. B. Gazetteer*, II. p. 283 f.)

## 9. Remarks on Pagodas.

The form of the Mulêk Pagoda at Thatôn has been already commented on, being that of a Sinhalese dâgaba.[62] That is, it consists of three square terraces surmounted by what was a *stûpa*, and is now, after restoration, a modernized pagoda with the usual conventional *t'î*. These terraces represent the three procession paths found round all Sinhalese *dâgabas*.[63] The style is repeated at Borobudur in Java, but with five procession paths in place of three. That the Thatôn sample was not an isolated instance in Râmaññadêsa has been already noted,[64] and that the mere form itself does not argue antiquity can be seen from the Sìbyô Pagoda at Myingun, which was built under Bôdòp'ayâ in 1816 A. D., where precisely the same arrangement occurs.

This leads to the reflection that form alone can never be relied on for estimating the age of a pagoda in Burma, because of the tendency to go back to the old types: *e. g.*, the great Kaung'mûdò[65] (royal work of merit) Pagoda near Sagaing,[66] the date of which is known to be about 1650 A. D.[67] and which is a *stûpa* with stone railing after the Bhilsâ type: *e. g.*, also, the great pagoda of Bôdòp'ayâ (1781 to 1823 A. D.) at Myíngun, which, had it been finished, would have been a *stûpa* raised upon a square base in most approved ancient form, as may be seen from the model still existing at Myíngun.[68] In the village of Syriam, on the high road to the Kyaikkauk Pagoda, just facing what must have been the old east gate of the city walls, is a small ruined pagoda of the true *stûpa* type. It is one of thirteen small pagodas, also mostly in ruins, but not of ancient form. To these I would add the remains of the Mahâchêtî Pagoda at Pegu, the date of which lies between 1551 A. D., and 1581, and the resemblance of which to a true *stûpa* is most remarkable.

That the elongated pagoda of Burma at the present day is the lineal descendant of the dagoba of Buddhist India there can be little doubt, but, owing to the recurrence of ancient types in modern times, all that can be predicated of any particular sample from form alone is that the greatly elongated spiral form is not likely to date beyond a century or so

[60] Portuguese, through (?) Arabic, form of the Talaing Mûttama = Burmese Môktama (see also Crawfurd, *op. cit.*) = Pâḷi, Muttima. In Wilson's *Burmese War*, 1827, it appears as Mautama.

[61] A devout *myôk*, or subordinate magistrate, caused the pagoda at Thatôn to be white-washed in honor of new year's day, 1254 (B. E. = 14th April 1892). There is no greater destroyer of ancient monuments in the world than the devout Burmese "restorer" of sacred buildings. His doings at Buddha Gayâ in 1876 caused the deputation thither of Rajendralala Mitra on behalf of the Bengal Government, and resulted in the now well-known volume, *Buddha Gayâ.*

[62] Sinhalese visitors have recognized this. *B. B. Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 717.

[63] Fergusson, *Ind. Archit.* Ch. viii. and pp. 624, 643 ff. Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, 18: Strettell, *Ficus Elastica*, 4, 48: Yule, *Ava*, 172.

[64] There is a minor instance at Martaban of obviously no great age in the S.-E. corner of the courtyard of the Myàþêndàn Pagoda. This *dâgaba*, for one can hardly call it anything else, is a cylindrical structure ten feet high and ten feet in diameter, surmounted by the usual Burmese pagoda spire and *t'î*. It rises out of three square terraces, which have been evidently superimposed on an old base. All the ornamentation is modern Burmese: four niches at the base of the cylinder, and four *manussîhas* at the corners of the uppermost terrace.

[65] Pâḷi names Chûḷâmaṇi, Râjachûḷâmaṇi, Râjamaṇichûḷa.

[66] Spelt Chachkôṅ = pron. Sitkaing and Sagaing: Pâḷi Jêyapura.

[67] There is an inscription of great historical importance in the courtyard—*vide* Yule, *Ava*, p. 66 and Appx. B. Of this I have lately procured a hand copy.

[68] See Yule, *op. cit.* p. 169.

back. The great sample of the elongated style is the Shwêdagôn at Rangoon, which is historically known to have been continually enlarged (*i. e.*, to consist of a series of pagodas built over smaller ones), from the days of Binyàwarû (1446—1450 A. D.) and Queen Shinsòbû (1453—1460 A. D.) of Pegu to those of S'inbyûyin (1763—1775 A. D.) of the Alompra Dynasty, under which last ruler it finally attained its present shape and height in 1768 A. D.

I hope in due course to return to this important subject later on and to examine the pagoda forms of Burma in detail.

## 10. The Shwêðâyaung at Pegu.

**The enormous recumbent figure of Gautama Buddha, the Shwêðâyaung,** as it is called (see Plate XVII.), in the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, has been noted by Mr. Taw Sein Ko (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 384). This evidently was one of the sights in days gone by of a part of the town that was set apart for the priests, for the Kalyâṇî Ðêng is not far distant, the forgotten pagoda with its huge tank in Mr. Jackson's Garden (*ante*, p. 340) is close by, and the Mahâchêtî Pagoda is not far off. It had an enclosure of its own surrounded by a wall. It is now a very prominent object of red brick on a platform of squared laterite blocks, but the restorers have begun on it and plastered the face already, and no doubt the efforts of the pious will, in time, result in the plastering of the whole body. To the antiquarian it is remarkable for having a lost history. It is probably about 400 years old, and yet there is no history at all attached to it! What story there is about it is in fact **an example of the utter extinction that at times overtakes an Oriental deltaic town upon conquest.** Pegu was taken by Alaungp'ayà in 1757 A. D., and utterly destroyed for a generation. So completely were the inhabitants dispersed that, when the city was repopulated under S'inbyuyin, who conciliated the Talaings, about 20 years after its destruction, **all remembrance of this image, 181 ft. long and 46 ft. high at the shoulder, had disappeared!** And this, though it was within a mile of the new town and surrounded by monasteries! The place on which it was situated had become dense jungle, and **the image itself turned into what appeared to be a jungle-covered hillock,** or at best a tree-hidden ruin. **In 1881** the Burma State Railway ran past Pegu, within half a mile of the image, and laterite was required for the permanent way. A local contractor, in searching for laterite in the neighbourhood, came across a quantity in the jungle, and on clearing the place **uncovered the image,** which has ever since been an object of veneration.

A similar complete depopulation seems to have been effected at Bassein about[69] 1760 A. D. by Alaungp'ayâ, for the *British Burma Gazetteer* accounts for the absence of native histories of Bassein by the utter destruction of the town that then took place.

## 11. Some details of the Plates.

### *Plate I.*

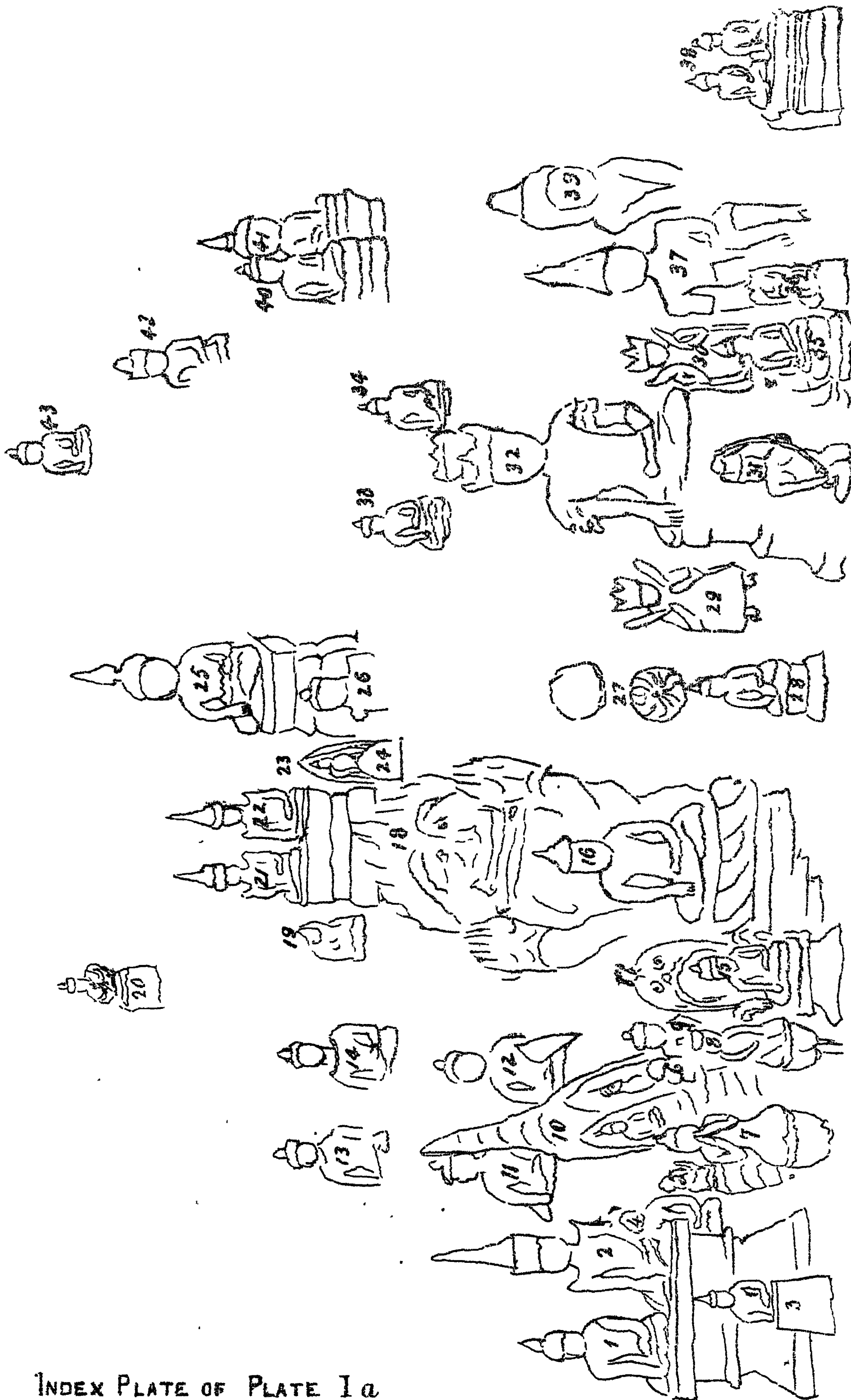
The small figures in part of a circle at the top of the drawing represent the **Saṅgha, or Church,** seated round the Buddha, who is not visible in the plate. I have a curious **brown glazed brick from Wunbô,** which shews four figures seated in a *tazaung* or *zayàt*. It is inscribed with the words, in clear Burmese characters, "*Tatiya Saṅghâyanâtaṅ han,*" which in Burmese would be read *Tatiyà Ðiṅg'âyanâtin hàn,* and may be translated, "the picture of the Third Convocation hearing the precepts of the Buddha." *Yanâ*, to the modern Burman, is one of the early convocations of the Buddhist Church rehearsing the teachings of the Buddha: *yanâtin* is the holding of such a convocation: *hàn* means "having the appearance of." It is *not* a verb.[70]

A careful comparison of the figures shewn in this Plate with those described in the next will shew that the figures of the Farm Cave are identical with those of the Kògun Cave in point of age and character.

[69] See *ante*, p. 18. There is a recumbent Buddha at Pechaburi in Siam 145 ft. long; see Bowring's *Siam*, I. 167: and one in Bangkok, 166 ft. long, *op. cit.*, I. 418.

[70] This 'Third Convocation' is a great landmark in Burmese ecclesiastical history. The Burmans mean by it Aśôka's Third Council, which, according to them, was held in the Year of Religion 235-236 = 307 B. C. Also, according to them, it was as a result of this Convocation that they adopted the Buddhist faith. See Bigandet, *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, II. 139; *ante*, p. 16.

*Plate Ia.*




INDEX PLATE OF PLATE Ia

*Explanation of Index Plate Ia.*

Figures (1) and (2) are two figures on one throne (*palin:*[71]). Fig. (1) is **the Buddha in priestly costume.** Fig. (2) is **the Buddha as Zabûbadê.** In this case the sole of the right foot is *not* exposed. The material is wood. Fig. (3) is a **"Shân Buddha."** Priestly costume; the sole of the right foot is *not* exposed: material, wood. The same is to be said of figs. (4), (9), (11), (12), (13), and (14), all carved in a series of thrones or niches in the same piece of wood; also of figs. (33), (34), (40), (41), (43). Fig. (35) shews the same in stone.

Figures (5) and (6) are **priestly disciples** in the attitude of adoration: material, wood. So is fig. (7): material, stone.

Figure (10) is very interesting as being a **"Cambodian tower"** in wood, exhibiting the four Buddhas of this dispensation, Kakusandha, Kôṇagamana, Kasapa, Gôtama.

Figure (8) is **Zabûbadê in the attitude of submission** to the Buddha after his conversion: material, wood.

Figures (15), (16), (17) and (18) shew **the Buddha seated in the coils of the serpent Ananta,** as on a throne. The serpent is three-headed: the three heads being grotesqued and conventionalized in true Burmese fashion. In both these instances the Buddha has both soles exposed: material, wood.

Figures (19) and (23) shew what is known in Burma as a **"Siamese Buddha"** (*Yôd'ayà P'ayâ*). It is winged after the fashion of Indian and Siṁhalese Buddhas: material terra-cotta. Fig. (36) exhibits the same in stone.

Figures (20) and (37) shew **the Buddha as Zabûbadê:** material, wood. Fig. (24) exhibits the same in terra-cotta: and fig. (39) in stone. So does fig. (42) in stone. Both soles are exposed, probably, in each case.

Figures (21) and (22) are two figures of the Buddha as Zabûbadê on one throne. In this case the sole of the right foot is not exposed: material, wood.

Figures (25) and (28) exhibits the Buddha in priestly costume, both soles exposed; but the type is antique.

Figure (26) exhibits the head of the Buddha of the Shân type in plaster.

Figure (27) is the background in wood of a throne and had originally an image fixed on to it. It is chiefly interesting as shewing symbols of the sun and moon (?), one above the other.

Figures (29) and (30) shew **the janitors of a shrine,** much in the fashion common on doorways in Ceylon and in Cambodia. Material, wood. Compare Plates IV. fig. 1, X. fig. 3, XIV. fig. 16, of Forchhammer's *Report on the Antiquities of Arakan* for similar figures.

Figure (31) is an image of **Mabôndayè** in terra-cotta.

Figure (38) shews two images of the "Shân Buddha" seated on the same throne: material, wood.

It will be perceived that the pagoda, at the foot of which the images have been placed, has been broken into for treasure. This pagoda is that shewn again in Plate V.

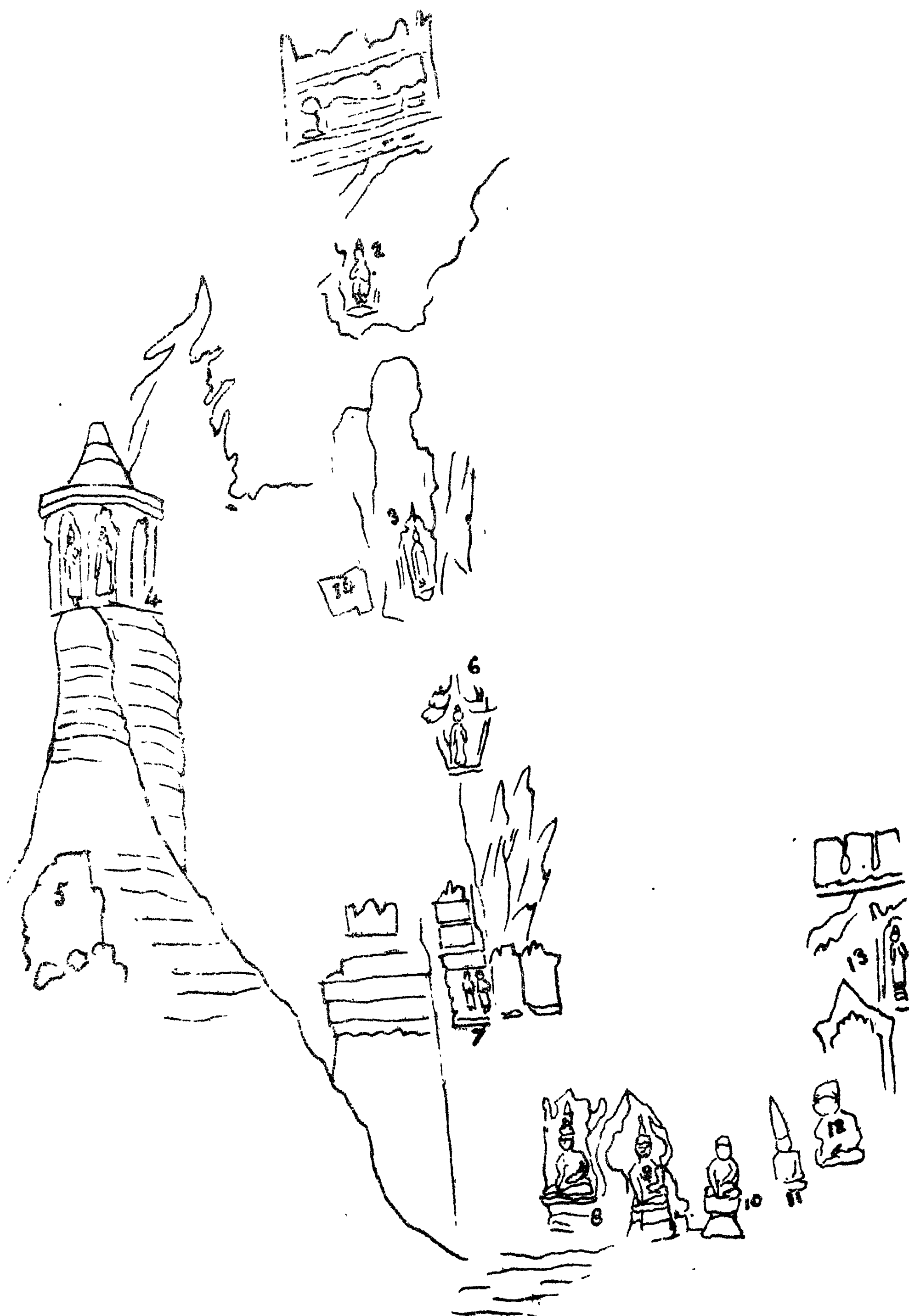
*Plate III.*

This plate shews the elevation of the Entrance Hall of the Kògun Cave, which is alluded to in p. 336, *ante*, where a sketch plan of it is given. An examination of the plate through a magnifier will shew the extent to which the rock has been ornamented by lines of terra-cotta tablets, stuck on by cement and faced for the most with representations of the Buddha seated

[71] Spelt *pallan:* = Pâḷi *pallaṅka.*

in priestly costume, or as Zabûbadê. See Plates XVI. and XVI*a*, and also *ante*, p. 334, where a full-sized representation of the back of one of these tablets is given.

*Plate IV.*




*Index Plate of Plate IV.*

*Explanation of Index Plate IV.*

This Plate shews the mural decoration of the Kògun Cave to consist mainly of terra-cotta tablets, faced with representations of the Buddha, seated as already described. But a few facts are brought prominently to notice in it.

Figure (1) is the recumbent Buddha of not an unusual type.

Figure (2) is a seated image of the type explained below, p. 354, Plate VII.

Figures (3), (6) and (13) are representations of **the Buddha preaching,** a form which is very rare in modern figures, but which must have been common enough when these caves were decorated. I have photographs of a fine set of very ancient type in wood, now at the Shinbinkûjî Pagoda in Talôkmyô, which were taken thither from the Ɖitsabàn Hill at Lègaing, the ancient Vâṇijjagâma in the Minbû District, one of the oldest sites in Upper Burmah.[72] One of these is now set up (restored) at the Sûlê Pagoda in Rangoon. Figure (13) has been accidentally cut out of the Plate, but is in the original photograph.

Figure (7) represents **the Buddha with his Ɖabêk,** or begging bowl.

Figures (8), (9), (10) and (12) are interesting as shewing images of the Buddha (Shân type) with one sole only exposed. Fig. (11) shews him as Zabûbadê with a septuple tiara on his head.

Figure (4) also shews the great hexagonal ornamented stalagmite, which is to be better seen on Plate VII.

Figure (5) exhibits the damage, almost universal in pagodas found in or near the Caves, and done in order to get at the contents of the treasure chamber. See *ante*, p. 333.

The day when this Cave was visited happened to be that of the annual new year's feast, and a couple of boys, worn out with the fatigues of the festival, are to be seen asleep in the foreground. The human figures in the photograph are useful to shew the proportions of the various objects shewn.

Figure (14) is **an inscription** in modern Burmese characters on plaster, which has partly peeled off. The figures 2157 can be made out on the original photograph through a magnifier. Given that this refers to "the Year of Religion," or Anno Buddhæ, it yields the date 1613 A. D. At any rate the inscription is worth looking into, for there should be no difficulty in reading it. Its situation is marked in the sketch plan, *ante*, p. 336.

*Plate V.*

This shews a pagoda which has been twice dug into in search for treasure.[73]

Of the mural decoration the objects of chief interest are a prominent figure of the Buddha preaching, and the small alabaster figures placed in hollows and on ledges in the upper part of the rock.

The boys in the foreground are some of those, who had come to be present at the new year festival noted in describing the last plate.

*Plate VI.*

This plate gives a view, shewing the way into the Main Hall from the Entrance Hall, and shews that the decoration of roof and walls by means of plastering them with terra-cotta tablets extends even to the recesses of the Main Hall. It also shews usefully the extraordinary richness of the remains and the confusion into which they have now fallen.

[72] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 121; Vol. XXII. p. 6.

[73] This is the pagoda which appears in Plate Ia. Alexander, *Travels*, 1827, p. 18, says that about Rangoon a good deal of this kind of damage was due to the European troops in the First War.

The main features of interest in the plate are those noted in the Index Plate.




*Index Plate to Plate VI.*

In many samples in this Plate, notably in figs. (1), (5), (7) and (9), it will be observed that the right sole is not exposed: and this in instances where the figures have obviously been built up of brick and plaster.

Figures (2) and (3) represent **devotees in an attitude of prayer,** and so does fig. (6), giving the back view of a favorite attitude.

Figure (4) is a sample of a "Yôd'ayâ P'ayâ."

Figure (7) is especially interesting as being that of **the Buddha enthroned in the jaws of a gigantic three-headed serpent,** figs. (8), (8), (8). Each head has been conventionalized in the manner already described. I possess a fine example from Amarapura in wood of the Buddha seated on a throne, canopied by a seven-headed serpent, but the example in the Plate is, so far as I am yet aware, unique.

*Plate VII., Plate VIII. fig. 2, Plate IX., Plate IXa, Plate XII., Plate XIII., Plate XV. fig. 1.*

Plate XV. fig. 1 exhibits what is known as the **Kyaikp'i Kyaikp'un,** or simply as the **Kyaikp'un, Pagoda** near Pegu. The remaining plates exhibit glazed bricks found in its neighbourhood, or in Mr. Jackson's Garden in the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu, or presumed to have come from these two spots.

I think an examination of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda may throw light on the **probable origin and date of these peculiar bricks,** which I take to be conventional portraits and commemorative of devotees.

Now the **Kyaikp'un Pagoda,** a huge mass of brick 90 ft. high,[74] **shews, I think, the influence of the Cambodian style of architecture.** That is, it is a solid square brick tower, on each face of which sits a huge figure of one of the four Buddhas of this dispensation, *viz.*, Kakusandha, Kônagamana, Kassapa, and Gôtama. Compare this plate with those given in Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*, fig. 378, p. 680, and I hardly think that there can be much doubt about it. I have also a curious series of coarse chromolithographs by M. Jammes of his visit to Angkor Thom, which confirms this view. The extension of Cambodian, and later of Siamese, power, for a time, as far west as Pegu can, I think, be shewn historically.[75] The Siamese influence seems to have been strongest in the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries: in the 15th century we find the native Talaing Dynasty firmly established. The Cambodians were overthrown by the Siamese in the 14th century, and their influence was not apparently felt in Ramaññadêsa after the 10th century. So that, **if the Cambodians had a hand in the design of this tower, it must date back at least to the 10th century,** and to its being a well-known structure in Talaing times in the 15th century we have the testimony of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions, in which it appears as the Mahâbuddharûpa near a ferry over the Yôga, or Pegu, River.[76]

Plate XIII. goes to further shew **the influence of Cambodian art in this region.** The glazed brick shewn here is from the Zainganaing Quarter of Pegu and the costume of the figures is strongly Cambodian.[77]

Plates IX. and IX*a* exhibit two couples of figures of the portrait class, both, I believe, from Zainganaing. They also shew two versions of the inscription described *ante*, p. 343 f. Plate IX. shews the inscription as described, and Plate IX*a* shews it in a more cursive form, which is interesting on that account. Apart from the testimony of the inscription the costume

[74] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 383. There is in the Phayre Museum a small stone object (broken) with the four Buddhas seated back to back. It was taken from the neighbourhood of the Kyaip'un Pagoda, and may well have been a votive model of it. In Buchanan-Hamilton's "Account of the Religion and Literature of the Burmas" in *Asiatic Researches*, vi., 265, the Four Buddhas turn up as Chauchasam, Gonagom, Gaspa, and Godama! In Malcolm, *Travels*, Vol. ii. p. 284, they are Kaukathan, Gaunagòn, Kathapa and Gaudama, and in Siamese, Kakasan, Konagon, Kasap and Kodom.

[75] See Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 63-66: *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 377.

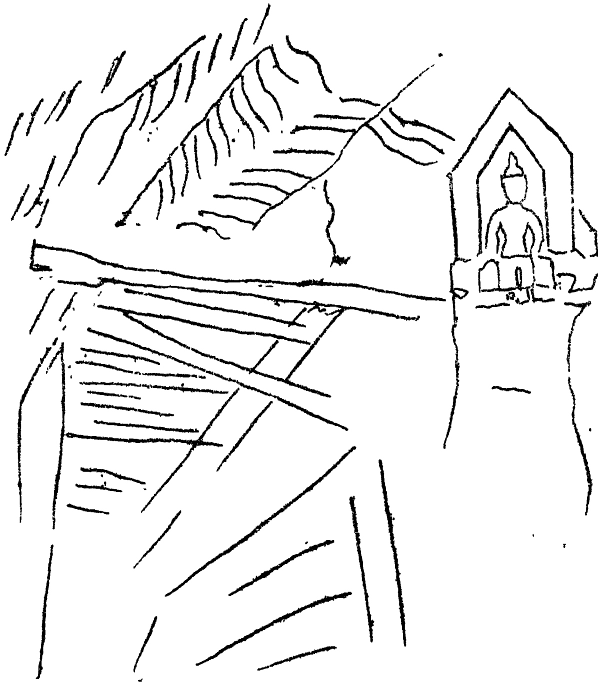
[76] *Ante*, p. 46.

[77] But see *ante*, p. 344 f., as to a possible Siamese origin for these figures.

of the figures is Siamese or Cambodian, as also are the costumes of similar figures in Plates VIII. fig. 2, IX., IX*a*, and XII. from the same place. The figures are not clothed in Burmese fashion.

I would draw attention to **the head-dress of these figures,** because if compared with that of the "Shân Buddhas" and many non-Burmese figures shewn in Plates I*a*, IV., VI. and VII., as found in the caves about Maulmain, it will be seen that they are identical, and **give us a clue as to when they must have been deposited.**

In Plate VII., at the point indicated in the index plate below, is a remarkable seated figure of the Cambodian type, as shewn in Plate XIII.



*Index to Plate VII.*

Close to the Kyaikp'un Pagoda is a large metal image of the Buddha overgrown now by the roots of a huge *pîpal* tree. In the illustration of this in Plate VIII. fig. 2 are to be seen specimens of glazed bricks, shewing precisely the class of 'portraits' above described. The inference is that **whatever the date of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda itself may be, that is also the date of the bricks** seen in the Plate.

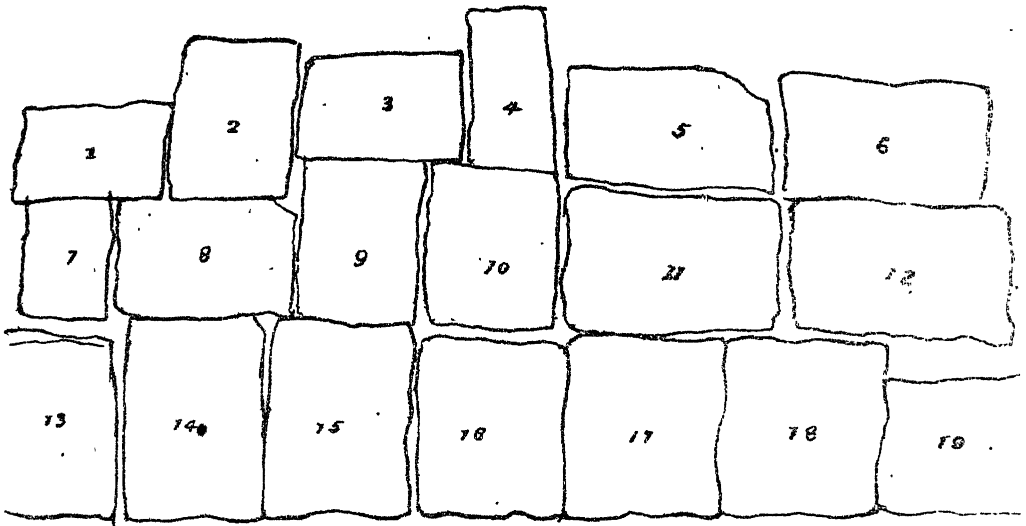
The structures in the Zainganaing Quarter, whence these figures came, can be most safely attributed to a time before Dhammachêtî (the middle of the 15th century),[78] and if the

[78] The great Mahâchêtî Pagoda in Zainganaing was, however, not built till the 16th century, and the Kalyâṇi Ḍêng was built by Dhammachêtî.

date of the Kyaikp'un Pagoda is to be placed earlier than the 13th century, we get a date for these glazed portrait bricks, *viz.*, at the latest the 10th century A. D., and by analogy a similar date for the deposit of similar votive offerings in the caves. Assuming the remains to be of Cambodian origin, then, as the Cambodian power lasted in these parts from the 6th to the 10th centuries, the period between them would be that in which the bulk of the older deposits must have been made.

To sum up the evidence so far available, it may be said that **the older cave remains, if Cambodian, date between the 6th and 10th centuries A. D.: if Siamese, the date must be put forward to the 13th or 14th century.**

*Plate VIII. fig. 1, and Plates X. and XI.*




*Index to Plate VIII. fig.* 1.

Plate VIII. fig. 1 shews selected specimens from the collection of glazed bricks from Pegu (see *ante*, p. 340) in the Phayre Museum, Rangoon. Some are said to have come from Syriam, but I cannot say which. They are sufficient in number and variety to shew the point of the remark already made that the whole set must have represented **the march, battle, flight and defeat of an ogre army.** The march of armed ogres is depicted in figs. (13), (14), (15), (16), and (17): the battle in figs. (1), (2), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12): the flight in figs. (6) and (18): the defeat, as shewn in attitudes of supplication, in (3), (4), (5), and (19).

Plates X. and XI. shew some similar figures to those in this instructive Plate in greater detail. In Plate X. two couples of the army marching are shewn, and one, fig. (3), of the flight. Figure (4) represents the prisoners, **two women** in the tight fitting drawers, or girded skirt, of **the lower orders of the Malays and Siamese.** The trunk and legs, as amongst these women still, are bare. Plate XI. exhibits the battle in figs. (5), (6) and (7), while fig. (8) represents the flight.

The figures are further extremely instructive in the matter of **costume**, and how instructive in the matter of **arms**, the accompanying drawing, taken by Mr. D. M. Gordon of the Burma Secretariat from the original bricks, will shew.

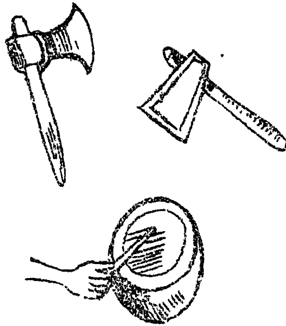



The *d'ás* or knives are shewn in figs. (1), (4), (6), (9), (10): an adze in fig. (2): daggers in figs. (5), (8): spears in figs. (3), (7), (8), (11), (13): round embossed shields (? of leather) in figs. (1), (2), (5), (fig. (5) has a peculiarly Indian attitude and appearance), (6), (14): square shields (? of bamboo) in figs. (9), (10), (13): a Malay *kris* in fig. (14): a wooden mallet in fig. (15): an Indian composite bow, with arrow in fig. (12) (the arrow appears to have palm-leaf 'feathers'): a Kachin cross-bow and arrow in fig. (14): and a quoit in fig. (7).

From Plate XI. fig. 8, I extract two more varieties of armament: an axe and a pestle.[79]



The two axes and the drum below are taken by myself from bricks in the Phayre Museum, which are not shewn on the Plates.



Many more forms could, I think, be made out from a careful examination of the whole 110 bricks in the Museum, but enough have been given to shew the value of these bricks historically.

I would, however, warn antiquaries that it is quite possible that these bricks represent the *Yâmazàt*, which is the *Râmâyaṇa* in disguise, and that it is not, therefore, to be assumed from them that such foreign articles as the composite bow and the round embossed shield exhibit anything more than what the artists had seen in pictures.

*Plates XIIIa, XIV. and XIVa.*

These represent sculptured stones from Thatôn. One would say that they were unique in Burma, were it not for the description of Pagàn in Yule's *Ava*, p. 54, and in Crawfurd's *Ava*, p. 69.[80] They are *primâ facie* Hindu, and Vaishṇava or Saiva in type, according to the reading of the symbols carved on them.[81] But I think Rajendralâla Mitra's remarks in *Buddha Gayâ*, p. 138 f., are instructive in this connection, as shewing how much Tantrik Hinduism and Buddhism are mixed up in Buddhist sculpture in Gayâ itself. He also shews that a Burmese inscription was found at the foot of an image of 'Siva and Pârbatî ! (page 227).

The head-dresses of the figures are remarkable, presuming them to precede the figures in the Cave remains. It will be seen that they are practically the same as those attributed to

[79] One of the "elephants" in Plate X. fig. 2, has a distinct axe in his hand.

[80] Crawfurd's remarks, page 70, in explanation, I think, hit the right nail on the head. In his *Siam*, p. 150, Craufurd makes the following statement, which may prove of use in this connection. "Some questions put to our visitor upon the present occasion, respecting the origin of the Hindu images we saw in the temple, elucidated a point of some consequence in the history of Hindu emigration. They stated that the images in question were brought to Siam from Western India in the year 765 of the vulgar era of the Siamese, which corresponds with the year 1406 of our time. This fact, if correct, proves that an intercourse subsisted between Western India and Siam a full century before Europeans had found their way to the latter country."

[81] See *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 381.

Cambodian origin, *ante*, p. 354, and, for the matter of that, approach very closely to those noted in *Buddha Gayâ*, Plates XIII., XXI. and XXV.

**Given that these stones represent Buddhist sculptures, they would shew that the Tantrik or Northern Buddhism was once prevalent in the neighbourhood of Thatôn,**[82] a view confirmed by the remarks made *ante* Vol. XXI. p. 381, concerning the "Hindu" nature of the glazed tablets round the Ɖajâp'ayâ, and further by the presence of the image of Maɓôndayê in the Caves.

**Maɓôndayê**, respresents the Earth Goddess, **Vasundharâ**, who is the **Vasudhârâ** of Cunningham's *Mahâbôdhi* and the **Prithivî Dêvî** of Rajendralâla Mitra.[83] She is **Vajra-vârâhî and Vajra-kâlikâ**, mother of the Buddha, according to the Northern belief. **Her image is, at Buddha Gayâ, often distinctly Hindu in type**, with 4, 6, and even 8 arms.[84] As Maɓôndayê she is to be seen in Burmese sculptures in many places, notably at the Mahâmuni Pagoda at Mandalay, and I am, as at present advised, strongly inclined to hold that the four-armed female (?) figure in Plate XIIIa is simply Vasudhârâ.[85] It should also be noted that Rajendralâla Mitra points out, at p. 6 of his *Buddha Gayâ*, that her cult appeared very early in Buddhism.

**The presence of Tantrik Buddhism in Burma is a point of more importance than it would at first appear.** The usual belief, based on local tradition, is that the Burmans got their Buddhism through Pâḷi from Ceylon. This belief does not, however, stand historical criticism as clearly as it should to be undeniably correct,[86] and if it can be shewn that the sculptural remains all over the country are of Tantrik origin, the opposite theory, based on criticism, that the Burmans really got their culture and religion overland, or by sea, from the North, will gain overwhelming support.

Here, at any rate, is a pretty bit of **evidence of the early presence of Northern Buddhism in Thatôn** from a native writer of much learning on the points of which he treats. Sarat Chandra Das, in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 50 f., gives a short life of **Dîpankara Srîjñâna, Atîsa,** and says that he "was born **A. D. 980** in the royal family of Gauṛ at Vikramaṇipur in Bangâla, a country lying to the East of Vajrâsana (Buddha Gayâ)." His name was Chandragarbha and he was educated by "the sage Jêtâri, an *avadhût* adept." "He acquired proficiency in the three *piṭakas* of the four classes of the Hînayâna Srâvakas, in the Vaiśêshika philosophy, in the three *piṭakas* **of the Mahâyâna doctrine**, the high metaphysics of the Mâdhyamîka and Yôgâcharya schools, and **the four classes of Tantras.** Ḥaving acquired the reputation of being **a great paṇḍit in the Sâstras of the Tîrthikas**, he defeated a learned Brâhmaṇ in disputation. Then preferring the practice of religion to the ease and pleasures of this world, he commenced the study of the meditative science of the Buddhists, which consists of the *triśîkshâ* of the three studies — morality, meditation and divine learning —, and for this purpose he went to the *vihâra* of Kṛishṇagiri to receive his lessons from Râhula Gupta. Here he was given the secret name of Guhyajñâna Vajra, and **initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism.** At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Sîla Rakshita, the Mahâsângika Âchârya of Odantapurî, who gave him the name of Dîpankara

[82] Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 55, shews that it had completely gained ascendancy at Buddha Gayâ before the Musalmân conquest in 1201 A. D.

[83] *Buddha Gayâ*, p. 139.

[84] For a thoroughly Tantrik conception of Vasundharâ see Forchhammer, *Report on Ant. in Arakan*, p. 19, where he translates an inscription:—"May Vasundharâ, whose extent measures 240,000 *yôjanas*, raise an acclamation of '*sâdhu, sâdhu*,' as a witness to this good work of mine." But I must say that I cannot clearly follow the passage, or the name, in the text given.

[85] Compare *Buddha Gayâ*, Plates XXI. fig. 2, and XX. fig. 4. Oldfield's remarks on the Nepalese representations of Dharma, *Sketches from Nipal*, Vol II. p. 160 ff., may be read with much instruction in this connection. See, also, his illustration at Vol. II. p. 157 of the Triratna.

[86] *Vide* Mr. Ffoulkes' article on Buddhaghôsa, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 105 ff., and Mr. Taw Sein-Ko's article on Sanskṛit words in the Burmese language, *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 94 ff., and *ante*, p. 162 ff.

Śrîjñâna. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikshu, and also given **the vows of a Bôdhisattva** by Dharma Rakshita. He received lessons in metaphysics from several eminent Buddhist philosophers of Magadha." He was in short a **typical Northern teacher of the time.**

Now Sarat Chandra Das goes on to tell us that Dîpaṅkara "on account of these divers attainments, which moved his mind variously in different directions, **resolved to go to Âchârya Chandrakîrtti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvîpa.** Accordingly, in the company of some merchants, he embarked for Suvarṇadvîpa in a large vessel. The voyage was long and tedious, extending over several months, during which the travellers were overtaken by terrible storms. At this time Suvarṇadvîpa was the headquarters of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest was considered the greatest scholar of his age. **Dîpaṅkara resided there for a period of twelve years,** in order to completely master the pure teachings of the Buddha, of which the key was possessed by the High Priest alone." On his return he took up his residence at the shrine of the Mahâbôdhi at Vajrâsana (Buddha Gayâ).

Sarat Chandra Das also remarks, and he seems to be right in so doing, that **Suvarṇadvîpa was Thatôn.**

Also, I cannot help quoting a note by Dr. Rost to p. 234 of Vol. I. of his edition of *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China* in which, after describing Prof. Kern's work in connection with the Sanskṛit inscriptions in the peninsula of Malacca, he says: — **"These inscriptions confirm in a remarkable manner the conclusions to which the recent (1886) decipherments by Barth, Bergaigne, Senart and Kern, of the Cambodian inscriptions inevitably tend — viz., that Buddhism came to the peninsula and Camboja, not from Ceylon, but from regions on the coasts of India, where the so-called Northern type of that religion was current."**

That the great mediæval revival of Buddhism in Burma was supported by Southern influence is unquestionable, but it is far from proved as yet that the original Buddhism of the country was not directly Indian in origin, or that mediæval Northern Buddhism did not greatly affect the ideas of the people. As regards the educated, Tantrik worship and philosophy would seem to have disappeared, but, under cover of *nât*-(spirit)worship, it would seem to still largely survive among the people.

In any case, any such images as those under consideration are worth study, wherever found in order to settle the fundamental point now raised.

To put the matter fairly before the student, it is right to add here **the views that a capable Hindu scholar takes of the figures** shewn on Plates XIII*a*, XIV., and XIV*a*, and so I give here verbatim an opinion kindly expressed for me by Paṇḍit Hari Môhan Vidyâbhûshan, who has **no doubt as to the Vaishṇava nature of the stones.** He writes :— "Plates XIV. and XIV*a* illustrate the Ananta-śagyâ of Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu), *i. e.*, Vishṇu is represented in human form slumbering on the serpent Śêsha, and floating on the waters before the creation of the world, or during the periods of temporary annihilation of the universe. The figure at the bottom of the Plates is that of Nârâyaṇa with four arms. He is floating on the waters reclining on the serpent Śêsha. In Plate XIV*a* the hood of the serpent is visible. Two of the most common names of Vishṇu are Chatur-bhuja (four-armed) and Ananta-śayana (he who sleeps on the serpent Ananta). From the lotus of his navel spring the three gods of the Hindu triad, — Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Mahêśvara. The three stalks of the lotus are very clear in Plate XIV. The figure on the right of the triad is Brahmâ with four heads, whence his names Chaturânana (four-faced), Nâbhija (navel born), and Abja-yôni (lotus born). The figure in the middle with four arms represents Vishṇu, the *saṅkha*, or conch, in his hand (in Plate XIV.) being visible. The figure on the left is Mahêśvara, the *triśûla* in his hand being quite plain in Plate XIV. One of his names is Triśûlî.

"Plate XIII*a* represents Vishṇu with four arms. With one of his left hands he is raising his *gadâ*, or club called *kaumôdakî*. The figure on his left is not quite clear, but seems to be an attendant."

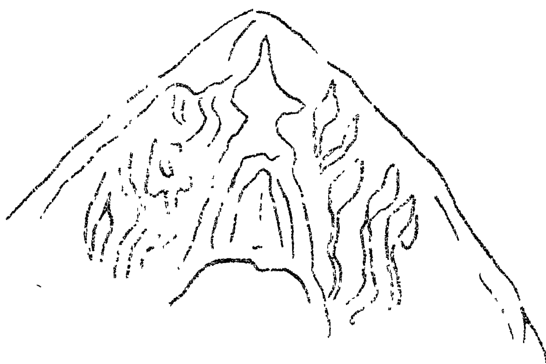
It will be observed that there are the remains of an inscription on Plate XIII*a* by the right arms of the large figure. I tried to make it out on the stone and failed, but from a plaster cast I had taken enough could be seen of it to determine the characters to be Burmese of the Kyauksâ type.

*Plate XV. fig. 2.*

This plate represents the tablet found in Pegu by Mr. Taw Sein-Ko (*ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 385). In the Phayre Museum there are three more such tablets: one from Pegu and two from Pagàn.[87] There is a number of such tablets in the British Museum and in the South Kensington Museum, brought thither from Buddha Gayâ itself. They seem to be intended to memorialize in a small space the life of the Buddha, after the fashion, on a much larger scale, of the stone slabs pictured by Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, Vol. II. p. 56, and quite lately in Part II. of the *Journal* of the Buddhist Text Society.

The inscription on this particular tablet, which is in mediæval Northern Indian characters, proves beyond all doubt, irrespective of its general form, that it is a specimen of a distinct class of votive objects found in great numbers at Buddha Gayâ. In Plate XXIV. of his *Mahâbôdhi*, Sir A. Cunningham figures several of the tablets he found and calls them "terra-cotta seals," and I think the best explanation of them is that given *ante*, in Vol. XXI. p. 385, footnote, *viz.*, that there was a factory of such objects at Gayâ for the pilgrims, who took them thence all over the Buddhist world of the time as keepsakes and relics, and presented them to their own places of worship on their return home. The tablet figured in the plate is almost identical with the much finer specimen figured by Cunningham as fig. E, Plate XXIV.

The only special remark I would make about it is that the serpentine objects towards the top of the tablet (see figure below) are not serpent heads, but the leaves of the *bôdhi* tree, known to the Burmese as *nyaungywet*.



The institution of formal pilgrimages to Gayâ from Burma is proved by the inscriptions there, dated in the 11th century A. D., and it may be fairly argued that the presence of these tablets in Pagàn and Pegu is due to the pilgrimages made from the former place in the 11th century and from the latter, under the auspices of the great revivalist king Dhammachêtî, in the 15th century. Dhammachêtî is well known to have sent a large pilgrimage to Gayâ.

[87] See also Crawfurd's *Ava*, p. 69. In Forchhammer's *Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan*, similar tablets are shewn on Plates VII. and VIII. Nos. 15, 16 and 17, but not described. Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 14 f., seems to refer to these tablets: and so does Clement Williams, *Through Burmah to China*, p. 57.

*Plates XVI. and XVIa.*

As the figures in these two Plates have unfortunately not been numbered, it is necessary to give index numbers here, thus:—

Plate XVI.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | |
| | | 3 |
| 5 | 4 | |
| | | 6 |
| 7 | | |
| | 8 | |

Plate XVI*a*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 2 | |
| 1 | | 3 |
| | 5 | |
| 4 | | 6 |

In Plate XVI. all the figures represent terra-cotta tablets from D'ammaþâ and Kògun. Figures (1), (4), (5) and (8) represent the Buddha as Zabûbadê, and Figs. (2), (6) and (7) shew him dressed in priestly costume. Figure (7) is interesting as shewing in the original bad gilding, proved by the figure being now covered with verdigris.

Figure (3) shews one of three small tablets found in the Kògun Cave. I cannot explain it further than by pointing out that it shews a king seated on a throne with a standing female figure on either side of him and three seated Buddhas, or perhaps Buddha, Saṅgha and Dharma, over his head.

In Plate XVI*a* we have Fig. (1) the Buddha as Zabûbadê and in Fig. (3) Zabûbadê himself kneeling to the Buddha after his defeat. In Fig. (4) we see a specimen of a "Shân Buddha," with the right sole *not* exposed. All these are from Kògun. Figure (2) exhibits a fine plaster head of the Buddha canopied by the grotesqued head of Ananta. This is from the Farm Cave.

In Figs. (5) and (6) are compared two images in wood, gilt, of priests or disciples praying to the Buddha. Figure (5) is one of a modern set from Prome of the "eight attitudes of prayer." Figure (6) is from Kògun and is clearly ancient in form.

*Plates XVIII. and XIX.*

The fine situations of many pagodas and religious buildings in Burma has been often remarked. The same may be said of many of the cities of the Burmese: — Rangoon, Maulmain, Prome, Pagàn, Mandalay, Sagaing, Avà, Amarapura, are all placed in exceptionally fine situations. Even flat Pegu looks well from the river. The site of the great, but abortive, pagoda at Myingun, opposite Mandalay, is most striking.

Another prominent feature in pagoda building is the habit the Burmese have, owing to the increased merit gained thereby, of erecting them in difficult situations. The greater the difficulty, the greater the merit (*kûþò*). This is common to all Burma, and it may be said that most difficult and naturally inaccessible hills have pagodas on the top, access to which is often only to be had by climbing rickety bamboo ladders up dangerous precipices and over deep clefts in the rock.[88]

In Plate XVIII. is given a well-known specimen of one of many similar pagodas in the Shwêgyin District, *i. e.*, in the heart of Ramaññadêsa. It is only possible to reach it by means of ladders.

[88] This has been noticed by Clement Williams, *Through Burmah to China*, p. 64: Malcom, *Travels*, 1839, ii. 60.

Plate XIX. shews the approach to the D'ammaþâ Cave on the Jain River. This plate exhibits all the peculiarities above mentioned. It shews the very fine situation of the village of D'ammaþâ, the small gilt pagoda on the summit of the hill overlooking the river, and the monastic buildings around it. The hill in the distance is that in which the great cave is situated and on its difficult summit are situated no less than three small pagodas.

*The Original Photographs.*

I desire to record fully the origin of the Plates, which has only been partially noted on the Plates themselves.

**Mr. P. Klier** of Rangoon took Plates I., VI., VII., XVII., XVIII., and XIX. **Mr. F. O. Oertel** took Plates I*a*, III., IV., V., VIII. Fig. 1, during the journey herein described. The late **Mr. R. Romanis** took Plate II. many years ago. **Messrs. Watts and Skeen** of Rangoon took Plates VIII. Fig. 2, XV. Fig. 1, and at my special request Plates IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XIII*a*, XIV., XIV*a*, XV. Fig. 2, XVI., XVI*a*. **Mr. W. Robinson** of the Oxford Museum took Plate IX*a*, also at my special request.

## 12. — Additional Notes.[89]

*The Sculptures from Thatôn.*

There is a passage in Anderson's *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 216, which is extremely valuable for the purposes of the present discussions, for it seems to settle the **Northern Buddhistic nature of the remains from Thatôn.** "In the *khyoung* [monastery] which formed our residence [at Momien], there was a figure of **Puang-ku** [*i. e.*, **Pan Ku**] the Creator, seated on a bed of leaves resembling those of the sacred *padma* or lotus. This remarkable **four-armed figure** was lifesize and naked, save for garlands of leaves round the neck and loins. He was seated cross-legged like Buddha, the two uppermost arms stretched out, forming each a right-angle. The right hand held a white disc and the left a red one. The two lower arms were in the attitude of carving, the right hand holding a mallet and the left a chisel."

Compare this description with Plate XIII., and there can be little doubt that the two representations are meant for the same mythological personage. As to **Pan Ku**, I gather from Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Handbook*, pp. 173 (under Pan Ku), 201 (under Sze-ma Ts'ien), and 376 (Sung Dynasty), that this primordial being of the Chinese was unknown in 85 B. C., and is not heard of before 420 A. D. Now, according to Eitel, *Buddhism*, p. 22ff., Buddhistic images and ideas first became popularized in China between 62 and 75 A. D. under the Emperor Ming Ti of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and at once became allied with Tauism, which had at that time already descended to the level of the indigenous and popular aminism.[90] Further, Pan Ku would also appear to be the counterpart, representative, or successor in art and sculpture, as well as in association, of the Buddhist Dharma as conceived by the Northern schools.[91]

In this connection, I may as well note here, as a proof of the survival of Tantrik notions among the modern Burmese, that I have been for some time collecting all the vernacular literature I can lay hands on about the **"Thirty-seven Nàts,"** or chief spirits. I have amongst other documents four complete sets of drawings of the Thirty-seven Nàts. The drawings do not agree in numbering or nomenclature, but they all agree in giving **two of the Nàts four to six arms each.**[92]

I have already had occasion to remark that it is easy to mix up Buddhist and Hindu sculpture, and to mistake the former for the latter. Writing, as I now am, in the hope of

[89] From information procured since the pages of this article were set up.

[90] See also Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. i. p. x.

[91] See Eitel, *Op. cit*, pp. 91-95ff.

[92] The stories of the Nàts all purport to be historical and to state who they were in life. They seem to approach very closely to the "saints" of the Indian Musalmâns, to the Bhûtas of Southern India, and in some respects to the canonized saints of Europe. Bowring shows, *Siam*, I. 291, that something very like *Nàt*-worship is common in Siam.

rousing students in Burma to a deep examination of the splendid antiquities about them, and observing, as indeed one cannot help doing, the unanimity with which they hold that Burmese Buddhism has always been what it is now, and their tendency to refer everything Vaishṇava or Śaiva in form to a supposed pre-Buddhistic Hinduism, I would draw prominent attention to some remarks made by **Brian Hodgson** nearly 70 years ago. The caution he inculcates is to my mind as important now as it was in those early days of Buddhistic research.

Writing in 1827 and 1828, he[93] says: "It is the purpose of the following paper to furnish to those, who have means and inclination to follow them out, a few hints relative to the **extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism.** Having myself resided some few years in a Bauddha country [Nêpâl], I have had ample opportunity of noting this resemblance, and a perusal of the works of Crawfurd,[94] of Raffles, and of the Bombay Literary Society, has satisfied me that this curious similitude is not peculiar to the country wherein I abide. I observe that my countrymen, to whom any degree of identity between faiths, in general so opposite to each other as Saivism and Buddhism, never seems to have occurred, have, in their examination of the monuments of India and its islands, proceeded on an assumption of the absolute incommunity between the types of the two religions, as well as between the things typified. This assumption has puzzled them not a little, so often as the evidence of their examination has forced upon them the observation of images in the closest juxtaposition, which their previous ideas, nevertheless, obliged them to sunder as far apart as Brahmanism and Buddhism.

"When, in this country in which I reside, I observed **images the most apparently Saiva placed in the precincts of Saugata [Buddhist] temples,** I was at first inclined to consider the circumstance as an incongruity, arising out of ignorant confusion of the two creeds by the people of this country. But, upon multiplying my observations, such a resolution gave me no satisfaction. These images often occupied the very *penetralia* of Saugata temples, and in the sequel I obtained sufficient access to the conversation and books of the Bauddhas to convince me that the cause of the difficulty lay deeper than I had supposed. The best informed of the **Bauddhas contemptuously rejected the notion of the images in question being Saiva,** and in the books of their own faith they pointed out the Bauddha legends, justifying and explaining their use of such, to me, doubtful symbols. Besides, my access to the European works, of which I have already spoken, exhibited to me the very same apparent anomaly existing in regions the most remote from one another and from that wherein I dwell. Indeed, whencesoever Bauddha monuments, sculptural or architectural, had been drawn by European curiosity, the same dubious symbols were exhibited; nor could my curiosity be at all appeased by the assumption which I found employed to explain them. I showed these monuments to a well informed old Bauddha, and asked him what he thought of them, particularly the famous Trimûrti image of the Cave Temple of the west. He recognized it as a genuine Bauddha image! As he did many others, declared by our writers to be Śaiva! ... ........... The purpose of my paper is to show that very many symbols, the most apparently Śaiva, are, notwithstanding, strictly and purely Bauddha; and that, therefore, in the examination of the antiquities of India and its islands, we need not vex ourselves, because on the sites of old Saugata temples we find the very *genius loci* arrayed with many of the apparent attitudes of a Śaiva god. Far less need we infer, from the presence, on such sites, of seemingly Śaiva images and types, the presence of actual Saivism. ........... Upon the whole, therefore, **I deem it certain,** as

[93] "On the extreme resemblance that prevails between many of the symbols of Buddhism and Saivism." *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vii. 218ff. viii. 252ff.; *Languages, etc., of Nêpâl*, 133ff.

[94] Q. Crawfurd, *Sketches of the Hindus*, 1792, or perhaps J. Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*. In the former work, Vol. ii. p. 117ff., is an account of the "affinity between the religion of Siam, China, Japan, and Thibet, and that of Hindustan," the author remarking in a footnote to p. 117, "with the religion of Arracan and Pegu we are not much acquainted; but, as far as I had been able to learn, it is almost the same with that of Siam." In 1786, Flouest, the traveller, sent home a long account of the "Religions des Peguans et des Bramas" (*T'oung Pao*, ii. 7ff.), but it seems to have been official and to have never been published till 1891.

well that the types of Saivism and Buddhism are very frequently the same, as that the things typified are, always more or less, and generally radically, different."

### Pegu Jars.

Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, page 95, gives a reference to the Pegu jar, which is a valuable contribution on the subject, to prove the spread of the article at that time. He quotes "a memorandum of **1664** preserved in the Public Record Office, London, and entitled, 'The Trade of India as 'tis now managed by the English Company of Merchants trading in some parts of it is very invallid in comparison of what is now drove by our neighbour nation the Dutch.'" It states that "many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a Port in y^t Bay [Bangala] which returnes rubies and readie money, the coine or currant money of the place, allsoe **Martanans Jarres.**"

Yule gives the quotation from Pyrard de Laval, already referred to, from the French edition of 1679 (i. 179), thus:—"Des iarres les plus belles, les mieux vernis et les mieux façonnées que j'aye veu ailleurs. Il y en a qui tiennent autant qu'vne pippe et plus. Elles se font au Royaume de Martabane, d'ou on les apporte, et d'ou elles prennent leur nom par toute l'Inde." Commenting on this passage in his edition of Pyrard (i. 259), Gray remarks,[95] "Mr. Bell (*Report on the Maldives*, 1880) saw some large earthenware jars at Málé, some about two feet high, called *rumba*, and others large and barrel shaped, called **mátabán.** The name seems to survive also on the Madras coast; *e. g.*, we find in Mr. P. Brown's *Zillah Dictionary*, 1852, '**Martaban**, name of a place in Pegu: a black jar in which rice is imported from (*sic*) thence.'"

In Brown's *Dictionary of the Mixed Dialects and Foreign Words used in Telugu*, 1854, I find, page 88: "**Martabân**, a black Pegu jar; so called because imported from Martaban."

Perhaps the neatest unconscious reference of all to the Pegu jar is in Hunter's *Account of Pegu*, 1785, which tells us (page 65) that "a foreigner may marry one of the natives, on which occasion he pays a stipulated sum to her parents; but, if he leaves the country, he is not permitted to carry his wife along with him. So strict is the law in this particular, and so impossible it is to obtain a dispensation from it, that some men, who have had a great affection for their wives, have been obliged, on their departure, to carry them away secretly in jars, which were supposed to be filled with water."

I may as well summarize here, in tabular form, the history and wanderings of the Pegu Jar from the evidence alluded to above and *ante*, page 340f., including the statements made in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Martaban.

| Date. | Place. | Name. | Author. |
|---|---|---|---|
| *c.* 748 | Burma ... ... ... ... | ...... | Parker. |
| *c.* 832 | Burma ... ... ... ... | ...... | Parker. |
| 1350 | India ... ... ... ... | Martabân ... ... ... | Ibn Batûta. |
| *c.* 1450 | France ... ... ... ... | Martabani ... ... | "1,001 *Jours*." |
| 1516 | Pegu ... ... ... ... | Martaban ... ... | Barbosa. |
| 1598 | Do. ... ... ... ... | Martauana ... ... | Linschoten. |
| 1609 | Philippines and Japan ... | Tibor ... ... ... | De Morga. |
| 1610 | Maldives ... ... ... | Martabane ... ... | Pyrard de Laval. |
| 1615 | Portugal ... ... ... | Martabania ... ... | Du Jarric. |

[95] Pyrard was wrecked in the Maldive Islands on the 2nd July 1602, and was a captive there till February 1607, and it was during his captivity that he remarked on the Martaban jars, which he saw in the ships from Mogor (= the coast of Sindh and Gujarât), Arabia, and Persia.

| Date. | Place. | Name. | Author. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1664 | England ... ... ... | Martanan ... ... ... | Anderson. |
| 1673 | France ... ... ... ... | Merdebani ... .. | Galland. |
| 1673 | Western India.. ... ... | Mortivan ... ... ... | Fryer. |
| 1688 | India ... ... ... ... | Montaban... ... ... | Dampier. |
| 1690 | Moluccas ... ... ... | Martavana ... ... | Rumphius. |
| 1711 | Pegu ... ... ... ... | Mortıvan ... ... ... | Lockyer. |
| 1726 | India ... ... ... ... | Martavaan ... ... | Valentijn. |
| 1727 | Pegu ... ... ... ... | Martavan... ... ... | Alex. Hamilton. |
| 1740 | India ... ... ... ... | Pegu Jar ... ... ... | Wheeler. |
| 1820 | Arabia and Persia ... ... | Martaban ... ... ... | Fraser. |
| 1833 | Pegu ... ... ... ... | Pegu Jar ... ... ... | Low. |
| 1850 | Borneo ... ... ... ... | Gusih ... ... ... | Boyle. |
| 1851 | Calcutta and Maulmain ... | Pegu Jar ... ... ... | *Exhibition Catalogue*, 1851. |
| 1852 | North Madras ... ... ... | Martabân ... ... ... | Brown. |
| 1880 | Maldives ' ... ... ... | Mâtabân (Rumba) ... | Bell. |

*Some Forgotten Ancient Sites.*

The whole of Eastern Ramaññadêsa, now comprised in the Maulmein, or Amherst [Kyaikk'amî], District of Burma, having for centuries been the battle ground between Burman, Talaing, Shan, Karen, Taungðû, Siamese, and Cambodian, — the cockpit, in fact, of, Lower Burma, — is alive with historic memories and full of old historic sites, which, perhaps patience and careful study, both of the surface of the country, and of the old MS. chronicles and records preserved in many parts of it, may yet recover to the student.

Many of these places are now practically unknown even to the local residents, and certainly so to the world of orientalists in general. But, in one of the wildest pamphlets about Burma that it has been my lot to peruse, Coryton's *Letter to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the prospects of a direct Trade Route to China through Moulmein*, 1870,[96] at page 12, is preserved a paragraph from a Forest *Report* of 1848, which has a notice, worth following up, of some ruined sites along the Ɖaungjin river, forming part of the boundary between Burma and Siam: —

"Before the occupation of these Provinces by the Burmese, the valley of the Thoungyeen was divided into four counties or jurisdictions, extending from Donaw to the Toungnyo range, and supported a considerable Talien [Talaing] population. The chief cities, the ruins of which may still be traced, were Meerawadie, Doungnuey (now Wiensaw), Dounggryyeen (now Ekalaik), and Dong Thoungyeen. These were all situated on the now British bank of the Thoungyeen, whilst their rice cultivation lay on the other side of the river, now possessed by the Shans subject to Siam." For these town names read *Myàwadî*, *Dôngnwê*, *Winsò*, *Dôngjîyin*, *Dôngɓaungjîn*. All appear to be unknown to any fame, except Myàwadî, which is mentioned in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, II. 797, and again at page 428. This time without any kind of mention as to its being a place of ancient historical interest. Mason, *Natural Productions of Burma*, page iii. of the 1850 Ed., gives a story of another site of similar name, *Dôngyin*, under the name Dōngyang, in his own peculiar romantic style; and this story is partly repeated in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, II. 141, *s.v.* Doonreng: so difficult is it in the present state of

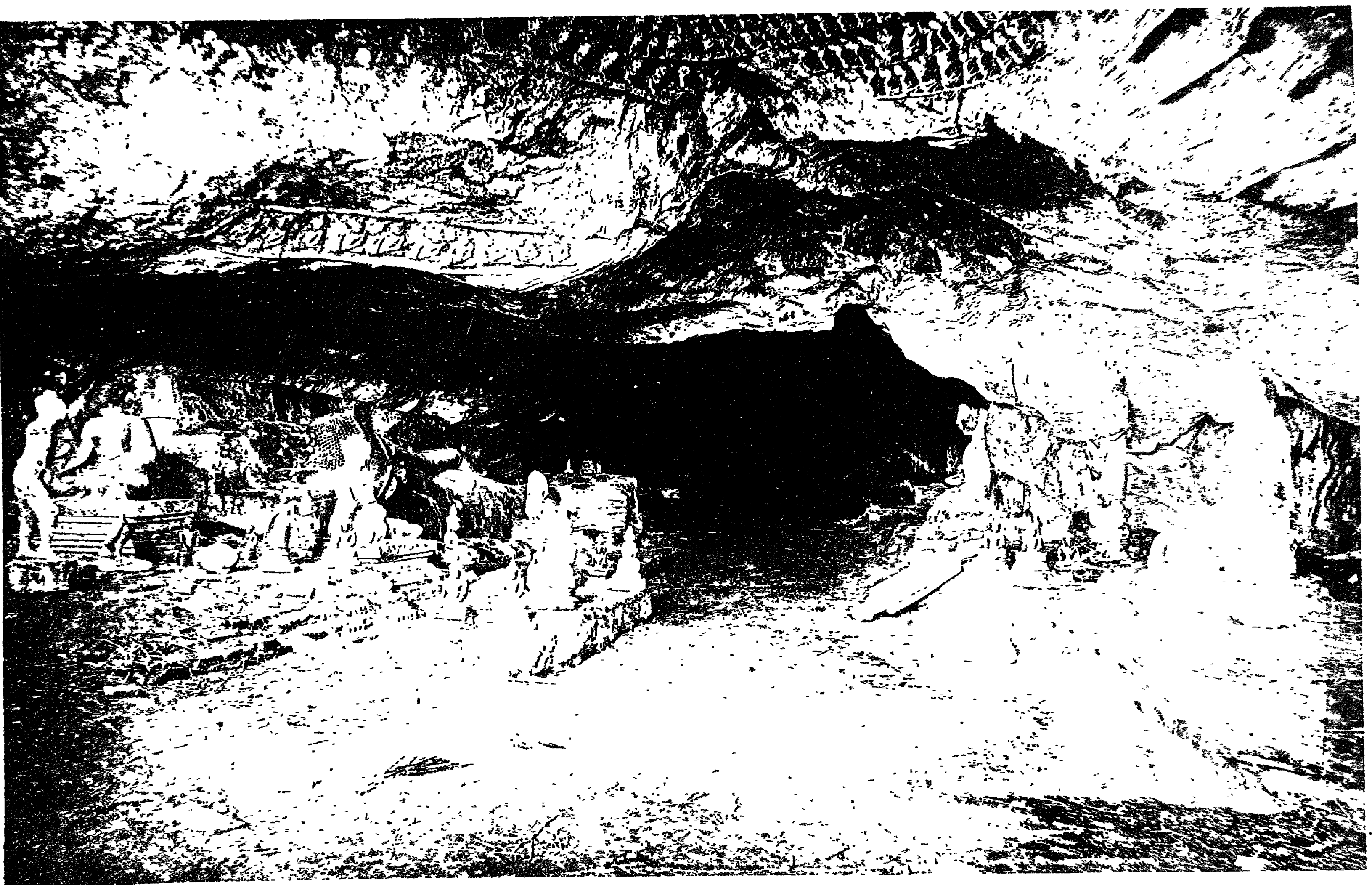
[96] The author was Recorder of Maulmain; and for astonishing discursiveness and, to the Anglo-Burman, for amusing comments on current local politics, I recommend this production. One gathers that he lived in perpetual hot water with the Government, and one does not wonder.

Burmese transliteration to identify place names. Dôngyin appears to be a Karen name according to Mason, who takes the opportunity, as usual, to record the local folk-etymology thereof as the true one!

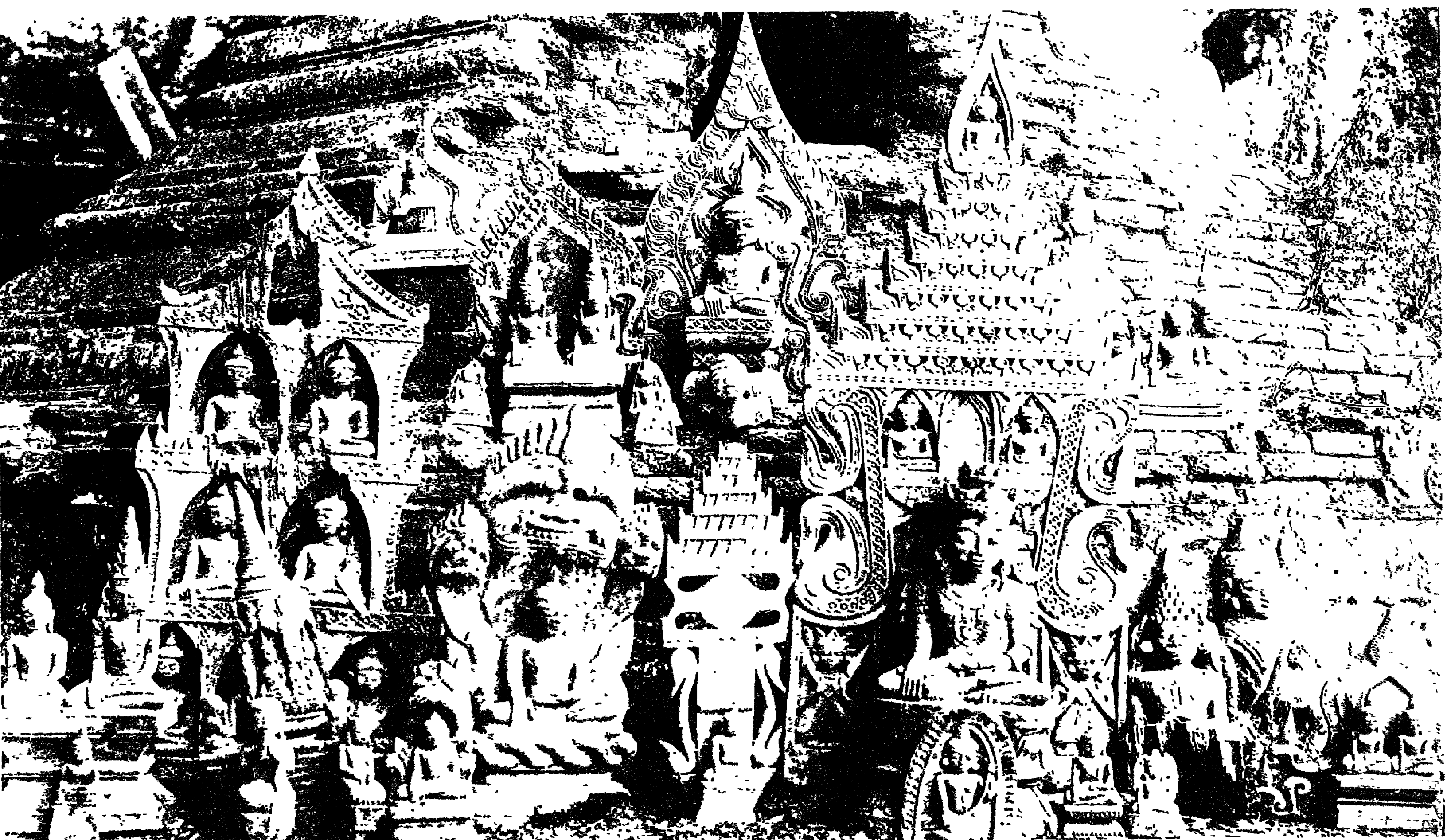
*The Kògun Cave.*

The American Missionary, Malcom, travelled about the rivers which centre at Moulmein in 1835 with Judson, and gives an account, somewhat confused in its outlines, of the caves visited by myself. He says that he went to "the three most remarkable — one on the Dah Gyieng and two on the Salween." I gather from his description that these were respectively the *D'ammabâ* on the Jain and the *P'âgàt* and *Kògun* on the Salween. Of the last he gives an account in his *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 61f., which is sufficiently graphic to be worth repeating. "The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular, but uneven, face of the mountain, inclosed in a strong brick wall, which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain, and nothing remarkable strikes the eye, till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gaudama of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of 80 or 90 (? 50) feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting (? rising) sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces are covered by small flat images of burnt clay and set in stucco. Of these last there are literally thousands. In some places they have fallen off with the plaster in which they were set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. Nowhere in the country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of infatuation and folly (*scil.*, religious zeal of a different kind to the writer's). Everywhere on the floor, overhead, in the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons on the roof, are crowded together images of Gaudama, the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded, others incrusted with calcareous matter, some fallen, yet sound, others mouldered, others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous size, some not larger than one's finger, and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some, even of marble, are so time-worn, though sheltered of course from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, *kyoungs*, &c., some not larger than half a bushel, and some 10 or 15 feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one on the other. As we followed the paths which wound among the group of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of 500 tons could not carry away the half of them."

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*P. Klier, Photo.*

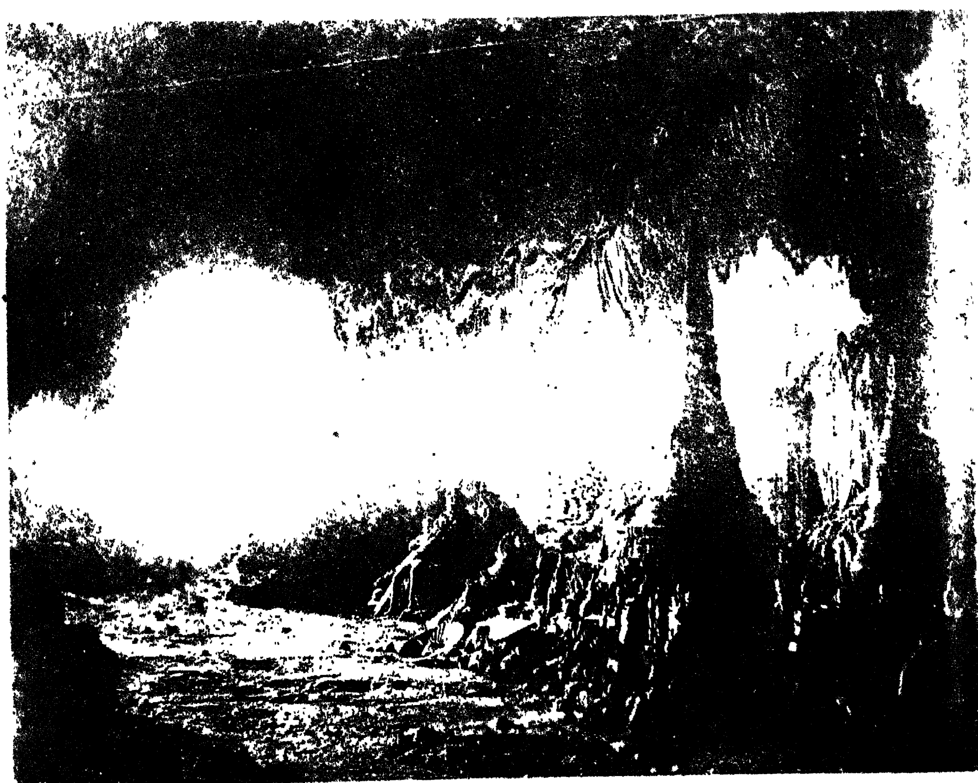


*F. O. Oertel, Photo.*

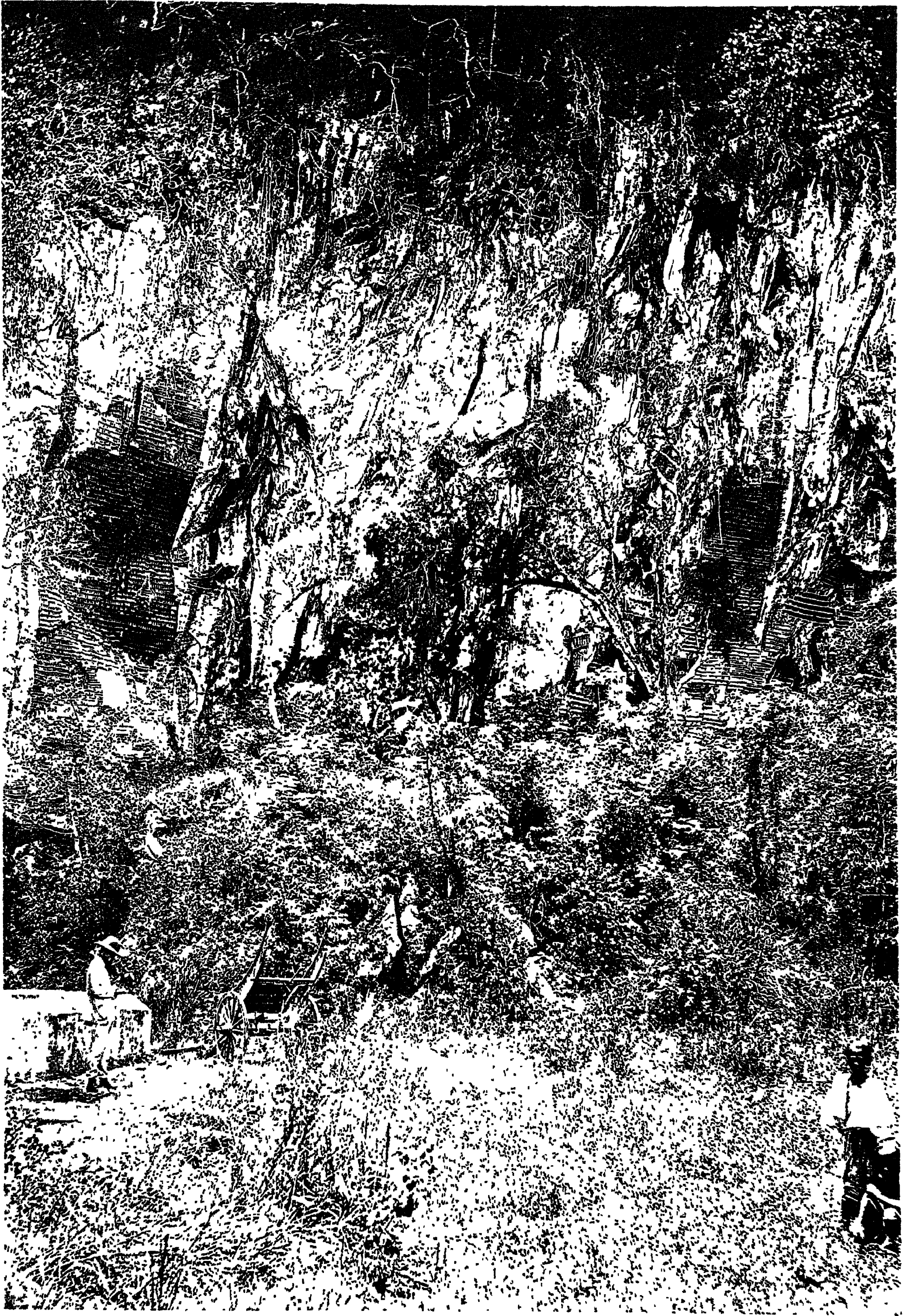
I*a*.—Images and Objects in the Kògun Cave.



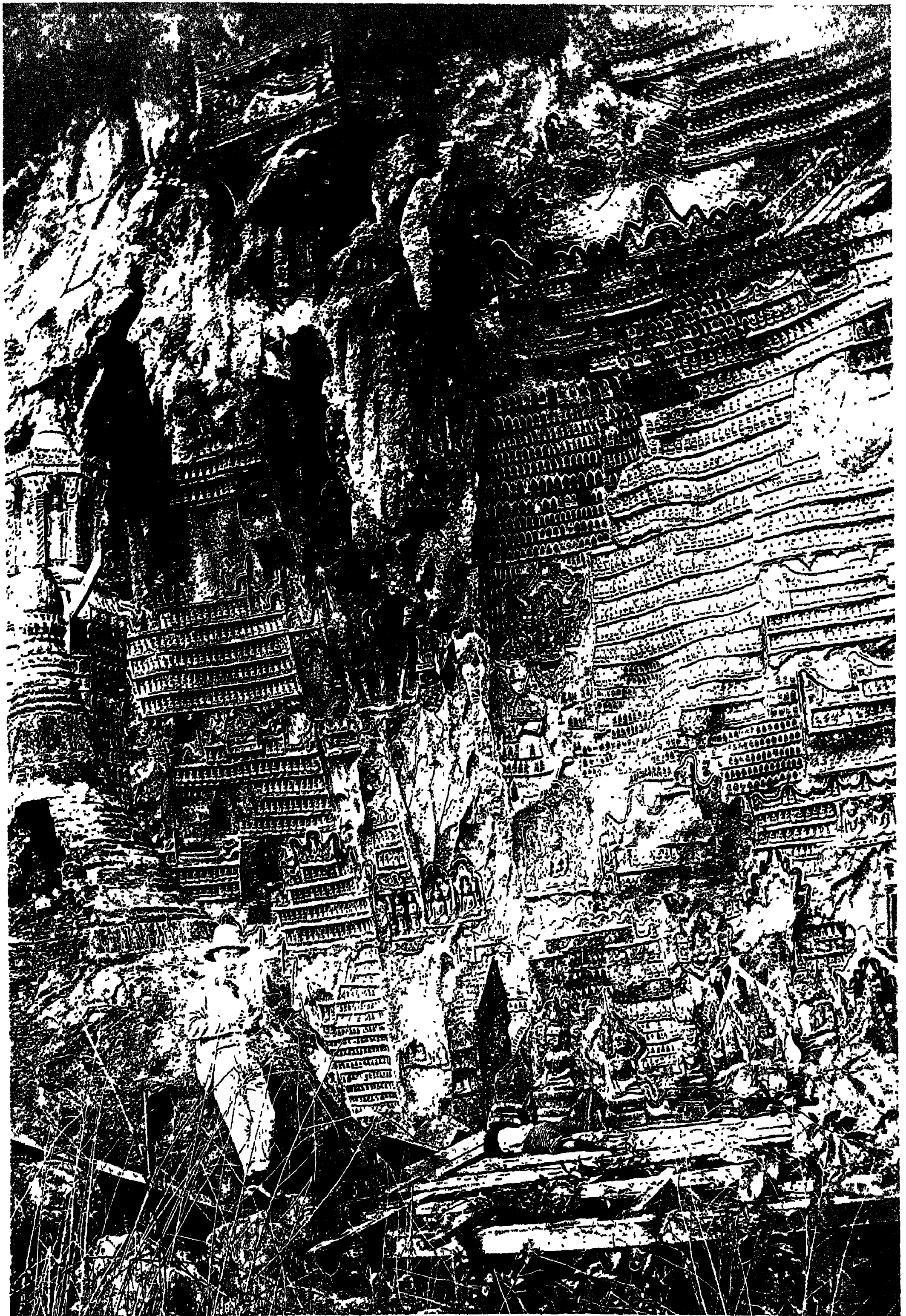
Fig. 1. Bhinjî Cave—Entrance.



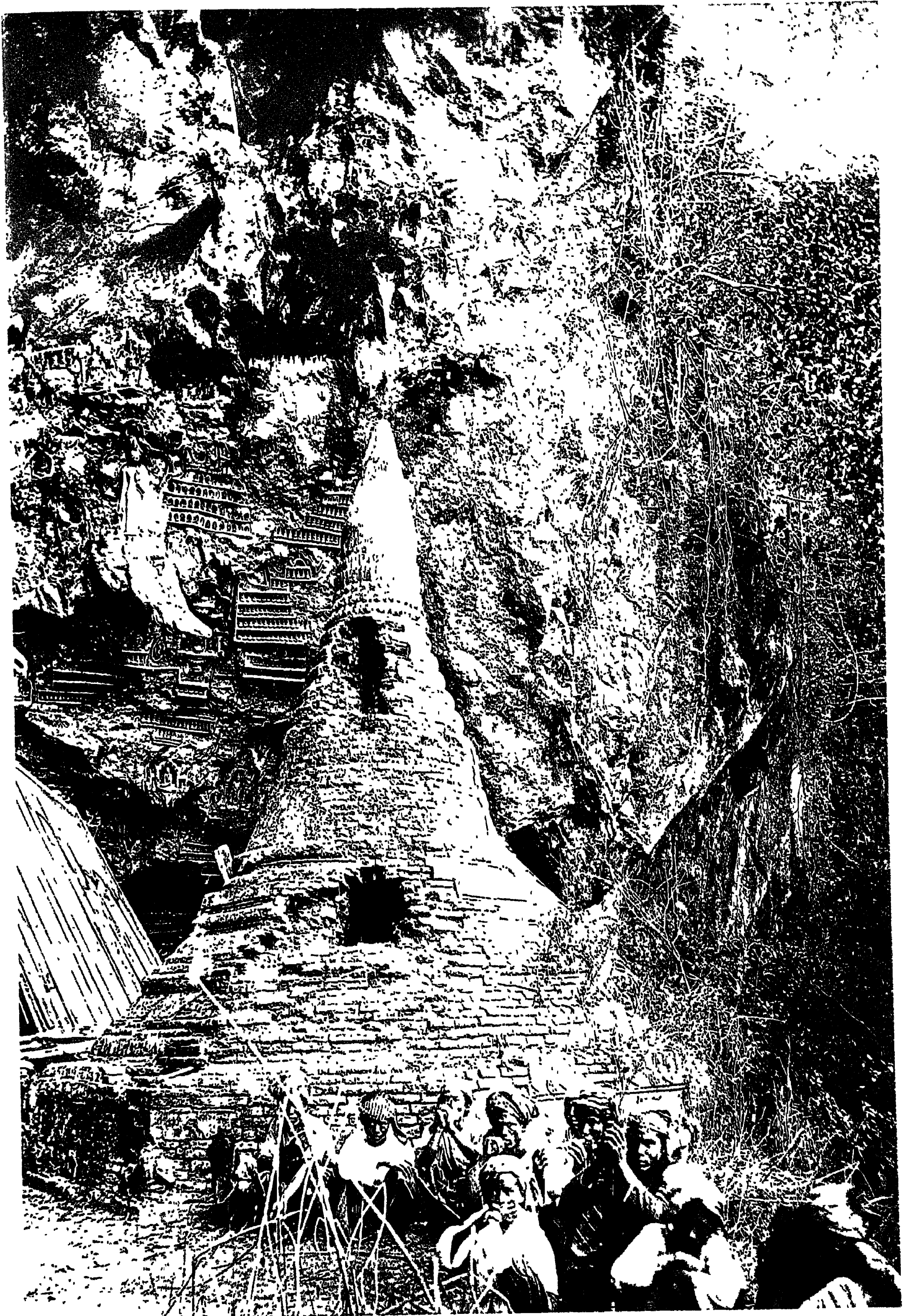
II.—Fig 2 Bhinjî Cave —Interior



III.—General View of Entrance Hall, Kògun Cave.



IV.—Mural Ornamentation, Entrance Hall, Kògun Cave.



*F. O. Oertel, Photo.*

V.—Kògun Cave, looking towards Entrance of Main Hall.





Photo.

VII.—The Great Stalagmite, Kogun Cave.



Fig. 1. Grotesque Figures from Pegu and Syriam

VIII.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks.

Fig. 2. Image of Buddha, with glazed terra-cotta bricks *in situ*, near the Kyaikpun Pagoda, Pegu.



Watts & Skeen, Photo.

IX.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu



*W. Robinson, Oxford Museum, Photo*

IX*a*.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Brick. Inscribed Tablet from Pegu.





1.





3.

*Watts & Skeen, Photo.*

X.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.

Scale ·17.





5.



8.



7.

*Watts & Skeen, Photo.*

XI.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.

Scale ·17.



10.



9.



12.



11.

Watts & Skeen, Photo.

XII.—Bas-reliefs on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu



Watts & Skeen, Photo

XIII.—Bas-relief on Glazed Terra-cotta Bricks from Pegu.

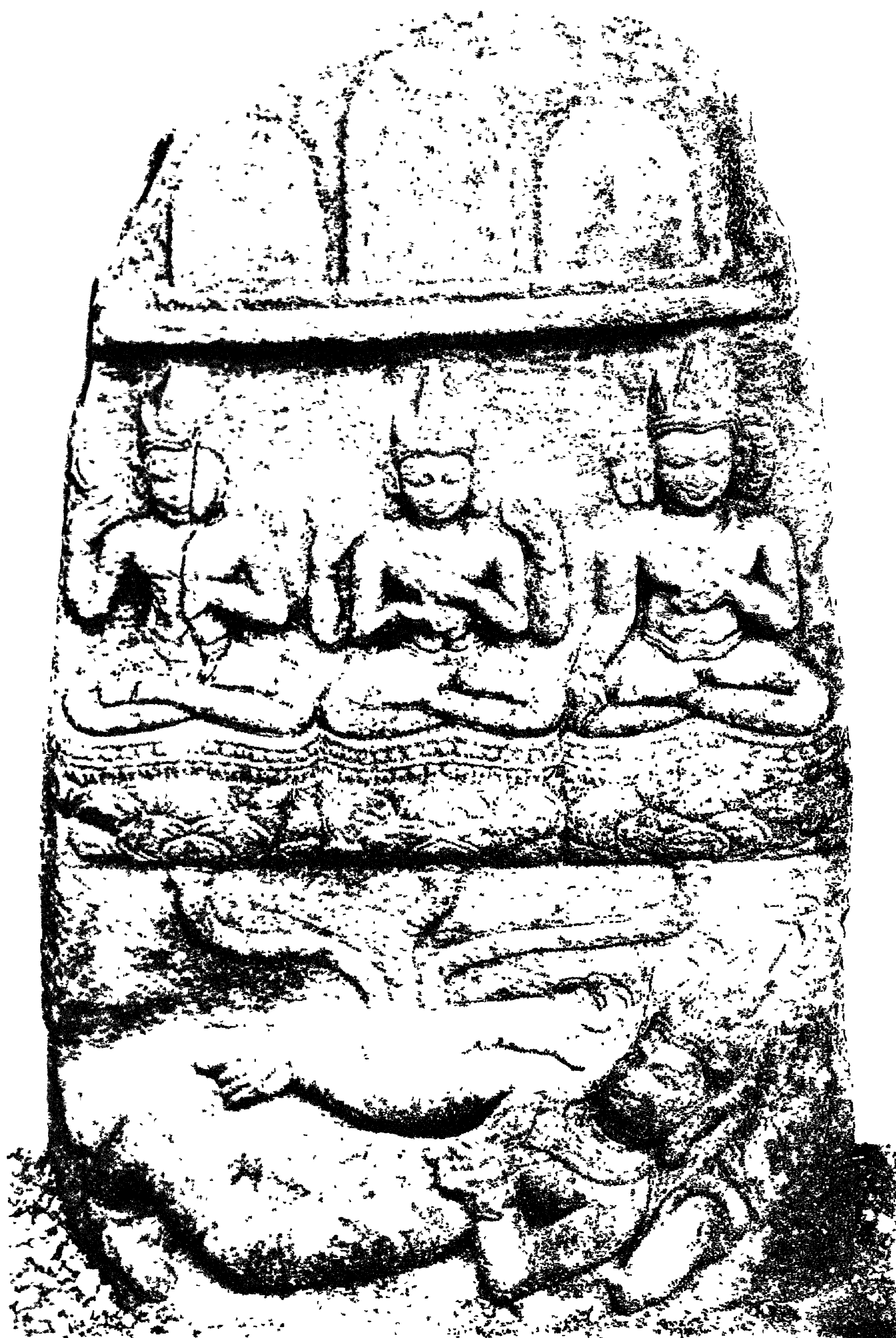
Scale 26.



Watts & Skeen, Photo

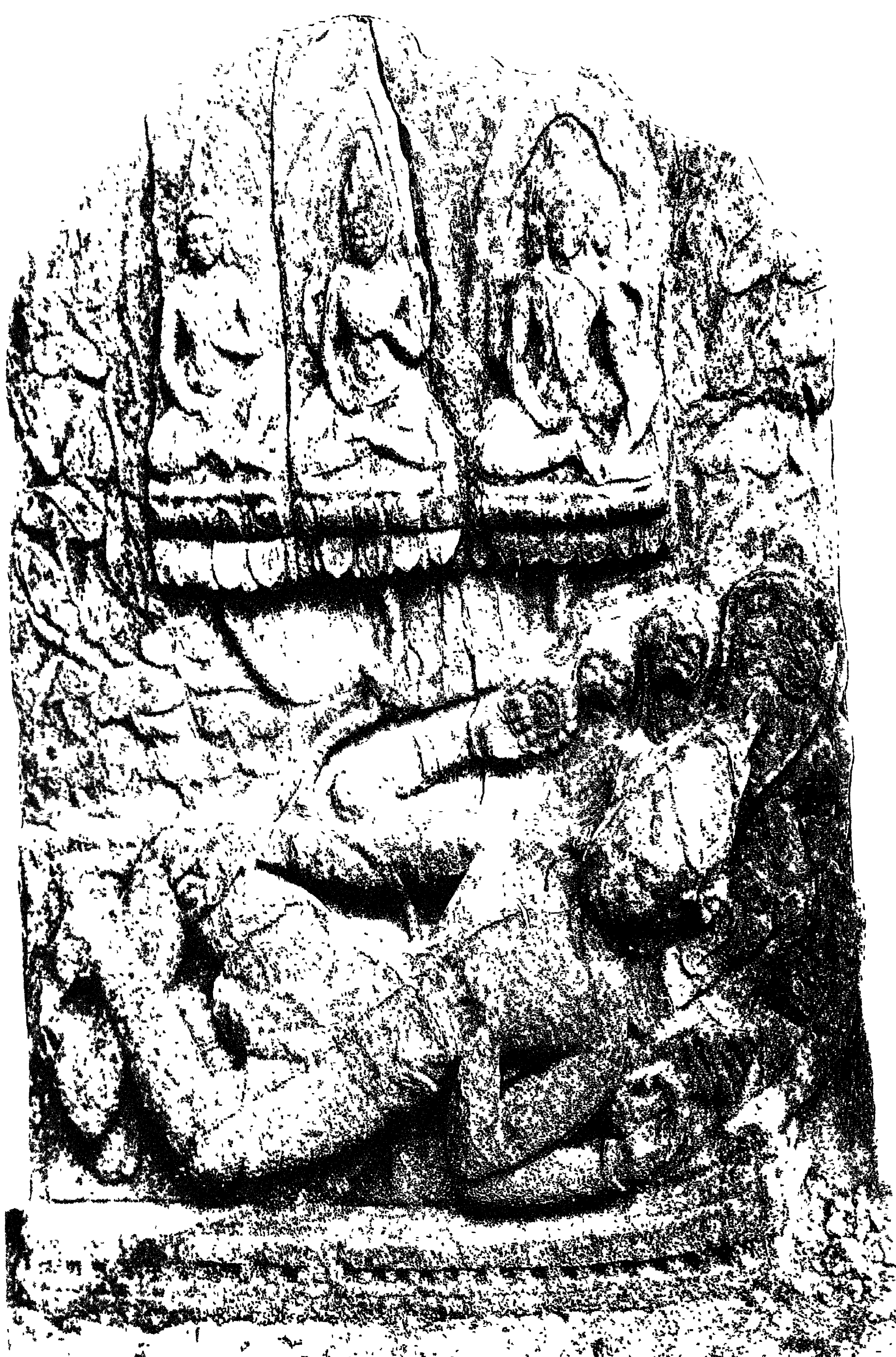
XIIIa.—Bas-relief on Stone from Thaton

Scale about ·15



XIV —Bas-relief on Stone from Thâton

Scale ·26



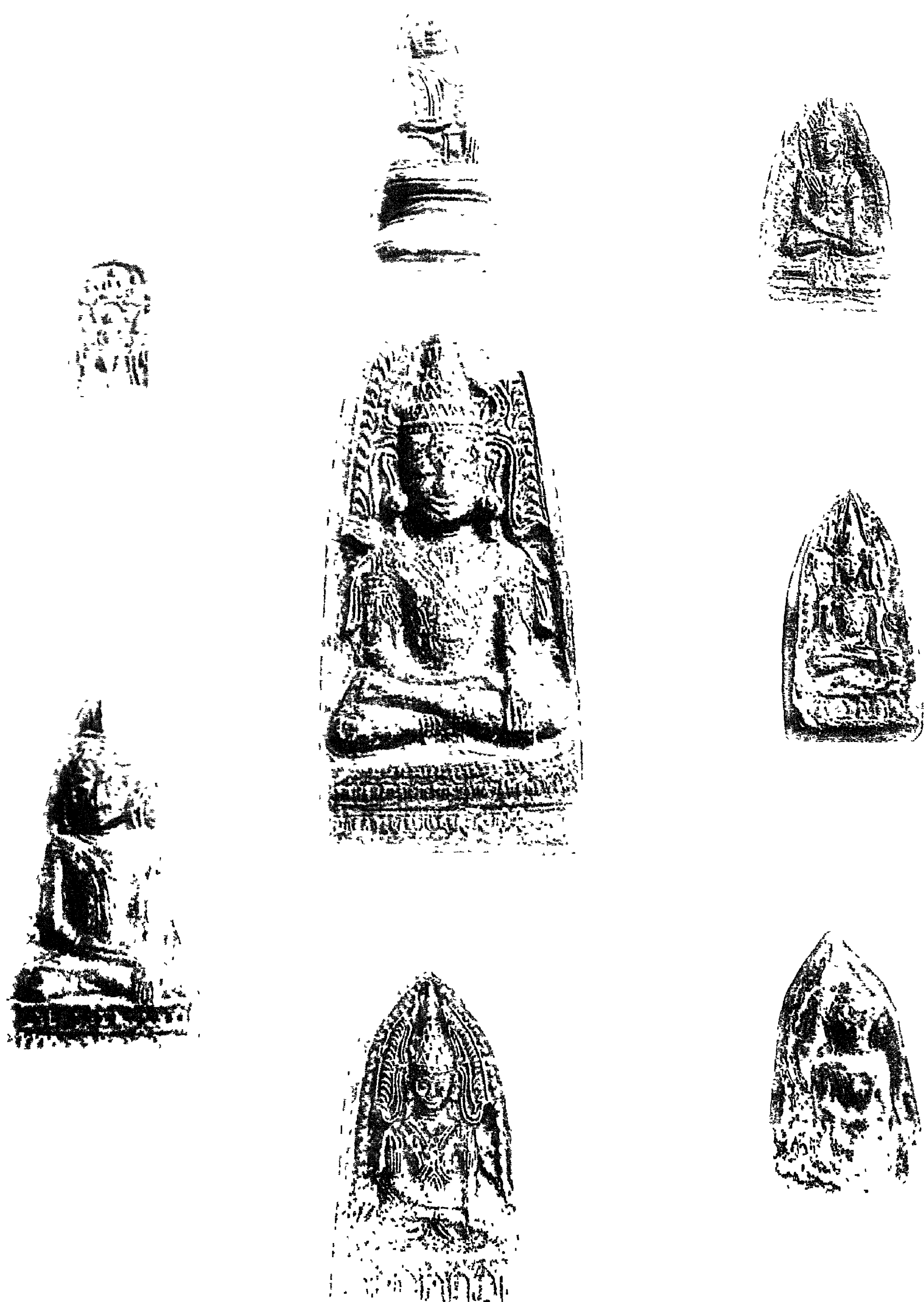
Watts & Skeen, Photo.

XIVa.—Bas-relief on Stone from Thâton



Watts & Skeen, Photo.

XV.—Fig. 1. Specimen of a Cambodian Tower—The Kyaikpun Pagoda near Pegu



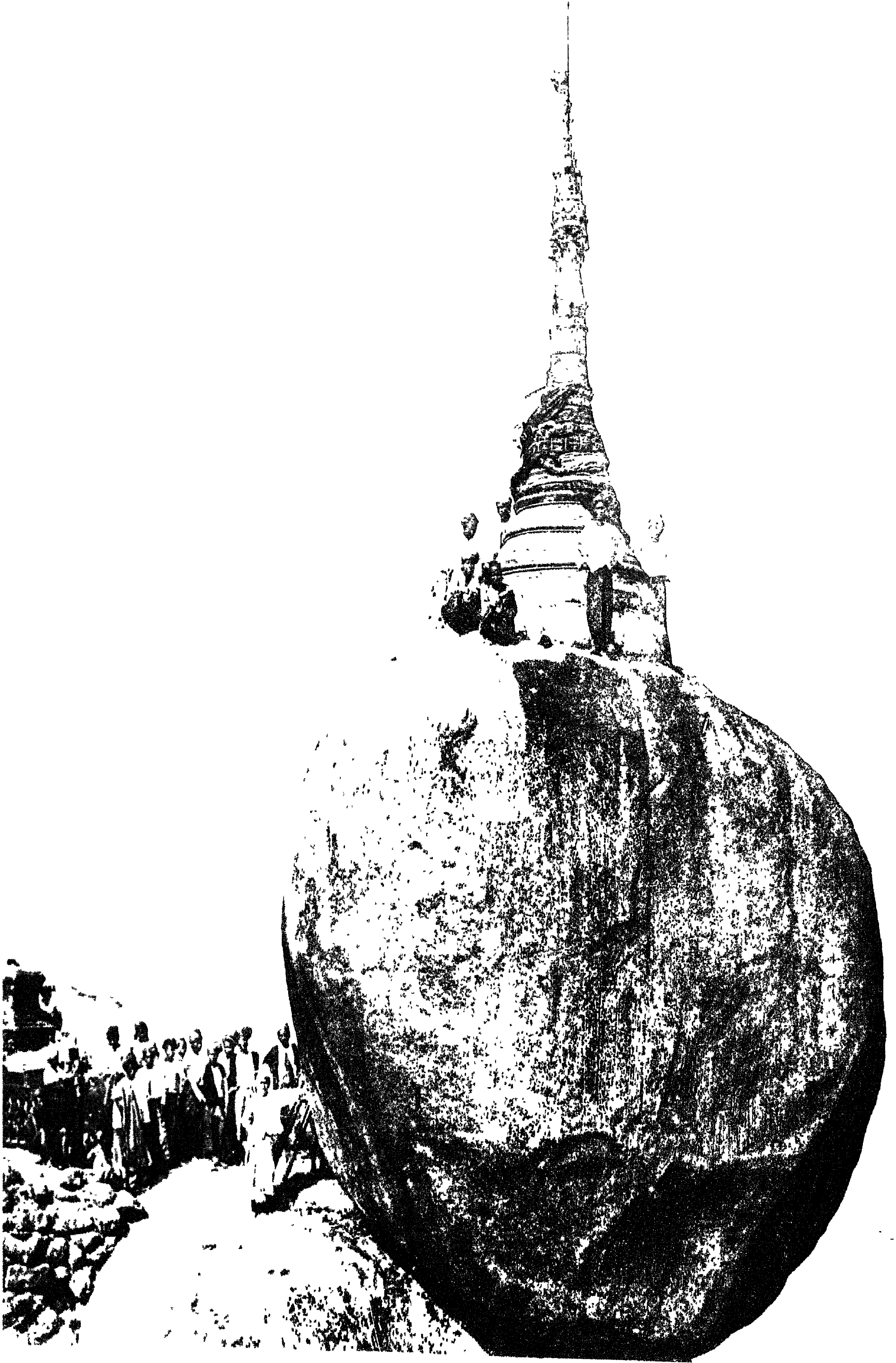
XVI.—Figures and Votive Tablets from the Caves of the Amherst District.



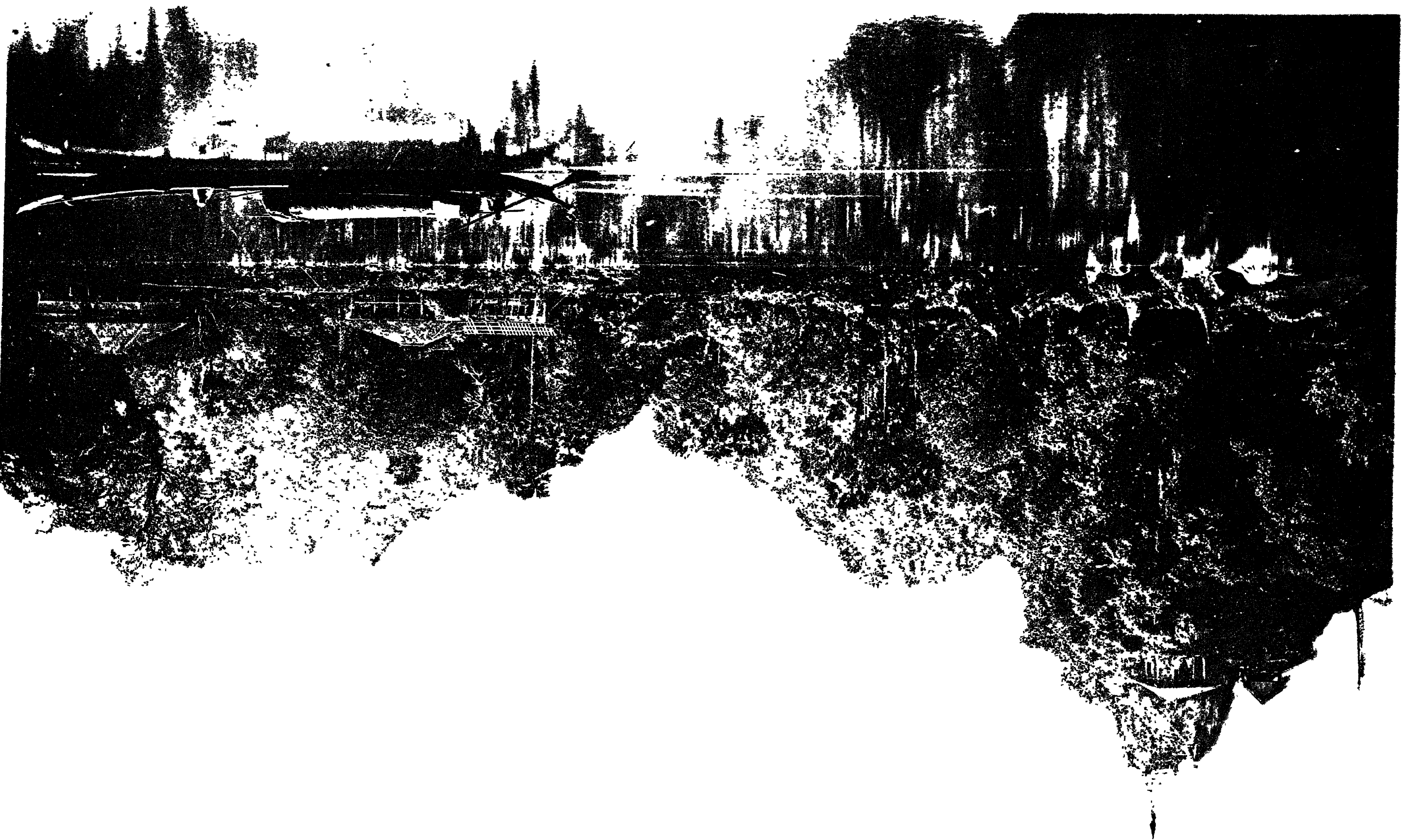
XVI*a*.—Figures and Votive Tablets from the Caves of the Amherst District



XVII.—The Shwethâyaung, or Great Recumbent Buddha at Pegu.



XVIII.—The Kyaiktiyô Pagoda near Shwegyin.



XIX.—The Approach to the Dhammathā Cave.

# INDEX.

# ERRATA IN VOL. XXII.

p. 171*a*, line 10, *for* ando f, *read* and of.
„ *b*, line 7, *for* [Rêvataka], *read* Raivataka.
„ *b*, line 6 from the bottom, *for* diivsion, *read* division.

p. 173*b*, line 33, *for* Âryavârta, *twice*, *read* Âryâvarta.

p. 186*a*, last line, *for* 'Narmâda,' *read* 'Narmadâ.'